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A Descriptive Grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua

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A Descriptive Grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua

by

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Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2007

Dedication

For the Tepehua people of Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico,

and especially for Nicolás.

If it were not for their friendship and help,

I never would have begun this dissertation.

If it were not for their encouragement of me,

as well as their commitment to my project,

I never would have finished it.

Acknowledgements

My first and largest debt of gratitude goes to all of the speakers of Huehuetla Tepehua who contributed in some way to this grammar. Without them, this volume would not exist. I want to thank the Vigueras family, in particular, for taking me into their home and making me a part of their family: don Nicolás, his wife doña Fidela, their children Nico, Tonio, Mari, Carmelo, Martín, Lupe, and Laurencio, and their daughter-in-law Isela. Not only do I have a home here in the U.S., but I also have a home in Huehuetla with them. There was also the extended family, who lived in the same courtyard area and who also took me in and gave me free access to their homes and their lives: don Nicolás' mother doña Angela, his two brothers don Laurencio and don Miguel, their wives doña Fidela and doña Juana, and all of their children.

My deepest and most heart-felt thanks are for my husband, Jon, and our son, Shaun. Without their love, support, patience, and endless sacrifices, I never would have been able to finish this grammar. I also want to thank my mom and dad, who never failed to express their pride, and my father-in-law, a Ph.D. himself, who continually encouraged my progress.

I have so many additional people to thank that I'm going to thank them in chronological order, from the start of my graduate career. My fellow cohort members: Carrie Clarady, Lynda Olman Walsh, David Quinto-Pozos, and Kim Mellon Kight, for sharing both the good and the bad during the early years; I wouldn't have made it to candidacy without their friendship. Heidi Johnson, for being a mentor to me every step of the way. Terry Kaufman and John Justeson, for hiring me to work on the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica; they are responsible for my decision to work on Huehuetla Tepehua and not on some other language. Mark Ferguson, for knowing the location of the appendix in the human body, for insisting that I see a doctor, and for, essentially, saving my life. Terry Kaufman (again), for teaching me how to do lexical field work the "right way" and Roberto Zavala, for teaching me to do it the fun way. Tony Woodbury, for serving as the principle investigator on my NSF Dissertation Improvement grant, and for providing invaluable advice and support while I was applying for fellowships. Thomas Smith Stark at the Colegio de México and Roberto Herrerra Herrerra, formerly of the Universidad de las Américas – Puebla, for serving as co-sponsors for my Fulbright-García Robles fellowship. Roberto Herrerra Herrerra (again) and Mandy Holzrichter, for easing my culture shock during my time in Cholula. Thom Smith Stark (again), his wife María, my fellow Fulbrighter Jennifer Jolly, and her husband Chris Gonzales, for providing me with two homes in Mexico City away from the field where I could go to decompress (and speak English!). Dottie Herzog, for sharing her unpublished Tepehua dictionary, as well as other unpublished data that she had

compiled on the language, and also for sharing her workspace in Huehuetla while mine was being built. Mark Sicolli, for being there in Catemaco. Christina Willis and Lynda de Jong Boudreault, for being two of the best friends that I've had during this long gradual process, and for being my only two friends who could really, fully understood the journey. Suzanne Johnson, for showing me that there was more to life than just graduate school and linguistics (with or without the kids in tow).

My fieldwork was funded by the following sources, and I thank them all: Fulbright IIE (Fulbright-García Robles Fellowship for scholars), the National Science Foundation (NSF Grant No. 0078453 with Anthony C. Woodbury, PI), the Pan American Round Tables of Texas (Melba Brunno Dawson Scholarship), and the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica.

Most importantly, I want to thank my committee: Nora England, Carlota Smith, Megan Crowhurst, Tony Woodbury, Jim Watters, and Paulette Levy for all of their helpful comments, advice, encouragement, and words of praise (those kept me going more than anything!), not to mention their time, especially since this grammar turned out to be a lot longer than I had anticipated. My biggest thanks go to Nora, who has been the best supervisor and mentor that I could have hoped for! Most importantly, she insisted that this grammar be a thorough treatment of the language since it might be the only treatment that Huehuetla Tepehua will ever get.

A Descriptive Grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua

Publication No._____

Susan Smythe Kung, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2007

Supervisor: Nora C. England

This dissertation is a comprehensive description of the grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua (HT), which is a member of the Totonacan language family. HT is spoken by fewer than 1500 people in and around the town of Huehuetla, Hidalgo, in the Eastern Sierra Madre mountains of the Central Gulf Coast region of Mexico. This grammar begins with an introduction to the language, its language family, and its setting, as well as a brief history of my contact with the language. The grammar continues with a description of the phonology of HT, followed by morphosyntactic and syntactic description of all of the major parts of speech, including verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and numbers; the grammar concludes with a description of the sentence-level syntax. A compilation of interlinearized texts appears in the appendix.

HT is a polysynthetic, head-marking language with complex verbal morphology. Inflectional affixes include both prefixes and suffixes for which a

templatic pattern is difficult to model. In addition to inflectional and derivational morphology, HT verbs are also host to a large number of aspectual derivational morphemes, each of which alters the meaning of the verb in a very specific way. Plural marking on both nouns and verbs for any third person argument is optional and determined by an animacy hierarchy, which is also used to determine verbal argument marking in various morphosyntactic constructions. HT nouns are completely unmarked for case, and certain nouns, including kinship terms and parts of a whole, are obligatorily possessed. The order of the major constituents is pragmatically determined, with a tendency towards VSO order in the absence of pragmatic or contextual clues and SVO order in context-rich textual examples.

HT is an under-documented moribund language that is at imminent risk of extinction within the next two-to-three generations. Thus, this dissertation is a major contribution not only to the field of linguistics, but also to the Tepehua people who might one day be interested in the language of their grandparents.

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List of Abbrevations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ADJZ	adjectivizer
ADV	adverb
AGAIN	again
AGNM	agent nominalizer
ALD	already
AMB	ambulative
APPL	applicative
ART	article
ART.IN	indefinite article
AS	affectionate speech
AUX	auxiliary verb
BLV	belief (epistemic)
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
CLT	clitic
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer, subordinator
DADJ	demonstrative adjective
DAT	dative
DIS	distributive action
DM	discourse marker
DO	direct object
DESID	desiderative
DST	distal
DTR	detransitivizer
DVB	deverbalizer
EMP	emphatic, emphasis
EPE	epenthetic
EVI	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
FOC	focus
FUT	future
ID	ideophone
IMM	imminent
IMPFV	imperfective aspect

INCH	inchoative
INF	infinitive
INO	indefinite object
INS	indefinite subject
INST	instrumental
IPOS	impersonal possessor
IRR	irrealis
JST	just
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
OBJ	object
PAST	past tense
PFV	perfective aspect
PL	plural
PL.POS	plural possessor
PM	possessum
POS	possessive/possession
PR	possessor
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
PRN	pronoun
PRT	particle
PRX	proximal
Q	interrogative pronoun
RC	relative clause
RCP	reciprocal
REL	relativizer, relative pronoun
RELCL	relative clause
REP	repetitive
RFL	reflexive
RHET	rhetorical
RPT	reported speech (evidential)
RT	round trip
s	noun (sustantivo)
SG	singular
SPEC	specifier
sr	relational noun (sustantivo relacional)
SUB	subject
TAM	tense/aspect/mood
va	auxiliary verb (verbo auxiliary)
vi	intransitive verb (verbo intransitivo)

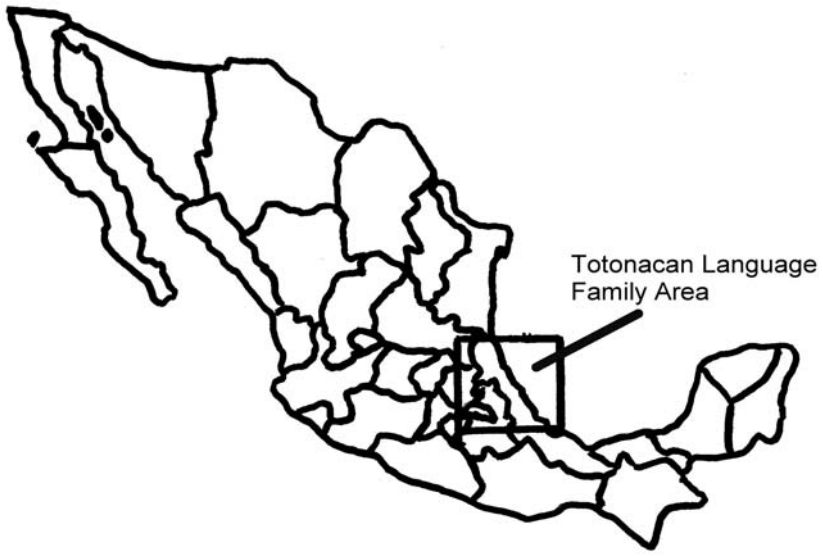
VOC	vocative
vt	transitive verb (verbo transitivo)
XXX	unidentified morpheme or word
-	affix boundary
+	clitic boundary
=	compound boundary
#	word boundary
*	reconstructed form
**	ungrammatical, unattested form
??	questionable grammaticality

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE LANGUAGE

Tepehua is an under-documented, moribund, indigenous language that is spoken in the Mexican towns of Huehuetla, Hidalgo and Mecapalapa Puebla. Tepehua belongs to the Totonacan language family, which has two branches: Tepehua and Totonac.[1] The Totonacan languages are spoken in the Eastern Sierra Madre mountain chain in the Central Gulf Coast region of Mexico where the contiguous states of Hidalgo, Veracruz, and Puebla fit together like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. Illustration 1 is a map the geographical location of the Totonacan language family within Mexico.

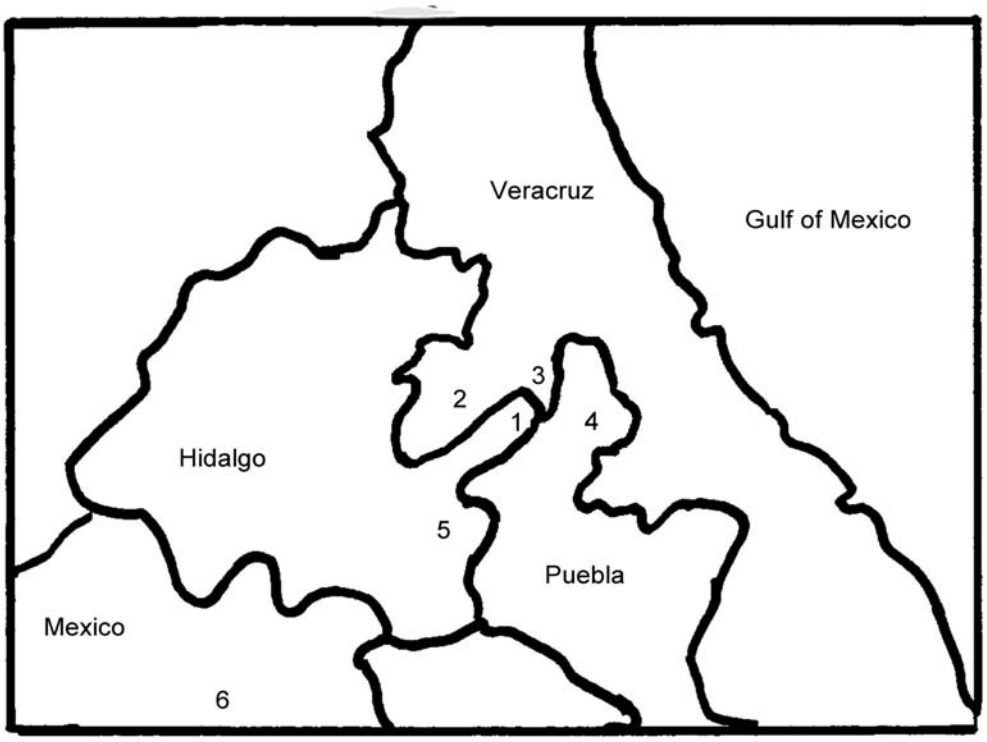
Illustration 1: Map of Totonacan Languages within Mexico



[1] Two versions of the Totonacan family tree are shown in Figures 1 and 2 in section 1.3.

There are three varieties of Tepehua: Huehuetla Tepehua (HT), Pisaflores Tepehua (PT), and Tlachichilco Tepehua (TT). Illustration 2 shows the four locations where the Tepehua languages are spoken: in and around the towns of Tlachichilco and Pisaflores, Veracruz, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, and in Mecapalapa, Puebla. This map also shows the cities of Tulancingo, Hidalgo and Mexico City for reference. The variety of Huehuetla Tepehua that is spoken in Huehuetla, Hidalgo is the topic of this grammar.

Illustration 2: Map of Tepehua Languages



1 = Huehuetla, Hidalgo 2 = Tlachichilco, Veracruz 3 = Pisaflores, Veracruz
4 = Mecapalapa, Puebla 5 = Tulancingo, Hidalgo 6 = Mexico City

According to Ethnologue, all three Tepehua varieties combined are spoken by approximately 10,000 people (Gordon 2005). The Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Información (INEGI), the organization responsible for the census in the United States of Mexico, reported 8,325 speakers of Tepehua (all three varieties) over 5 years old in the 1980 census and 8,120 speakers in the 1990 census. Of the 8,120 Tepehua speakers reported in the 1990 census, 2,001 of them lived in the state of Hidalgo (MacKay 1999), meaning that they were most likely speakers of HT. In the most recent census of 2005, INEGI reported 8,321 total Tepehua speakers, 1,470 of which were living in Huehuetla, Hidalgo (INEGI 2005) and were most likely speakers of Huehuetla Tepehua and not one of the other two varieties.

The town of Huehuetla is quite remote, even by Mexican standards. To get there, one must begin in Mexico city and travel north-east (by car or bus) on a divided highway for one-and-a-half to two hours to the small city of Tulancingo, Hidalgo. From Tulancingo, one must first travel east on a two-lane highway for about 30 minutes, then travel north and north-east on two- or one-lane mountainous roads for three to four hours. The roads are quite treacherous in places, and the scenery in the mountains is breathtaking. The climate and environment make two dramatic changes during the trip. The area around Tulancingo is dry and arid, with lots of maguey, cacti, and scrub brush. As the elevation increases, the climate becomes quite cold, and the flora gradually changes to pine forest. After cresting the mountain range and upon descent on the other side, the flora becomes dense and tropical, and the climate becomes hot and

humid. Huehuetla is the last community on the road and the last stop on the bus route.

The town of Huehuetla is the county seat of Huehuetla County (Municipio de Huehuetla). It lies at the bottom of a deep valley, beside a river whose name I never learned because the people is Huehuetla call it simply *el río* or *juu lakxkaan* [ˌhuː lak.ˈʃkaːn] 'the river'. From looking at maps of the area, I have decided that this river is the River Pantepec. My consultants described the town as being made up of approximately half Tepehua and half people of non-indigenous descent. The HT-speakers call the non-indigenous population *Laawaan* [laː.ˈβaːn], or 'Spanish people', even though many of them are descendents of a German family who at one time owned a local coffee exportation business.

HT is spoken in the town of Huehuetla, the nearby communities of Barrio Atzlán and Linda Vista (Mirasol), and in the more distant town of Mecapalapa, Puebla. Both Barrio Atzlán and Linda Vista are a short ten- to fifteen-minute walk from downtown Huehuetla, while Mecapalapa is about a day's walk down-river from Huehuetla. I visited the two nearby communities often, but I never went to Mecapalapa. Totonac is the principle indigenous language spoken in Mecapalapa, and the Tepehua speakers there are immigrants (or their descendents) from Huehuetla (Kryder 1987).

Illustration 3: Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico

Almost all HT-speakers are bilingual in Spanish. At the time of my fieldwork, I met two women who were monolingual in HT; both of them where in their 90s, and both of them lived in the remotest part of Barrio Atzlán. Everyone else I met was bilingual in HT and Spanish, and many of the older men were multilingual in HT, Spanish, Totonac, and Otomí. With respect to the younger generations, I met only two teenagers who actively spoke HT (as well as Spanish) in the home: a 14 year old girl and a 15 year old boy. I do not mean to imply that these two teenagers were Tepehua-dominant, because they were not; they used Tepehua (as well as Spanish) only with their parents and grandparents, and they switched to Spanish with everyone else. All of the other young adults, teenagers, and children that I met chose to speak only Spanish in the home, even though many or most of them understood HT.

I met only one HT-dominant couple who spoke to their young toddler and pre-school aged children in HT; everyone else addressed their children and grandchildren in Spanish. Since I left the village, a teacher's college has been constructed there, which has caused the non-HT-speaking population to increase and has lead to even more intermarriage between Tepehua and non-Tepehua, thereby reducing even more the likelihood that HT will be passed on to future generations. English—but not Tepehua—is taught in the local middle and high schools, and more and more people want to learn English in order to emigrate to the United States of America.

Otomí is spoken in many of the ranches and towns that are a part of the Huehuetla Municipio. On Market day, when people come from the outlying areas to do business, it is quite common to hear Otomí, as well as Tepehua, spoken in the town. The town of Huehuetla is a Tepehua island surrounded by a sea of Otomí. Outside the Huehuetla Municipio boundaries, going east towards the Gulf Coast, both Totonac and Nahuatl are spoken. Many of the older Tepehua men who had left Huehuetla to work (and then returned) were multilingual in Totonac, Otomí, Tepehua, and—of course—Spanish. However, I did not meet an HT speaker who claimed to know Nahuatl, too.

The HT autonyms are *Maqalhqama7* [maˌqaɬqaˈmaʔ] 'Tepehua people' and *Lhiimaqalhqama7* [ˌɬiːmaˌqaɬqaˈmaʔ] 'Tepehua language'. In general, HT speakers are not aware that there are two other varieties of Tepehua or that there are Tepehua speakers in or around Tlachichilco or Pisaflores, both of which are in the state of Veracruz. Both of these groups have their own autonyms to refer to

their language: *Lhiimaasipijni* /ɬiːmaːsipihni/ or *Liimaasipijni* /liːmaːsipihni/ in Tlachichilco Tepehua and *Lhichiwin* /ɬitʃiwin/ in Pisaflores Tepehua (INALI 2006, Watters p.c.). According to Watters (1988), the word *Tepehua* is an exonym from Nahuatl: *tepe-* 'mountain' and *hua* 'dweller, owner' (p. 4). The word *Huehuetla* 'place of the old people' is also of Nahuatl origin, and there are two possible etymologies: (i) *huehue* 'old person' and *–tla* 'place of' and (ii) *huehuetzotl* 'old god' or 'god of the town' (Palacios 1993).[2]

Illustration 4: Angela Patricio Tolentino, Wearing Traditional Tepehua Dress, Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico, May 2005

Farming is the dominant economic activity of the Tepehua people in Huehuetla. They cultivate and sell coffee and corn. They cultivate squash, peppers, palm, and tomatoes for personal use. Unlike the Totonac of Papantla, the Tepehua do not traditionally cultivate vanilla. The Tepehua do not participate in community

[2] See also the INEGI Archivo Histórico de Localidades: Huehuetla, Hidalgo. Downloaded from: http://mapserver.inegi.gob.mx/dsist/ahl2003/general2.cfm?clavegeo=140024.

farming. Each family has a plot of land outside the village where they grow the above-mentioned crops. During the time of my fieldwork (2000-2001), the price of coffee had dropped so low that many of the Tepehua had decided that it was not worth the effort to pick the beans from the coffee bushes. Instead many of the men found work in Tulancingo or Mexico City, and some crossed over into the United States in search of work.

The people of Huehuetla are predominantly Catholic with a large protestant community, as well. I did not observe any protestant ceremonies, but I did observe, record, and participate in several of the traditional Catholic ceremonies that the town of Huehuetla celebrates, including Candlemas (Candelaria) in February and Mardi Gras (Carnaval), which fell in early March the year that I was there. All of the names of the ancient deities have been lost, but the spiritual practices and rituals have been syncretically blended with Catholicism. Though the Candlemas celebration (fiesta de Candelaria), for example, is a Catholic one, more importance is placed on the celebrations officiated over by the *brujos*, 'male witches' or 'shamen', than on the mass held at the parish church. There is a strong belief in shamanism and witchcraft that goes beyond mere superstition.

1.2 MY RESEARCH: THE HISTORY, SETTING, AND METHODOLOGY

My first contact with HT was in the summer of 1999 when I began working on the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica (PDLMA), directed by Dr. Terrence Kaufman, Dr. John Justeson, and Dr. Roberto Zavala Maldonado, in Catemaco, Veracruz. When he hired me, Dr.

Kaufman gave me a choice between Zapotec, which is a tone language, and Tepehua, which is not. I chose Tepehua.

During the nine-week field summer in 1999, I worked with two native speaker consultants of HT conducting mainly one-on-one lexical elicitation. For the first three weeks, I worked with Micaela Santiago Plata, who was 23 years old at the time; for the last six weeks, I worked with Nicolás Vigueras Patricio, who was 44 years old at the time. Under Dr. Kaufman's tutelage, I established the practical phonemic orthography that I have used in all of my subsequent fieldwork and that appears in this grammar.[3]

Micaela's first language was HT; she began speaking Spanish when she started primary school. Micaela was immensely proud of her heritage and her language, and she spoke only Tepehua in the home and with her extended family. However, she was studying in Tulancingo, Hidalgo to be a teacher, and she had not lived in Huehuetla continuously since graduating from secondary school. She had attended high school in another town, where Spanish and Otomí were spoken. During the time that she worked with me, she was on vacation from her teacher-training school. She was new to linguistic consultation, and I was new to linguistic elicitation; we trained each other.

For those readers who know something of my medical history during my field work, it was while I was working with Micaela during our second week in Catemaco that I came down with appendicitis. After watching me struggle through our elicitation sessions for four days, she finally insisted that I see a

[3] Please see Chapter 2, section 2.1.3 for an explanation of the practical orthography.

doctor. The next day—a Friday—I was operated on for a ruptured appendix in a small hospital in the nearby town of San Andrés Tuxla, Veracruz. I spent the weekend in the hospital, went back to the Hotel Playa Cristal (the PDLMA headquarters) on Sunday afternoon, and was back at work on Wednesday morning. Micaela and I worked together for another week and a half before she had to go back to school.

Illustration 5: Micaela Santiago Plata and Susan Smythe Kung, Hotel Playa Cristal, Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico, June 1999

Micaela returned to Huehuetla on her way back to Tulancingo to find a replacement for herself and to visit her family. Her HT-dominant mother recommended someone, but when Micaela got to his house, she found that he was out of town, but that his brother was willing to join the PDLMA in his stead.

By the time Nicolás Vigueras Patricio joined the project, I had a better understanding of what I was doing (with respect to the lexical elicitation and how to use different elicitation techniques, such as the mirror image analogy). He

proved to be one of the best consultants that I've had the opportunity to work with. He, too, had learned HT as his first language, and—like Micaela—had not learned Spanish until he started school. Unlike Micaela, he had not had the opportunity to pursue an education. As the son of poor farmers, he had left school to work after completing the sixth grade.

Don Nicolás loved working with me as a linguistic consultant, and he never grew bored or impatient with the repetition. He is a farmer by birth and a musician by trade, and he has a strong, clear speaking voice. He also proved to be a highly creative HT-speaker. He rarely said that a word did not exist in HT; instead, he found a way to say it, even if we had to resort to a Spanish dictionary to figure out what a particular prompt meant. He was immensely patient with my less-than-perfect Spanish. He claims, with pride, that he taught me both Tepehua *and* Spanish.

Illustration 6: Nicolás Vigueras Patricio and Susan Smythe Kung, Hotel Playa Cristal, Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico, July 1999

I returned to Mexico to work for PDLMA in the summer of 2000. During the eight-week (June-July) field season that was again held in Catemaco, Veracruz, I worked with Nicolás Vigueras Patricio for a second time, but only for

one week. Dr. Kaufman decided that we needed an older speaker of HT, someone whose idiolect still retained vestiges of the uvular stops that he hypothesized were found in Proto-Tepehua; sadly, there was no trace of the historic uvular stop or glottalized uvular stop in the idiolects of either don Nicolás or Micaela. Don Nicolás was gracious beyond expectation. He took me to his village, introduced me to dozens of HT speakers older than himself, and even made me feel like an honored guest in his home. After two days in Huehuetla, during which time I had met many older speakers (older than 60) who retained plain uvular stops, I had found no one who was willing to return to Catemaco to work with me at the PDLMA headquarters. Just as I was about to leave, we met don Nicolás' uncle, Antonio Vigueras Huerta, who had just returned to town and who was more than willing to work with me in Catemaco.

At this point in my fieldwork, I was planning to continue my own grammatical research on HT in the town of Huehuetla after the PDLMA field summer was over. Knowing this, don Nicolás invited me to stay with him and his family for the duration of my fieldwork even though I had to replace him with another, older consultant that summer.

I worked with don Antonio Vigueras Huerta for the final seven weeks of the 2000 field summer. It was only after working with don Antonio that I fully appreciated what a dedicated linguistic consultant don Nicolás was. Don Antonio was 76 years old that summer. He tired easily, and he was somewhat hard of hearing, both of which made him lose patience easily with the repetitious root-dictionary task that Dr. Kaufman had assigned to us. Don Antonio was missing

most of his front teeth, which made him difficult for me to understand, and he spoke an antiquated, agrarian Spanish that I was not familiar with. He could not see well enough to be able to identify photos and drawings of flora and fauna, a lexical task that Dr. Kaufman had assigned us. We ended up spending most of the summer going on long walks during which I carried a mini-disk recorder and microphone to record in HT anything that he saw, identified, and cared to tell me. We also spent many hours in the project's sound room, recording him talking about any subject that came to his mind. However, the most important task that we did that summer was to go through the HT lexemes that I had elicited from Micaela and don Nicolás, with me re-eliciting the same forms from don Antonio to see if they contained a uvular stop or a glottal stop in his idiolect.

Even though don Antonio did not enjoy the work of a linguistic consultant, he did enjoy working with me. I became closer to him than I was to either of my own grandfathers, and I know that he felt the same towards me. Several months later, when I was living in Huehuetla with don Nicolás' family, I discovered that don Antonio had spent the entire summer speaking to me in the register that don Nicolás later dubbed "affectionate speech"; please see Chapter 2, section 2.6.10.2 for a description of this register. Don Antonio passed away in October 2005, may he rest in peace.

The data resulting from my first two field summers (1999 and 2000) working for PDLMA fill three file slip boxes, approximately 700 notebooks pages, and approximately 10 hours of audio-recordings. The direct elicitation tasks that I conducted with Micaela, don Nicolás, and don Antonio include

elicitation using vocabulary lists (Kaufman's short vocabulary list (220 words), his lexical list (651 words), and his long lists (4300 words)) and the Bouquiaux Questionnaire; elicitation of male and female names; and elicitation of ethnobotanical and ethnozoological terms by means of taking walks and looking at botanical and zoological books. I also recorded, transcribed, and translated narrative texts in HT from all three consultants.

Illustration 7: Antonio Vigueras Huerta and Susan Smythe Kung, Hotel Playa Cristal, Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico, July 2000

After briefly returning to Texas for 3 weeks, I went back to Mexico in late August of 2000, this time with funding from a Fulbright García-Robles fellowship and an NSF Dissertation Improvement grant (#0078453 with Anthony C. Woodbury, PI). After spending a week in Mexico City and another five weeks in Cholula, Puebla at the Universidad de las Americas – Puebla, I established myself in Huehuetla, Hidalgo in October of 2000, in the home of my principal consultant, Nicolás Vigueras Patricio. Though I maintained an apartment in Cholula until January 2001, I lived primarily with the Vigueras family from October 2000 through early July 2001.

For the first three months, I shared a room with several of the family members. However, I needed a more private space in which to be able to conduct my research and store my equipment, so rather than moving into my own house, I decided to build a room onto the Vigueras' home. Construction of the room began in November 2000, and I was able to move into it full-time in January 2001.

Illustration 8: Building a "Linguistic Facility"

During my time in Huehuetla, I utilized a discourse-centered approach to data collection (Sherzer 1987) in order to understand how and for what purposes HT-speakers use their language in their daily lives. I tried to be a participant in, as well as an observer of, the community; I took my mini-disk recorder with me everywhere that I went (along with several of my NSF consent forms), and

recorded as often as possible. A discourse-centered approach to research is a crucial component of descriptive linguistic research because one-on-one elicitation does not produce naturally occurring speech.

Illustration 9: Participant Observer: The Linguist (left) and Dance Partner, Dressed as "Huehues" for Mardi Gras (Carnaval) 2001

However, I quickly learned that it is very difficult to be a participant-observer when all anyone was interested in doing was observing *me*. With my fair, freckled skin and my strawberry blond hair, I stood out like a sore thumb in the indigenous community. I couldn't go anywhere alone without being followed by a crowd, and I never quite got used to being stared at constantly. Nevertheless, as time passed, it became easier to integrate myself into the community, especially since the Vigueras family had adopted me as one of their own.

I worked primarily with don Nicolás, and my first task was to teach him to read and write my HT practical orthography. We spent much of the nine months that I was there recording narratives and conversations with various community members, then transcribing them and translating them into Spanish.

In a rural village, the mornings are the busiest time of the day for the town's people, who rise early to begin their daily tasks. The men go off to the fields to work, while the women see their children off to school and hurry to get some of the never-ending housework done before the children come home again in the early afternoon. Thus, the mornings were never a good time for me to search out consultants because no one—except don Nicolás—had time to work with me.

Thus, don Nicolás and I spent our mornings transcribing and translating texts. The first step in this process involved transcribing an entire HT text. Next don Nicolás translated the HT text loosely into Spanish. Finally, we completed a word-for-word translation together; this allowed me to analyze the words as we worked and to conduct impromptu grammatical and semantic tests when I encountered new forms.

In the early afternoons, there was a period of about two hours that fell after most of the chores were done but before the children came home from school. During these two hours, the whole town was very peaceful, and the adults were resting. This was the best time of the day for me to go visiting other people in the community in search of HT consultants. Thus, most afternoons, don

Nicolás and I would venture out into the town to record texts and word lists with various community members.

In addition to transcribing and translating texts with don Nicolás, I also conducted straight lexical and grammatical elicitation with him, often involving one to three additional HT speakers in the sessions. I organized the grammatical elicitation sessions based on topics suggested in Payne (1997) and issues that came up during text transcription and translation.

Even though I worked with 50 different HT-speakers during the course of my fieldwork, the bulk of the grammatical judgments on which this grammar are based belong to don Nicolás; thus, this dissertation could be considered to be a descriptive grammar of his idiolect, to some extent.

I used a Sony MZ-R30 portable mini-disk recorder and a Sony DCR-TRV11 Digital Handycam to record digital video onto mini-DVs. I also used a Marantz PMD222 Portable Cassette Recorder to copy and play back audio data, and a dictophone transcription machine and foot pedal to transcribe the recorded discourse. I used the SIL computer program *Shoebox 1.0* (the DOS version that was still used by the PDLMA) to database the collected data and to interlinearize the texts, and I used *Speech Analyzer* (version unknown) to make spectrograms in the field.

In addition to audio-recording narratives, texts, and conversation, I video recorded the events of several of the town's major holidays, including Candlemas (Candelaria) and Mardi Gras (Carnaval). The data from my time in Huehuetla include 53 transcribed and translated texts that vary in length from one to sixty

minutes and that fill over 800 notebook pages; seven untranscribed narrative recordings; approximately 700 pages of notes from grammatical and lexical elicitation sessions; 16 hours of audio recordings; and 12 hours of video recordings.

In the summer of 2005, I returned to Catemaco to complete my third and final summer for the PDLMA. This time, because of family obligations at home in Texas, I spent only five weeks working on the project. Once again, don Nicolás was my principal consultant. During this time, I finished direct elicitation of the Bouquiaux Questionnaire. I tested all of the ethnobotanical and ethnozoological terms in the database, then don Nicolás sorted them all into taxonomies. We went through Melissa Bowerman's Topological Picture Series (no date), which produced positional verbs, relational nouns, and prepositional phrases. I elicited color terms using a color chart (Hoogshagen and Hoogshagen 1993), and I elicited smells using those listed in Enríquez (2004) for Papantla Totonac. We used a large toolbox full of tools typically found in Mexican farming communities to generate words for all of the various tools. I used the existing ethnozoological terms in the database to elicit words for animal cries, noises, and movements. We did not record any texts at all that summer, nor did we do any transcription or translation. This was the first field summer that I did not work with notebooks. To save time, I entered most of the data directly into the database, resorting to file slips only occasionally.

In all I spent 14 months conducting field work on Huehuetla Tepehua. I have so much data in notebooks, on file slips, on mini-(audio)-disks, on video,

even on random scraps of paper, that I feel like I will never have enough time to analyze it all. After I returned from the field in 2001, it took me three years to organize the small portion of the data that I have used to write this grammar.[4] Even though I felt compelled to continue adding to the dictionary and interlinearizing texts, I reached a point when I had to stop organizing and start analyzing and writing. There are many gaps in the analyzed data presented here, but I am sure that answers to the questions left by these gaps can be found somewhere in the volumes that I have collected, if only I knew where to look. Cecil Brown recently told me that it is only after the Ph.D. is done that the real work begins. I know that I have my work cut out for me for years to come.

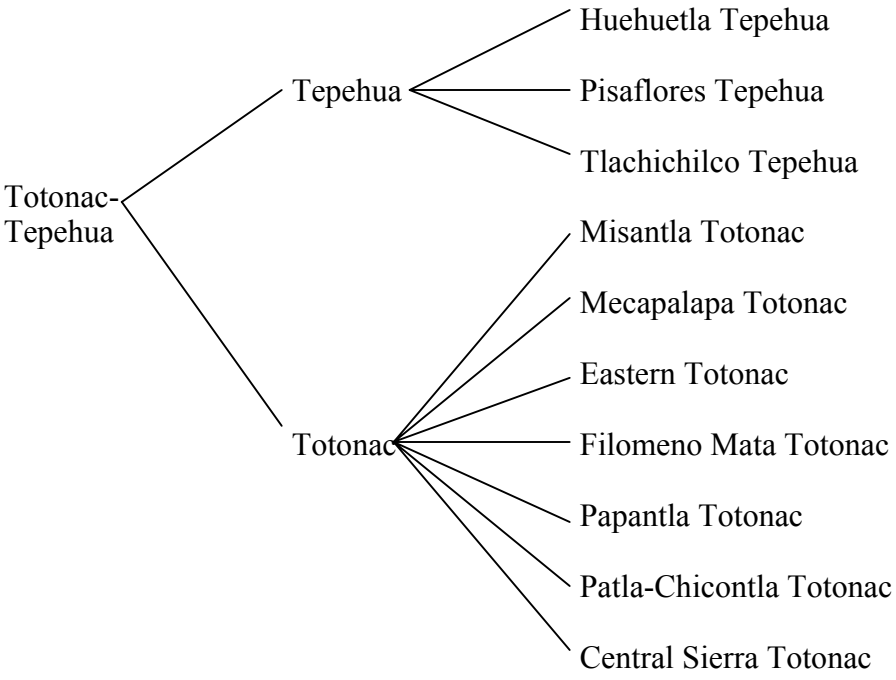
1.3 HUEHUETLA TEPEHUA AND THE TOTONACAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

Huehuetla Tepehua is a member of the Tepehua branch of the Totonacan language family, which has only two branches, Tepehua and Totonac (see Figures 1 and 2 below). The Totonacan languages are spoken in the Mexican states of Veracruz, Puebla, and Hidalgo, and the Totonac and Tepehua branches are mutually unintelligible (MacKay 1999). Because so little documentation exists for the Totonacan languages, it has not been possible to determine if this language family is a linguistic isolate or if it is related to Mayan and Mixe-Zoquean, as suggested by Greenberg (1987) and McQuown (1940, 1942). However, Kaufman (2003) argued that the lexical cognates that exist between Totonacan and Mixe-Zoquean are the result of contact rather than genetics.

[4] Unfortunately, I was not able to database or interlinearize the collected data while I was in Huehuetla because of frequent power-outages and a faulty computer that overheated in the hot, humid climate.

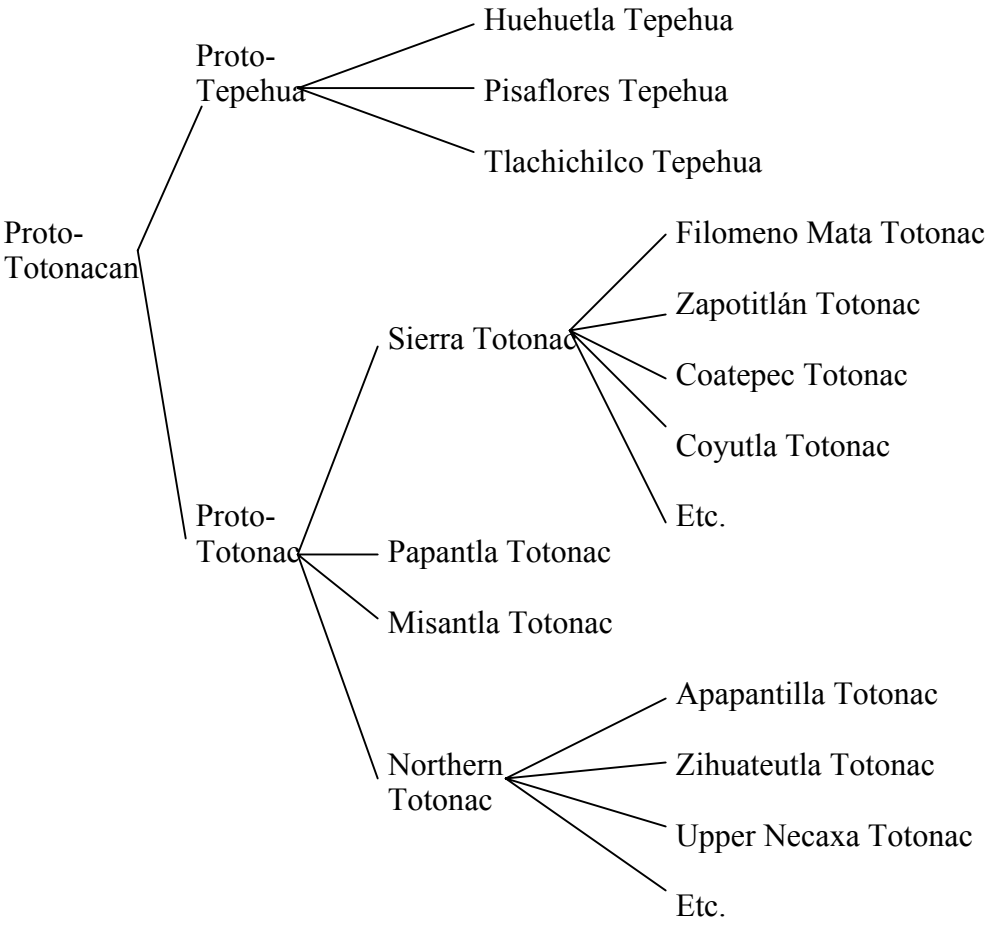
Figures 1 and 2 below are two versions of a Totonacan family tree. The Tepehua branch of both of these trees is exactly the same; it has three members: Huehuetla Tepehua, Pisaflores Tepehua, and Tlachichilco Tepehua, all of which are named after a community in or around which the language is spoken. There are many more Totonac varieties than Tepehua varieties, and many of the Totonac varieties remain largely undocumented. Thus, it is much more difficult to determine the members and branchings of the Totonac branch of the language family, and for this reason, I give two different versions of the tree.

Figure 1: INALI Totonac-Tepehua Divisions[5]



[5] Tree compiled based on INALI 2006

Figure 2: The Totonacan Language Family[6]



The HT speakers, as a whole, are unaware that Tepehua is spoken in and around the towns of Pisaflores or Tlachichilco, Veracruz. Both of these communities are separated from Huehuetla by both distance and mountain ranges so that the three groups have no contact. However, there is a community—Mecapalapa, Puebla—where both HT and Totonac are spoken. Mecapalapa is down-river from Huehuetla, about a day's walk away. The HT speakers in this community are, for the most part, relatives or descendents of the HT speakers in

[6] Tree compiled based on MacKay 1999; Beck 2003; and McFarland 2005.

Huehuetla (Kryder 1987). Although there is considerable movement between the two communities, the Huehuetla natives nevertheless consider the speech of the Mecapalapa natives to be less grammatical than their own, and they recognize slight differences in the HT speech of the two communities.

HT is in serious danger of extinction because it is being rapidly replaced by Spanish. During the nine months that I spent in Huehuetla, I observed that it was spoken by very few adults under the age of 30 and that almost no children were learning to speak it. If this pattern continues, the language likely will be dead in the next two-to-three generations (Krauss 1992).

HT is a polysynthetic, head-marking (Nichols 1986) language with complex verbal morphology. Inflectional affixes include both prefixes and suffixes for which a templatic pattern is difficult to model. Third person singular is not marked on the verb, but—for reasons that are enumerated in Chapter 3—cannot be analyzed as a zero marker occupying a given slot in a verbal template. In addition to inflectional and derivational morphology, the HT verbs are also host to a large number of aspectual derivational morphemes, each of which alters the meaning of the verb in a very specific way.

Nominals can be divided into lexical nouns and derived nouns. A derived noun may include body part prefixes, compounded nouns, and nominalized verbs. Plural marking is not obligatory, though human nouns tend to be marked for number, while nonhuman nouns tend not to be. HT nouns are completely unmarked for case. Certain nouns, including kinship terms, honorifics, and parts of a whole are obligatorily possessed.

In addition to verbs and nouns, HT also has a separate class of both adjectives and adverbs, some of which are full words, but others of which are particles.

HT is interesting from a phonological perspective for at least two reasons. There is a word-final process of devoicing that affects not only vowels, but also the liquid /l/, which is prohibited from occurring in coda position. When morphophonological processes occur that would force /l/ into a coda position, it neutralizes with the voiceless lateral fricative phoneme /ɬ/. Next, a second person subject is marked on the verb through the laryngealization of stops and affricates; in some cases, a second person subject is doubly marked by laryngealization as well as suffixation.

1.4 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

MacKay (1999) provides a thorough review of all of the linguistic literature on Totonac and Tepehua spanning from the colonial vocabularies and grammars of Olmos (1547) and Zambrano Bonilla (1752) and ending with her own work from the 1990s. Because her review is so thorough, I refer the reader to that source for reference to anything written before 1997 about Totonac, Tepehua, or the Totonacan language family. This review of the literature picks up where MacKay's left off.

In fact, since the publication of MacKay's (1999) grammar of Misantla Totonac, we seem to have entered the golden age of Totonacan research, especially with respect to the Tepehua branch of the family. Just two decades ago, the only member of the Tepehua branch to have been documented was the

Tlachichilco variety (Watters 1980, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1994, 1996a, 1996b). The only published materials on Huehuetla Tepehua were a 1976 translation of the New Testament by the Liga Bíblica Mundial de Hogar, several short stories written by SIL consultants and published by the SIL, Kryder's (1987) Masters thesis, which is a sketch of the HT phonology and morphology, and three short linguistics articles by SIL linguists that either describe or analyze HT numerals (Bower 1948), HT sentences (Bower and Erickson 1967), and HT verbal inflection (Herzog 1974).

My own work on HT includes acoustic analysis of uvular stops, glottal stops, and vowels (Smythe 2000, 2002), reconstruction of uvular stops (Smythe 2003), description and analysis of "affectionate speech", sound symbolism, and ideophones in HT (Smythe 2003; Smythe Kung 2005a, 2005c), external possession or possessor ascension (Smythe Kung 2004), Spanish loanwords (Smythe Kung 2005b), numeral classifiers (Smythe Kung 2006a, 2007), and split intransitivity (Smythe Kung 2006b).

Pisaflores Tepehua was a completely undocumented language two decades ago, but today the work on this language includes not only Hernández Sierra's (1986) ENAH thesis on the history of the Tepehua people of Pisaflores and the phonemes of the language, but also several SIL-published stories in the language that are available on-line through the SIL and Ethnologue websites, as well as two forthcoming linguistic descriptions of the language: a grammatical sketch (MacKay and Trechsler, to appear c) and a phonological sketch (MacKay and Trechsel, to appear a).

The last decade has been fruitful for four members of the Totonac branch: Papantla Totonac, Upper Necaxa Totonac, Misantla Totonac, and Filomeno Mata Totonac. The closed 'parts' class in Papantla Totonac has been the particular focus of attention by Levy (1999a, 1999b, 2003, 2004), who has also analyzed applicatives (2002a), specifiers and determiners (2002b), and relational nouns (2006) in the language. Enriquez (2004) categorized words for odors in Papantla Totonac.

Upper Necaxa Totonac (UNT)—also known as Patla-Chicontla Totonac—is now widely documented due to the Upper Necaxa Field Project II: The Structure and Acquisition of an Endangered, Indigenous Language, directed by Dr. David Beck and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Publications and presentations that have resulted from Dr. Beck's research on UNT include a grammatical sketch of the language (Beck 2004), an analysis of UNT adjectives (Beck 1999, 2000, 2002), verbal paradigms and person-marking hierarchies (Beck 2003), diachronic and synchronic phonetic and phonological analysis of a rare class of ejective fricatives found in UNT (Beck 2006b), agreement in multi-object constructions (Beck 2006a, 2006c), ideophones and adverbs (Beck to appear a, to appear b), and an investigation of extreme head-marking patterns within the language (Beck 2007). Other publications or presentations that have resulted from Beck's project include an examination of language loss (Beck and Lam in press) and first language acquisition of locative constructions (Varela 2006).

Recent work on Misantla Totonac includes a grammatical sketch (MacKay and Trechsel 2005b) and an analysis of symmetrical (double) objects (MacKay and Trechsel, to appear b). The same duo focused their attention on the Totonacan language family at large in their analysis of the Totonacan reciprocal marker *laa-* (MacKay and Trechsel 2003) and in symmetrical object-marking in Totonacan (MacKay and Trechsel 2005a, 2006).

Finally, Teresa McFarland is writing a detailed overview of the phonology and morphology of Filomeno Mata Totonac for her Ph.D. dissertation at the University of California at Berkeley (in progress). She has analyzed the inflectional system (2005) and the templatic morphology of ideophones (2006, to appear).

1.5 Overview of the Grammar

Chapter 2: Phonology presents the Huehuetla Tepehua phonemes and their allophones, the practical orthography that I use to represent HT in all subsequent chapters, a phonemic merger that is currently taking place in the language, the syllable structure, rules for primary and secondary stress assignment, general phonological processes that occur in the language, and morphophonemic processes that affect the boundaries of particular morphemes.

I have put everything having to do with verbs into *Chapter 3: Verbs and Verbal Morphology*. This chapter covers verbal inflectional morphology (including person-marking and tense/aspect/mood), verbal derivational morphology (including valence-changing affixes, verb-compounding, and apectual derivational affixes), existential verbs, positional and postural verbs, the

copula, periphrastic verbal constructions such as the auxiliary-like verb *laa* 'can' and infinitival phrases that are used to convey the periphrastic future and the progressive and inchoative aspects.

Similarly, I have put everything to do with nouns into *Chapter 4: Nouns and Nominal Morphology*. Not only does this chapter include nominal inflectional morphology (pluralization and possession) and derivational morphology (deriving nouns from nouns and nouns from verbs), it also includes syntactic information relevant to the noun phrase, relational noun constructions, and pronouns.

Chapter 5: Modifiers is quite small. It includes discussion of the HT quantifiers and adjectives. The adjective section is subdivided further into adjectival inflection and adjectival derivation.

Chapter 6: Adverbs includes quantifiers used adverbially, prepositions, and adverbs. Sub-topics under adverbs include temporal, locative, and manner adverbs, adverbial particles, and adverbial clitics. Manner adverbs can be further divided into ideophonic and non-ideophonic manner adverbs. Finally, this chapter includes discussion of the derivational prefix *lhii*-, which creates a directional adverb from an adverb or adjective.

Numbers and numeral affixes are discussed in *Chapter 7: Numbers*. Subtopics in this chapter include cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, numeral classifiers, numeral inflection, and the counting of days.

Syntactic analysis of HT is found in *Chapter 8: Syntax*. Topics discussed in this chapter include word order of major constituents, focus, interrogation, negation, comparative and superlative constructions, and complex clauses. The

complex clauses are divided into coordination and subordination, the latter of which is further divided into relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and conditional clauses.

Finally, the grammar concludes with an appendix that consists of six fully interlinearized and analyzed HT narrative texts.

Though I have tried to include as much information about Huehuetla Tepehua as possible in this grammar, there will always be more that could be added. However, the most obvious omission from this grammar is an analysis of HT discourse. Because of time constraints, I have chosen not to include a chapter dedicated to discourse. However, if one reads the other chapters closely, s/he will find bits of information about the discourse dispersed throughout the grammar.

Chapter 2: Phonology

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are twenty-six consonants (section 2.1.1) and five vowels (section 2.1.2) in the phonemic inventory of Huehuetla Tepehua. In this chapter, I use both IPA and a practical orthography—which I explain in section 2.1.3—to write HT. In subsequent chapters, I use only the practical orthography.

2.1.1 Consonants

There are twenty-one native HT consonant phonemes. Two phonemes (/r/ and /ɾ/) occur only in ideophones[7] and Spanish loan words, and three phonemes (/b/, /d/, /g/) occur only in Spanish borrowings and as allophones of their voiceless counterparts. The twenty-six consonants are charted in Table 1.

Table 1: HT Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Lateral	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p (b)	t (d)				k (g)	q	
Glottalized Stop	p’	t’				k’		ʔ
Nasal	m	n						
Fricative		s	ɬ	ʃ				
Affricate		ts		tʃ				
Glottalized Affricate		ts’		tʃ’				
Liquid			l					
Trill & Flap		r ɾ						
Approximant	w				j			h

[7] See Chapter 6, section 6.3.1 for more information on HT ideophones.

As can be seen from Table 1, there is a gap in the class of glottalized stops due to the absence of a glottalized uvular /q'/ phoneme. According to Bower (1948), Herzog (1974), Kryder (1987), and Watters (1988), HT has a glottalized uvular stop that corresponds to the other glottalized stops, /p'/, /t'/, and /k'/; however, in my own fieldwork, I found no evidence of a glottalized uvular. I also found that the plain uvular had already merged with /ʔ/ in the speech of the younger (i.e., <76 years old) speakers.[8] Whenever I had the opportunity to check a lexeme with an older speaker, I did so. Unfortunately, I was not able to test all lexical items with older speakers. If one speaker pronounced a word with a uvular stop and another pronounced it with a glottal stop, I noted both pronunciations in the database. The transcriptions in this chapter reflect the speech of the eldest speaker who gave me the particular lexeme.

2.1.2 Vowels

Historically, Proto-Totonacan had a three-vowel system, consisting of /i/, /u/, and /a/, plus their long counterparts (Arana 1953; Watters 1988). Today, HT has a five-vowel system, due both to the influence of Spanish bilingualism and to the loss of the uvular stops (/q/ and *q') that condition the lowering of /i/ and /u/ to /e/ and /o/, respectively. Vowel length is phonemic. The HT vowels are charted in Table 2.

[8] See section 2.3 for more information on this merger.

Table 2: HT Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i(:)		u(:)
Mid	e(:)		o(:)
Low		a(:)	

2.1.3 Practical Orthography

When I began my work on HT under the auspices of the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica, Dr. Terrence Kaufman, the director of the PDLMA, instructed me to create a practical (i.e., typewriter friendly) orthography for writing HT. Under his guidance, I did so, and I have used this orthography for all of my subsequent fieldwork, as well as in my dictionary and textual databases. Therefore, I continue to use the practical orthography in this current work. Table 3 is a conversion chart showing the HT phonemes in the characters of my practical orthography followed by IPA characters in parentheses only where the two orthographic systems differ.

Table 3: HT Practical Orthography

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Lateral	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p	t d				k g	q	
Glottalized Stop	p’	t’				k’		7 (ʔ)
Nasal	m	n						
Fricative		s	lh (ɬ)	x (ʃ)				
Affricate		tz (ts)		ch (tʃ)				
Glottalized Affricate		tz’ (ts’)		ch’ (tʃ’)				
Liquid			l					
Trill & Flap		rr (r) r (ɾ)						
Approximant	w				y (j)			j (h)

The characters used in my practical orthography come from five different sources: the typewriter keyboard, the IPA, the Americanist phonetic system, modern Spanish, and 16th century grammars of indigenous Mexican languages. My overarching concern was that all of the characters of the practical orthography be characters that are found on a standard typewriter. Since no one in Huehuetla owned a computer (at the time I began my fieldwork) and since many people owned or had access to typewriters, I could not use any special characters, such as the glottal stop /ʔ/ or the esh /ʃ/. Next, I wanted to follow the IPA as closely as possible. Thus, where the IPA character matched a typewriter character, I used it (p, p’, t, t’, k, k’, q, m, n, s, l, w).

However, there are three IPA characters that correspond to keyboard characters that I chose not to use, and they are /h/, /j/, and /r/. Since I use the character <h> in my practical orthography in the digraphs <ch> and <lh> for /tʃ/

and /ɬ/, respectively, and since there are situations in which the phoneme /h/ might be contiguous with the <ch> or the <lh>, I chose to represent this phoneme with the character <j>, because it is the character that modern Spanish uses for /x/, and because [x] is an allophone of /h/ in Tepehua.

Since I used the <j> to represent /h/, I chose to represent /j/ as <y>, following the Americanist phonetic system. I chose to represent /r/ as the doubled consonant <rr> and thus, /ɾ/ as <r> because /r/ and /ɾ/ are new sounds in Tepehua that do not occur in native non-ideophonic words. Since these two sounds are borrowed from Spanish, I chose to represent them using the modern Spanish orthography.

The use of <x> for /ʃ/, <ch> for /tʃ/, <tz> for /ts/, and <lh> for /ɬ/ all date back to the 16th century grammars of Mexican indigenous languages. First, in 16th century Spanish orthography, <x> was used to represent /ʃ/, and <ch> was used to represent /tʃ/,[9] so this orthographic practice was continued by the missionary friars in their indigenous grammars (Smith Stark 2005). The use of <tz> for /ts/ goes back to Molina's 1571 and to Carochi's 1645 grammars of Nahuatl (Smith Stark 2005). I chose to use <tz> rather than <ts> so that this sound would not be confused with a consonant cluster comprised of /t/ and /s/. I chose to represent the ejective counter parts to <ch> and <tz> as <ch'> and <tz'>, respectively, mirroring the use of <'> by the IPA to indicate glottalization. The digraph <lh> was first used to represent /ɬ/ by Olmos in his 1547 grammar of Nahuatl, while the digraph <hl> was used later by Romero in his 17th century grammar of Totonac

[9] Of course, <ch> still represents /tʃ/ in modern Spanish orthography, while, <x> is now used only for the consonant cluster /k/+/s/.

(Smith Stark 2005). I chose to use <lh> since this is commonly used today to represent /ɬ/ in the practical orthographies of other Totonacan languages (e.g., Aschmann 1973, 1983 [1962]; Herzog no date; Reid 1991; Reid and Bishop 1974).

Finally, I chose to use a <7>, rather than <'>, to represent /ʔ/ because I wanted to emphasize the fact that the glottal stop is a phoneme in its own right and not just a quality of other phonemes, as is indicated by the <'> on the glottalized stops and affricates.

My practical orthography differs from that of the SIL missionaries to Huehuetla (Bethel Bower and Dorothy Herzog) in the following ways. Where I use <q> to represent the uvular phoneme, they use <k> (Herzog 1974, no date) or <g> (Bower 1948). Where I use <k> to represent the velar phoneme, Herzog uses <c> and <qu> (1974, no date). Where I use <tz>, they use <ts> (Herzog 1974, no date) and <c> (Bower 1948).

Choosing a way to represent the HT vowels in my practical orthography was less problematic since there are only five that are qualitatively distinct: /i, e, a, o, u/. I chose to represent vowel length by doubling the vowel character—as in *xkaan* 'water'—rather than by following the vowel with a colon—as in *xka:n*. This was a purely aesthetic decision on my part, based first on my principal consultant's dislike for the vowel-colon combination and secondly on my own tendency to read a colon as in <i> when reading Tepehua words that were hand-written.

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION

The HT consonants and vowels are described in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively. Examples of phonemic contrasts appear in section 2.2.3, and distinctive feature charts are given in section 2.2.4.

2.2.1 Consonants

The HT native consonantal inventory includes plain and glottalized voiceless stops, voiceless fricatives, plain and glottalized voiceless affricates, laterals, and approximates. The trill and flap occur in Spanish loan words and a very few ideophones.

2.2.1.1 Stops

HT has a series of both plain and glottalized voiceless stops, /p, t, k, q/ and /p', t', k'/, respectively. Glottal stop /ʔ/ is phonemic. The voiced stops /b, d, g/ occur only in Spanish borrowings; they do not have glottalized counterparts.

Plain Voiceless Stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /q/

The plain voiceless stops (/p/, /t/, /k/, /q/)[10] occur syllable (and word) initially (1a), syllable (or word) finally (1b), and inter-vocalically (1c). They may occur in a two-consonant cluster in which the other consonant is a sibilant fricative, /s/, /x/, or /lh/. In an onset consonant cluster, the stops occur as the second consonant, or C2, as seen in the example in (1d). In a coda consonant cluster, they may occur as the first consonant, or C1, as seen in (1e).

[10] The pronunciation of /q/ varies greatly, dependent on the speaker's age (see section 2.3 on the merger of /q/ and /ʔ/). However, in the speech of the older speakers who still retain the phoneme /q/, its distribution mirrors that of its class (i.e., the plain stops /p/, /t/, and /k/).

(1)	a.	juum**p**ay	[huːm.ˈ**p**ai]	‘dragonfly’
		kilh**t**u7	[**k**ɪɬ.ˈ**t**uʔ]	‘edge’
		tan**k**ilhak	[ˌ**t**aŋ.**k**i.ˈɬak]	‘chest’
		ma**q**alh**q**ama7	[ma.ˌ**q**aɬ.**q**a.ˈmaʔ]	‘Tepehua’
	b.	maqali**p**ni7	[ma.ˌʔa.li**p.**ˈniʔ]	‘lightening’
		ch'alhka**t**na7	[ˌtʃ’aɬ.ka**t**.ˈnaʔ]	‘worker’
		7ama**k**xtal	[ˌʔa.ma**k**.ˈʃtaɬ]	‘trash’
		so**q**nik'a	[sɔ**q**.ˈni.k’a̰]	‘straight’
	c.	la**p**anak	[la.ˈ**p**a.nak]	‘person’, ‘man’
		maa**t**uu**p**ik	[maː.ˈ**t**uː.**p**ɪk]	‘butterfly’
		7alu**k**ut	[ʔa.ˈlu.**k**ut]	‘bone’
		cha**q**a7	[tʃa.ˈ**q**aʔ]	‘house’
	d.	s**t**apu	[ˈs**t**a.pṵ]	‘bean’
		s**q**et	[ˈs**q**et]	‘spark’
		juukx**p**i	[ˈhuːk.ʃ**p**ḭ]	‘alligator’
		x**k**aan	[ˈʃ**k**aːn]	‘water’
		lh**p**aw	[ˈɬ**p**aw]	‘fruit species’
	e.	k'a**k**s	[ˈk’a**k**s]	‘kite’
		ni**p**x	[ˈni**p**ʃ]	‘squash’
		tiichu**t**lh	[tiː.ˈtʃu**t**ɬ]	‘cap’, ‘stopper’
		lhqap'a**q**lh	[ɬqa.ɓa**q**ɬ]	‘spoon’

In word final position, the stops are optionally unreleased (2).

(2)	ch'a**p**	[ˈtʃ’a**p**] ~ [ˈtʃ’a**p**˺]	‘palm’
	chu7u**t**	[ˈtʃu.ʔu**t**] ~ [ˈtʃu.ʔu**t**˺]	‘saliva’
	7asiiwii**k**	[ʔa.ˈsiː.βiː**k**] ~ [ʔa.ˈsiːβiː**k**˺]	‘vein’, ‘vine’
	cha**q**	[ˈtʃa**q**] ~ [ˈtʃa**q**˺]	‘thrush’

In connected speech, when /p/, /t/, or /k/ occurs between two voiced sounds, such as a nasal and a vowel or a vowel and a vowel, it is optionally voiced (3). I do not have any examples in which /q/ is voiced in this environment.

(3)	kim**p**ay	[kim.ˈ**p**ay] ~ [kim.ˈ**b**ay]	‘my father’
	jun**t**aa	[ˈhun.**t**aː] ~ [ˈhun.**d**aː]	‘where’
	jii **k**um**p**aalii	[ˌhiː.**k**um.ˈ**p**aː.liː] ~ [ˌhiː.**g**um.ˈ**b**aː.liː]	‘VOC compadre’

The stop /q/ may also occur as the first member of a two-consonant syllable-final cluster in which the other member is an affricate, /tz, ch/. The following examples in (4) account for *all* such examples in my database. I have no examples in which /q/ co-occurs with a glottalized affricate.

(4)	soqch	[ˈsɔqtʃ]	‘straight’
	7aqtz	[ˈʔaqts]	‘pillow’
	jaqtz	[ˈhaqts]	ID: ‘sobbing sound’
	loqtz	[ˈlɔqts]	ID: ‘sound of applause’

The alveolar stop /t/ is articulated as the dental stop [t̪] word initially, word finally, and intervocalically, as seen below in (5).

(5)	a.	**t**amp'uktz'ulh	[ˌt̪am.ɓuk.ˈts’uɬ]	‘belly button’
	b.	7alhunu**t**	[ʔa.ˈɬu.nut̪˺]	‘heart’
	c.	**t**ii**t**amp'in	[ˌt̪iː.t̪am.ˈɓɪn]	‘buttocks’

Glottalized Stops /p’/, /t’/, and /k’/

The HT /p’/ and /t’/ are phonetically closer to the implosive stops [ɓ] and [ɗ], respectively, while the /k’/ is a voiceless ejective stop [k’].

The glottalized stops may occur syllable (or word) initially (6a), intervocalically (6b), and as the second member of a syllable (or word) initial consonant cluster in which /s/, /x/, or /lh/ is the first member (6c).

(6)	a.	**p'**in	[ˈ**ɓ**ɪn]	‘pepper’, ‘salsa’
		ch'am**p'**aas	[tʃ’am.ˈ**ɓ**aːs]	‘callous (on the foot)’
		t'ak**t'**a	[ˈ**ɗ**ak.**ɗ**ḁ]	‘ear of corn’
		k'a7ulh	[ˈ**k’**a.ʔuɬ]	‘plate’
	b.	paa**p'**alh	[paː.ˈ**ɓ**aɬ]	‘broom’
		puu**t'**iijooqat	[ˌpuː.**ɗ**iː.ˈhɔː.qat]	‘father-in-law’
		ch'a**k'**an	[tʃ’a.ˈ**k’**an]	‘ladder’
	c.	mak**lhp'**ak	[mak.ˈ**ɬɓ**ak]	‘liver’
		lakat'ik**st'**i	[la.ka.ˈdɪk.**sɗ**i̥]	‘small’, ‘little’
		xk'ip'it	[ˈ**ʃk’**ɪ.ɓɪt]	‘scale’ (e.g., fish scale)

The distribution of the glottalized stops differs from that of the plain stops in that the glottalized stops may not occur syllable or word finally, either alone or in a consonant cluster.

Glottal Stop /ʔ/

In the speech of an older Tepehua speaker, the distribution of the glottal stop is limited to word initial (7a), word final (7b), and intervocalic (7c) positions.

(7)	a.	**7**aay	[ˈ**ʔ**aːy]	hair
	b.	maqalhqama**7**	[ma.ˌqaɬ.qa.ˈma**ʔ**]	Tepehua
	c.	cha**7**aan	[tʃa.ˈ**ʔ**aːn]	ant

However, the glottal stop and the uvular stop are in the process of merging (see section 2.3). Although the uvular stop /q/ is still found in the speech of the older HT speakers, it has been replaced by glottal stop in the speech of the younger HT speakers. Thus, in the speech of the younger Tepehua, the distribution of the glottal stop is not limited to that given in (7). Essentially,

anywhere that a /q/ appears in the speech of an older HT speaker, a glottal stop may occur in its place in the speech of a younger HT speaker. In example (8a), it is the second element in a syllable initial consonant cluster; in example (8b), it is the first element in a syllable final consonant cluster.

(8)	a.	x**7**ooy	[ˈʃ**ʔ**oːi]	'dog'
	b.	ma**7**x	[ˈma**ʔ**ʃ]	'left (hand)'
		so**7**ch	[ˈso**ʔ**tʃ]	'straight'

Voiced Stops /b/, /d/, /g/

The voiced stops /b, d, g/ are mainly found in recent Spanish borrowings and in ideophones,[11] and they occur very seldom. They occur at the beginning of a word (9), intervocalically (10), and after a continuant (11). They are not found word-finally. Note that both /b/ and /d/ pattern like Spanish /b/ and /d/ intervocalically in that they occur as /β/ and /ð/, respectively, in this environment; however, /g/ has no intervocalic allophone.

(9) *Word-initially*

buutak	[ˈ**b**uː.tak]	'type of chair'	'butaque, sillón'
barra	[ˈ**b**a.ra]	ID: 'sound of a frog'	
duulsii	[ˈ**d**uːl.siː][12]	'candy'	'dulce'
durr	[ˈ**d**ur]	ID: 'sound of stomach grumbling'	
gaanchu	[ˈ**g**aːn.tʃu̥]	'hook'	'gancho'
gwaw	[ˈ**g**wau]	ID: 'sound of a dog barking'	

[11] The ideophones seen here in (9), (10), and (11) were the only ideophones that I found that contained these phonemes. It is possible that these particular ideophones were borrowed from Spanish; however, I cannot be sure.

[12] In native HT words, a syllable final liquid lateral is neutralized to a voiceless lateral fricative, as discussed in section 2.6.2.

(10) *Intervocalically*

7a**b**onalaa	[ʔa.**β**o.ˈna.laː]	'fertilize'	'abonar'
7abu**d**iiyas	[ʔa.βaˈ**ð**iː.jas]	male name	'Abadías'
borree**g**uu	[bo.ˈreː.**g**uː]	'sheep'	'borrego'

(11) *After a continuant*

7alaam**b**rii	[ʔa.ˈlaːm.**b**ɾiː]	'wire'	'alambre'
saan**d**iiyak	[saːn.ˈ**d**iː.jak]	'watermelon'	'sandía'
7oon**g**oos	[ˈʔoːn.**g**oːs]	'mushroom'	'hongo'
7aarrees**g**aalaa	[ʔaː.reːs.ˈ**g**aː.laː]	'take a chance'	'se arriesga'

2.2.1.2 Fricatives

The HT fricatives are /s/, /ʃ/, and /ɬ/. They may occur syllable (or word) initially (12a), syllable (or word) finally (12b), and intervocalically (12c).

(12)	a.	teen**s**uun	[ˈteːn.**s**uːn]	'goat'
		kik**x**ix	[kɪk.ˈ**ʃ**ɪʃ]	's/he is thirsty'
		kuk**lh**ilh	[kuk.ˈ**ɬ**ɪɬ]	'avocado'
	b.	chaa**s**	[ˈtʃaː**s**]	'spark'
		ch'aqawa**x**t'i	[ˌtʃa.qa.ˈβa**ʃ.**d̥i]	'Totonac'
		ki**lh**makchat	[kɪ**ɬ.**ˈmak.tʃat]	'rainbow'
	c.	qe**s**iit	[ˈqɛ.**s**iːt]	'nail' (of the finger or toe)
		lhii**x**in	[ɬiː.ˈ**ʃ**ɪn]	'nose'
		ki**lh**ij	[kɪ.ˈ**ɬ**ɪh]	'lace'

The fricatives may occur as the first member of a syllable initial consonant cluster in which the second member is a plain or glottalized stop (13a), a nasal (13b), the lateral /l/ (13c), or the approximant /w/ (13d). The two lateral consonants, /lh/ and /l/, may not form a consonant cluster together.

(13)	a.	7aq**st**u	[ˈʔaq.**st**u̥]	‘alone’
		sp'ililinti	[ˌ**sɓ**iː.li.ˈlin.ti̥]	‘plant sp.’
		juuk**xp**i	[ˈhuːk.**ʃp**i̥]	‘alligator’
		kik**xt'**aqa	[kɪk.ˈ**ʃɗ**a.qa̰]	‘lip’
		lhk'ak	[ˈ**ɬk’**ak]	‘ashes’
	b.	**sm**alaq	[**sm**a.ˈlaq]	‘black’
		xnapap	[**ʃn**a.ˈpap]	‘white’
		lhman	[ˈ**ɬm**an]	‘long’
	c.	**sl**ulh	[ˈ**sl**uɬ]	‘lizard’
		kik**xl**awti	[kɪk.ˈ**ʃl**au.ti̥]	‘drool’
		**lhl		
	d.	**sw**ilink'inti	[ˌ**sβ**i.liŋ.ˈk’in.ti̥]	‘swirl shape’
		xwaat'i	[ˈ**ʃw**aː.ɗi̥]	‘metate’ (grinding stone)
		laq**lhw**aqnin	[ˌlaq.**ɬw**aq.ˈnin]	‘dismember’

Finally, all of the fricatives may occur as the second member of a syllable final consonant cluster in which the first member is a stop (14).

(14)	laqpuulu**ks**	[laq.puː.ˈlu**ks**]	‘sty (on eye)’
	ch'o**qx**	[ˈtʃ’ɔ**qʃ**]	‘net’
	tiichu**tlh**	[tiː.ˈtʃu**tɬ**]	‘bottle cap’

The voiceless lateral fricative /lh/ is a dental phoneme that is articulated with the tip of the tongue touching the back of the upper teeth, (15).

(15)	lhaklh	[ˈ̪ɬak.ɬ̪i̥]	‘bitter-sweet’

[13] The syllabification rules favor onset consonant clusters and disfavor coda consonant clusters at syllable boundaries. Please see section 2.2.4.

2.2.1.3 Affricates

HT has a series of both plain and glottalized voiceless affricates, /ts, tʃ/ and /ts’, tʃ’/, respectively.

Plain Affricates /tz/ and /ch/

The plain affricates /tʃ/ and /ts/ may occur syllable (or word) initially (16a), syllable (or word) finally (16b), and intervocalically (16c).

(16)	a.	7awilh**ch**an	[ˌʔa.βiɬ.ˈ**tʃ**an]	‘day’
		chiwinti	[**tʃ**ɪ.ˈβɪn.t̪i]	‘word’
		tampuk**tz**ulh	[ˌtam.ɓuk.ˈ**ts**uɬ]	‘navel’
	b.	lhii7ii**ch**	[ɬiː.ˈʔiː**tʃ**]	‘heat’
		najatz	[na.ˈha**ts**]	‘nine’
	c.	ka**ch**upin	[ka.ˈ**tʃ**u.pin]	‘gringo’
		ta**tz**alat	[ta.ˈ**ts**a.lat]	‘tooth’

Both affricates may occur as the second member of a syllable final consonant cluster; however /tʃ/ may occur with a wider range of consonants than /ts/. While /tʃ/ may occur following the nasals (17a), the fricatives (17b), and /q/ (17c), /ts/ may follow /q/ only (17c).

(17)	a.	7uxam**ch**	[ʔu.ˈʃam**tʃ**]	‘the day before yesterday’
		yu7un**ch**	[ju.ˈʔuɲ**tʃ**]	‘they’ (3rd person plural pronoun)
	b.	k'uu**sch**	[ˈk’uːs**tʃ**]	‘pretty’
		qo**xch**	[ˈqɔ**ʃtʃ**]	‘well’, ‘good’
		mi**lhch**	[ˈmɪ**ɬtʃ**]	‘s/he already came’

c.	so**qch**	[ˈsɔ**qtʃ**]	‘straight’
	lo**qtz**	[ˈlɔ**qts**]	‘applause’

Glottalized Affricates

The glottalized affricates /ts’/ and /tʃ’/are ejective phonemes, unlike the glottalized alveolar stop /t’/, which is implosive [ɗ].

/ts’/ and /tʃ’/ may occur syllable (or word) initially (18a) and intervocalically (18b). They do not occur syllable finally or in consonant clusters.

(18)	a.	**tz'**alh	[ˈ**ts’**aɬ]	‘boy’
		laq**tz'**in	[laq.ˈ**ts’**in]	‘s/he sees it/him/her’
		ch'ap'a	[ˈ**tʃ’**a.ɓa̰]	‘palm’
		laq**ch'**iiti	[ˈlaq.**tʃ’**iː.tḭ]	‘cover’
	b.	ka**tz'**aluunas	[ˌka.**ts’**a.ˈluː.nas]	‘chicharrones’ (fried pork skins)
		ta**ch'**iin	[ta.ˈ**tʃ’**iːn]	‘prisoner’

2.2.1.4 Liquids and Rhotics

HT has one liquid consonant, the lateral /l/, and two rhotic consonants, the flap /ɾ/ and the trill /r/.

The Liquid /l/

The HT phoneme /l/ is a true alveolar lateral (i.e., it is not palatal) made with the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge. This phoneme has a very limited distribution, and it always precedes a vowel. It occurs syllable (or word) initially (19a), intervocalically (19b), and as the second member of a consonant cluster in which the first member is /s/ or /x/ (19c).

(19)	a.	**l**uw	[ˈluː]	‘snake’
		ch'an**l**ukut	[tʃ’an.ˈ**l**u.kʊt]	‘leg bone’
	b.	chamu**l**u7	[ˌtʃa.mu.ˈ**l**uʔ]	‘cartilage’
	c.	**sl**ulh	[ˈ**sl**uɬ]	‘lizard’
		kik.**xl**awti	[kɪk.ˈ**ʃl**au.t̪i]	‘drool’

/l/ may not occur syllable or word finally. In syllable and word final position, /l/ neutralizes to /ɬ/ (see section 2.6.2), as can be seen in (20), where *milh* ‘thousand’ is a borrowed from the Spanish word *mil*.

(20) mi**lh** [ˈmɪɬ] ‘mi**l**’ ‘thousand’

Occasionally, the first person subject prefix *k-* precedes /l/, and this combination forms a consonant cluster, as seen in the elicited in (21).

(21) [ˌ**kl**a.ka.ˈk’uːnɬ]
/k-laka-k’uːn-li/
1SUB-BODY-swell-PFV
‘I swelled up’

However, in naturally occurring speech, a /k/+/l/ consonant cluster is frequently broken up by syllabifying the /k/ as the coda of a preceding vowel-final syllable, as seen in (22).

(22) [βaː**k**.ˌlaː.hu.ˈnautʃ]
/waː **k**-laː-hun-aw+tʃ/
FOC 1SUB-RCP-say(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB +ALD
‘I tell you all’

The Rhotics /rr/ and /r/

The two rhotic phonemes—the trill /r/ and the flap /ɾ/—occur only in Spanish loan words (23a) and in ideophones, shown in (23b). In fact, these ideophones *might* be borrowed from Spanish.

(23)	a.	ka**rr**ilh	[ka.ˈ**r**ɹɬ]	'lane' from *carril*
		kumpaa**r**ii	[kum.ˈpaː.**ɾ**iː]	'compadre'
	b.	ta**rr**	[ˈta**r**]	ID: 'running motion'
		tu**rr**un	[ˈtu.ˌ**r**un][14]	ID: 'sound of thunder'
		chu**r**	[ˈtʃu**ɾ**]	ID: 'the sound of trickling water'

2.2.1.5 Nasals

HT has two nasal consonants, /m/ and /n/, which occur syllable (or word) initially (24a), syllable (or word) finally (24b), intervocalically (24c), and as the second member of a syllable initial consonant cluster in which a fricative [s, x, lh] is the first member (24d).[15]

(24)	a.	lax**m**aka7	[ˌlaʃ.**m**a.ˈkaʔ]	'handrail'
		tzaas**n**aati	[ˈtsaːs.**n**aː.tɨ̥]	'iron'
	b.	puu**m**pu7	[puː**m.**ˈpuʔ]	'clothes'
		jaa**n**tu	[ˈjaː**n.**tu̥]	'no'
	c.	sii**m**aqat	[siː.ˈ**m**a.qat]	'tongue'
		7aka**n**it	[ʔa.ˈka.**n**it]	'flesh'

[14] I suspect that this ideophone is borrowed from Spanish because its stress pattern mirrors that of Spanish and not that of the native HT ideophones. Please see sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3 on stress.
[15] I have no examples of a [lhn] syllable initial consonant cluster, but I think that this is an accidental gap in the data.

d.	**lhm**an	[ˈ**ɬm**an]	‘long’
	smalaq	[**sm**a.ˈlaq]	‘black’
	7ajilaq**sn**in	[ʔa.ˌhi.laq.ˈ**sn**in]	‘hiccups’
	talaq**xm**ilh	[ta.ˈlaq.**ʃm**iɬ]	‘bean tamales’
	moq**xn**u7	[mɔq.ˈ**ʃn**uʔ]	‘owl’

The place of articulation of the alveolar nasal varies depending of the place of articulation of the following consonant. When it precedes a vowel, an alveolar consonant, or a glottal stop, it is articulated at the alveolar ridge, as seen below in (25a). When /n/ precedes a velar consonant, it is articulated at the velum, as shown in (25b). When it precedes a uvular consonant, it is pronounced as [ɴ], as seen in (25c). When it precedes a palatal consonant, it is palatalized [ɲ], as seen in (25d). When /n/ precedes a bilabial consonant, its pronunciation varies depending on the speed of speech. In slow careful speech it is articulated at the alveolar ridge, but in fast speech, it is bilabial, as seen in (25e).

(25)	a.	ch'a**n**axtaqa	[ˌtʃ’a.**n**aʃ.ˈtaqḁ]	‘callous (on foot)’
		ch'a**n**lukut	[tʃ’a**n.**ˈlu.kut]	‘leg bone’
		ch'a**n**tanuuti	[tʃ’a**n.**ˈta.nuː.ti̥]	‘shoe’
		ch'a**n**7akanit	[ˌtʃ’a**n.**ʔa.ˈka.nit]	‘flesh or muscle of the leg’
	b.	ch'a**n**kat	[ˈtʃ’a**ŋ.**kat]	‘sugar cane’
	c.	ch'a**n**qesiit	[tʃ’a**ɴ.**ˈqɛ.siːt]	‘toe nail’
	d.	ch'a**n**chaja7	[ˌtʃ’a**ɲ.**tʃa.ˈhaʔ]	‘leg’
	e.	ch'a**n**pa7at	[tʃ’a**n.**ˈpa.ʔat] ~ [tʃ’a**m.**ˈpa.ʔat]	‘crack in skin of foot’

2.2.1.6 Approximants

HT has three approximant consonants: bilabial /w/, palatal /j/, and glottal /h/.

The bilabial Approximant /w/

The bilabial approximant /w/ is realized as the voiced bilabial fricative [β] when it occurs inter-vocalically (26a), syllable (or word) initially (26b), or as the second element of a syllable (or word) initial consonant cluster, in which the first member is a fricative (26c).

(26)	a.	a**w**iy	[ʔa.ˈ**β**iː]	'mouse'
	b.	**w**aati	[ˈ**β**aː.t̪i̥]	'tortilla'
		kuk**w**iitii	[kuk.ˈ**β**iː.tiː]	'horse tail plant'
	c.	**xw**aat'i	[ˈ**ʃβ**aː.d̪i̥]	'grinding stone'
		lhwak	[ˈ**ɬw**ak]	ID: 'sawing sound'

When /w/ occurs after a vowel, it behaves as a glide, forming the second vowel in a diphthong (27).

(27)	chii**w**x	[ˈtʃ'iː**u**ʃ]	'rock'
	ska**w**	[ˈska**u**]	'rabbit'

Even though /w/ acts as a semi-vowel in order to form a diphthong, it is not a true vowel, as seen in the following examples. In (28a), the /w/ is pronounced as the second member of a diphthong in the word *k'iw* 'wood'. However, *k'iw* is the root of *k'iwin* 'trees' in (28b), and in *k'iwin* the /w/ is pronounced as a bilabial fricative [β].

(28)	a.	k'i**w**	[ˈk’i**u**]	‘wood’, ‘stick’
	b.	k'i**w**in	[k’ɪ.ˈ**β**in]	‘trees’

The Palatal Approximant /j/

The palatal approximant /j/ occurs syllable (or word) initially (29a) and intervocalically (29b).

(29)	a.	**y**a7a7	[**j**a.ˈʔaʔ]	‘white person’
		moq**y**aw	[mɔq.ˈ**j**au]	‘fungus species’
	b.	maalhi**y**ut	[maː.ɬi.ˈ**j**ut]	‘spider’
		juu**y**uu ~ kuuyuu	[ˈhuː.**j**uː]~[ˈkuː.**j**uː]	‘armadillo’

Word-finally after a vowel, /j/ behaves as a glide, acting as the second vowel in a diphthong, as seen in (30).

(30)	xqoo**y**	[ˈʃqɔː**i**]	‘dog’
	xqo**y**	[ˈʃqɔ**i**]	‘leaf’

The Glottal Approximant /h/

The glottal approximant /h/ is articulated as [h] syllable initially (31a), syllable finally (31b), and intervocalically (31c).

(31)	a.	tak**j**uwin	[tak.**h**u.ˈβin]	‘pulse’
		juu	[**h**uː]	‘definite article’
	b.	cha**j**7iit	[ˈtʃa**h.**ʔiːt]	‘hail’
		xka**j**	[ˈʃka**h**]	‘tamale’
	c.	ch'a**j**a7	[tʃ’a.ˈ**h**aʔ]	‘foot’

In word initial position, /h/ is optionally pronounced as the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] before the front vowels /i/ and /e/, as seen in (32a), and as the

voiceless velar fricative [x] before the back vowels /u/ and /o/ and before the low vowel /a/, as seen in (32b).

(32)	a.	jip	[ˈçɪp] ~ [ˈhɪp]	'fire'
		jenew	[çɛ.ˈnɛu] ~ [jɛ.ˈnɛu]	'dark brown color'
	b.	juuki	[ˈxuː.k̥i] ~ [ˈhuː.k̥i]	'deer'
		joo7at	[ˈxoː.ʔat] ~ [ˈhoː.ʔat]	'male', 'manly'
		jaap'ati	[ˈxaː.ɓa.t̥i] ~ [ˈhaː.ɓa.t̥i]	'japa plant'

2.2.2 Vowels

Proto-Totonac had a three vowel system /i, a, u/ (Arana 1953)[16] that is still preserved in many of the modern Totonacan languages, including Coatepec Totonac (McQuown 1990b), Misantla Totonac (MacKay 1999), and Sierra Totonac (Aschmann 1983 [1962]). Other modern Totonacan languages now a have five-vowel system that includes the mid vowels /e, o/; these five-vowel languages include Xicotepec de Juárez Totonac (Reid and Bishop 1974), Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2004), and Tlachichilco Tepehua (Watters 1988). In the three-vowel Totonacan systems, the presence of a uvular stop produces a lowering of the contiguous high vowels /i, iː/ and /u, uː/ to [ɛ, eː] and [ɔ, ɔː], respectively (as seen in MacKay 1999, among others).

HT currently has a five-vowel system that includes the mid vowels /e/ and /o/. At the time of my fieldwork, the uvular stop was in the process of merging with the glottal stop in HT; this sound change is described in detail in section 2.3.

[16] Arana was not the only researcher to propose a three-vowel system for proto-Totonac. Watters (1988) writes, "Proto-Totonacan and even Proto-Tepehua clearly had only three vowel positions" (p. 497).

The older HT speakers (>64) still retained a contrast between /q/ and /ʔ/, which conditioned the lowering of /i, iː/ and /u, uː/ to [ɛ, eː] and [ɔ, ɔː], respectively, in their speech. Thus, mid vowels were in complementary distribution with high vowels in the environment of a uvular stop. Sadly, all of the elder speakers with whom I worked have since passed away. Today I would be hard-pressed to find a native HT speaker for whom [ɛ, eː] and [ɔ, ɔː] are in complementary distribution with /i, iː/ and /u, uː/.

However, at the time of my fieldwork, the younger HT speakers (<64) had already lost the distinction between /q/ and /ʔ/, the environment which conditioned the vowel lowering. In their speech, the mid vowels were contrastive with the high vowels. Furthermore, the mid vowels were found in Spanish loanwords and in some native ideophones of speakers of all ages.

Vowel length is contrastive in HT, though it is difficult to perceive because stressed vowels are also lengthened.[17]

This section is divided into high vowels (section 2.2.2.1), mid vowels (section 2.2.2.2), and the low vowel (section 2.2.2.3).

2.2.2.1 High Vowels

HT has two high vowels: the front vowel /i, iː/ and the back vowel /u, uː/. The short high front vowel /i/ is perceived as tense [i] in two environments: (i) when it is followed or preceded by a sonorant consonant or vowel and (ii) at the end of a non-ideophonic word, as seen in (33a). Everywhere else /i/ is perceived

[17] I have a very difficult time distinguishing the short and long vowels in isolated words, and I cannot distinguish vowel length at all in fast, connected speech. I spent many long hours in the phonetics lab measuring vowel length, and I found that a vowel that receives primary stress is long, regardless of its phonemic length.

as lax [ɪ], including word-finally in an ideophone, as seen in (33b). The long high front vowel /iː/ is perceived as tense [iː], as seen below in (34).

(33)	a.	k'iw	[ˈk’iu]	‘tree’
		p'in	[ˈɓin]	‘chili’
		xixniwaati	[ˌʃɪʃ.ni.ˈwaː.tḭ]	‘dried bread’
		xkaanilaata	[ˌʃkaː.ni.ˈlaː.tạ]	‘juicy’
		xkiwti	[ˈʃkiu.tḭ]	‘black ant’
		xqolit'i	[ʃqɔ.ˈli.t’i̥]	‘millipede’
	b.	ch'ix	[ˈtʃ’ɪʃ]	‘white sapote (tree sp.)’
		jip	[ˈçɪp]	‘fire’
		xix	[ˈʃɪʃ]	‘dry’
		xk'ip'i	[ˈʃk’ɪɓɪ]	ID: ‘sound/movement of centipede’
		xk'ita	[ˈʃk’ɪtạ]	‘bat’

(34)	awiy	[ʔaˈβiː]	‘mouse’
	jii	[ˈhiː]	‘vocative article’
	kaalhmiiluu	[kaːɬ.ˈmiː.luː]	‘borrego’
	lhii7iiych	[ɬiː.ˈʔiːtʃ]	‘hot’
	lhii7uti	[ˈɬiː.ʔutḭ]	‘fruit’
	miistu7	[miːs.ˈtuʔ]	‘cat’
	xiiwaan	[ˈʃiː.waːn]	male name ‘John’

Examples of the short and long high back vowel /u, uː/ are shown in (35). I did not perceive a tense/lax distinction with respect to this phoneme.

(35)	7aklhunti	[ʔak.ˈɬun.tḭ]	‘cold, illness’
	7alhunut	[ʔa.ˈɬu.nut]	‘heart’
	7achup	[ʔa.ˈchup]	‘hummingbird’
	puumpu7	[puːm.ˈpuʔ]	‘clothing’
	stapu	[ˈsta.pṵ]	‘bean’
	7aqxuunuuk	[ʔa.ˈʃuː.nuːk]	‘bug sp.’

kuchiiluu	[ku.ˈtʃiː.luː]	‘knife’
luw	[luː]	‘snake’
puutamaan	[ˌpuː.ta.ˈmaːn]	‘bed’
t'uun	[ˈɗuːn]	‘earth, dirt’

2.2.2.2 Mid Vowels

As I mentioned above, at the time of my fieldwork, the mid vowels /e, eː/ and /o, oː/ were in complementary distribution with the high vowels /i, iː/ and /u, uː/ in the environment of (preceding or following) a uvular stop, but only in the speech of the older HT speakers. However, even in their speech, the mid vowels were still found in ideophones and in Spanish borrowings. For this section only, I include three sets of examples for each vowel quality, /e, eː/ and /o, oː/: non-ideophonic lexemes, ideophones, and Spanish loanwords.[18]

The short mid front vowel /e/ is perceived as lax [ɛ] in HT lexemes, while the long mid front vowel /eː/ is perceived as tense [eː]. Examples of non-ideophonic native HT lexemes are shown below in (36); examples of HT ideophones are shown in (37); and examples of Spanish loanwords in HT are shown in (38).

(36) *Non-ideophonic lexemes* /e/, /eː/

7achen7e	[ʔa.ˈtʃɛn.ʔɛ̥]	‘toasted’
7alh7epx	[ʔaɬ.ˈʔɛpʃ]	‘ant sp.’
7eeliis	[ˈʔeː.liːs]	‘parrot sp.’
qex	[ˈqɛʃ]	‘rock wall’, ‘dam’
siileq	[ˈsiː.lɛq]	‘cricket’

[18] The Spanish loanwords shown in (38) and (41) show varying levels of phonemic integration into the HT sound system. While some mid vowels have been raised, others have not. The history of Spanish loanwords and their integration into HT is a fascinating topic that is outside the scope of this description.

ch'oolew	[tʃ’oː.ˈleu]	‘multi-colored’
malhtee7aa	[maːɬ.ˈteː.ʔaː]	‘it opened it’
maaxteewan	[maːʃ.ˈteː.wan]	‘brown tadpole’
teensuun	[ˈteːn.suːn]	‘goat’

(37) *Ideophones /e/, /eː/*

me7e	[ˈmɛ.ˌʔɛ]	ID: ‘smell of raw milk and beef’
ch'eq	[ˈch’ɛq]	ID: ‘chirping sound’
lhme7	[ˈɬmɛʔ]	ID: ‘sound of a sheep’
lhte7e	[ˈɬtɛ.ˌʔɛ]	ID: ‘creak of a door’
7eli	[ˈʔɛ.ˌli]	ID: ‘head & leg motion of turtle walking’
seenik	[ˈseː.ˌnik]	ID: ‘sound of a tree falling’
teen	[ˈteːn]	ID: ‘sound of something big falling’
tiitiilii7ee	[ˈtiː.tiː.liː.ˌʔeː][19]	ID: ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’

(38) *Loanwords /e/, /eː/*

kaapeen	[kaː.ˈpeːn]	‘coffee’	‘café’
7ensayalaa	[ʔɛn.sa.ˈja.laː]	‘he rehearsed’	‘ensayar’
7espiirituu	[ʔɛs.ˈpiː.ɾi.tuː]	‘spirit’	‘espírito’
duseenaa	[du.ˈseː.naː]	‘dozen’	‘docena’
koneejuu	[ko.ˈneː.juː]	‘rabbit’	‘conejo’

Both /o/ and /oː/ are perceived as slightly lower [ɔ] and [ɔː] in the context of a uvular stop. There is no perceptual tense/lax difference between the short and the long mid back vowels /o/ and /oː/. Non-ideophonic lexemes are shown in (39); ideophones are shown in (40), and Spanish loanwords are shown in (41).

(39) *Non-ideophonic lexemes /o/, /oː/*

joo7at	[ˈhoː.ʔat]	‘male’
xqoy	[ˈʃqɔi]	‘leaf’
xqooy	[ˈʃqɔːi]	‘dog’

[19] This ideophone is most likely borrowed from Spanish because its stress pattern mirrors that of Spanish, not HT. See sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3.

7oqxqew	[ʔɔq.ˈʃqɛu]	‘yucca’, ‘casava’
tz'oqo	[ˈtsʼɔ.qo̯]	‘bird’
7aqalhoona7	[ʔa.ˌqa.ɬoː.ˈnaʔ]	‘thief’
7atook'analuw	[ˌʔa.toː.ˌkʼa.na.ˈluː]	‘snake sp.’
choola7	[tʃoː.ˈlaʔ]	‘turkey’
ch'oolew	[tʃʼoːˈleu]	‘multi-colored’
ch'ooqx	[tʃʼɔːqʃ]	‘net’
puutook'a	[puː.ˈtoː.kʼa̯]	‘horse’

(40) *Ideophones /o/, /oː/*

moq	[ˈmɔq]	ID: ‘nauseous sensation’
p'oqot	[ˈɓɔ.ˌqɔt]	ID: ‘sensation of walking in mud’
qoli	[ˈqɔ.ˌli]	ID: ‘snake-like motion’
qoom	[ˈqɔːm]	ID: ‘sound of dirt being thrown’
qooni7	[ˈqɔː.ˌniʔ]	ID: ‘very slow gait’
lht'oo	[ˈɬɗoː]	ID: ‘jumping motion’
lootz	[ˈloːts]	ID: ‘snapping sound, like a rubber band’
loomp'a	[ˈloːm.ˌɓa]	ID: ‘sound of a buzzard’s wings flapping’

(41) *Loanwords /o/, /oː/*

kompaalii	[kom.ˈpaː.liː]	‘compadre’	‘compadre’
koneejuu	[ko.ˈneː.juː]	‘rabbit’	‘conejo’
atoolii	[ʔa.ˈtoː.liː]	‘corn drink’	‘atole’
sapootii	[sa.ˈpoː.tiː]	‘fruit sp.’	‘zapote’
choorruu	[ˈtʃoː.ruː]	‘trickle’	‘chorro’

2.2.2.3 Low Vowel

There is one low central vowel /a/. It may be long or short. Examples are shown in (42)

(42)	7achaakxk'u	[ʔa.ˈtʃaːk.ʃkʼu̯]	‘herb sp.’
	7ach'ananti	[ˌʔa.tʃʼa.ˈnan.ti̯]	‘garden’
	7akanit	[ʔa.ˈka.nit]	‘flesh’, ‘meat’

7akapiya7	[ʔa.ˌka.pi.ˈjaʔ]	‘uvula’
cha7aan	[tʃa.ˈʔaːn]	‘ant’
chamulu7	[ˌtʃa.mu.ˈluʔ]	‘cartilage’
chaqa7	[tʃa.ˈqaʔ]	‘house’
jaantu	[ˈhaːn.tu̥]	‘no’
juk'aa	[ˈhu.k’aː]	‘hanging’
maak'uk'a7	[ˌmaː.k’u.ˈk’aʔ]	‘pack animal’, ‘beast of burden’
skaw	[ˈskau]	‘rabbit’
stay	[ˈstai]	‘squirrel’
xaanti	[ˈʃaːn.ti̥]	‘flower’
waakax	[ˈβaː.kaʃ]	‘cow’, ‘cattle’

2.2.2.4 HT Vowel Space

After my first summer of field work on HT, and before returning to the field the following summer, I measured a small sample of HT vowels in a phonetics laboratory in order to determine the acoustics of the HT vowel space.[20] The data used for this study were taken from several tape recordings that I made during the summer 1999. The speaker on all tapes is don Nicolás, who was 44 years old at the time. Each tape-recording was made in a cinder block room using a Sony TCM-EV cassette recorder. At the time that I made these recordings, I did not plan to use them for acoustic analysis; therefore, I made no attempt either to elicit the words in a frame or carrier sentence or to control the phonetic environment around the vowels. Furthermore, there is a good deal of background noise on the recordings.

[20] I did this work as a conference course directed by Scott Myers. The final lab report appears in Smythe 2000.

I digitized each lexical item using the computer program Sound Scope (version unknown), in which I used 6 dB pre-emphasis and set the other spectrogram settings as follows: 1024 FFT points, filter at 184 Hz (8ms) for a man's voice, and 0.000 to 3.000 kHz display range.

I spread each waveform out to 50 msec before making a spectrogram of it. I then measured F1 and F2 for every occurrence of each vowel. In order to take F1 and F2 measurements, I estimated the center point (in both time and frequency) of F1, and took a measurement there. Next I estimated the mid-point in Hz of F2 and took the measurement directly above the mid-point where I had taken the F1 measurement (i.e., along the same time line). After measuring the F2 mid-point, I also measured the beginning and end times of F1. I saved all measurements in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, grouped by phoneme.

After I had completed digitizing and measuring the data, I ended up with 94 tokens of /a/ (the most commonly-occurring vowel in the data set), 22 tokens each of /i/ and /u/, 20 tokens of /o/, and 14 tokens of /e/ (the least commonly-occurring vowel in the data set). I arbitrarily decided to limit the data to 20 tokens of each of the vowels /i/, /a/, /o/, and /u/ and 14 tokens of the vowel /e/.

Table 4 shows the mean and the standard deviation of each of the five HT vowels. The means of the five vowels are plotted in Illustration 10.

Table 4: F1 & F2 Means and Standard Deviations of HT Vowels

HT Vowel	F1 Mean	F1 St Dev	F2 Mean	F2 St Dev
i	406	54	2063	158
e	499	62	1793	135
a	612	53	1394	120
o	525	28	1077	153
u	426	38	1140	192

In the vowel chart shown in Illustration 10, F1 is shown on the vertical axis, and F2 is shown on the horizontal axis. The axes cross in the upper right corner, following Ladefoged (1993). Numbers along both axes represent Hertz (Hz). This illustration shows that the HT vowel space is a symmetrical five vowel system.

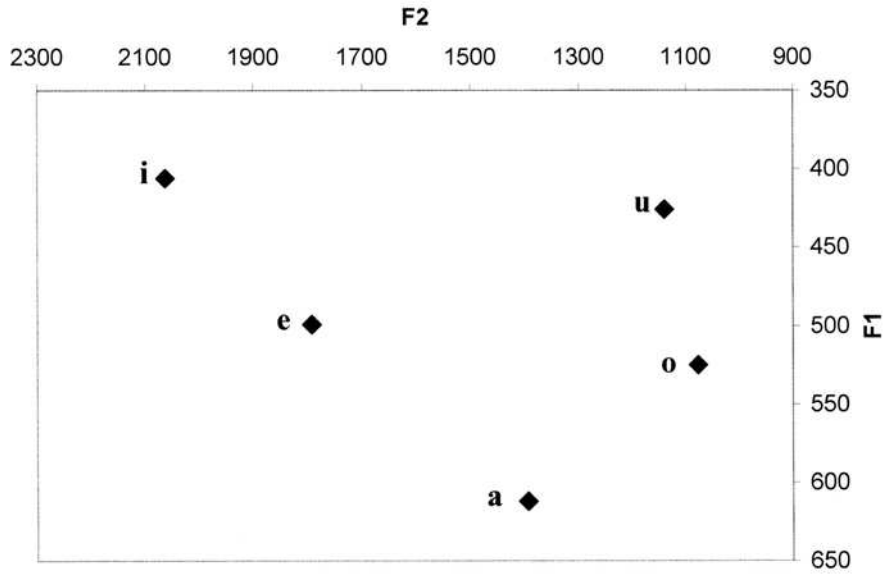


Illustration 10: Mean HT Vowel Space

2.2.3 Phonemic Contrasts

The following are minimal pairs or near minimal pairs showing free variation between phonemes in HT. I do not include /b, d, g/ or /ɾ, r/ since they are non-native phonemes.

2.2.3.1 Consonants

p — p'

paax	[ˈ**p**aːʃ]	's/he bathes'
p'ax	[ˈ**ɓ**aʃ]	'pig'

p — m

x**p**utu	[ˈʃ**p**u.tu̥]	'tadpole'
x**m**ut	[ˈʃ**m**ut]	PA: 'the sound a cow makes when chewing'

p — w

paa-	[ˈ**p**aː]	Instrumental prefix
waa	[ˈ**β**aː]	focus particle

p' — m

p'in	[ˈ**ɓ**in]	'pepper', 'chili', 'salsa'
min	[ˈ**m**in]	's/he comes'

p' — w

witilh	[ˈ**β**ɪ.tɪɬ]	'she somersaulted'
p'it'ilh	[ˈ**ɓ**ɪ.ɗɪɬ]	'she scrubbed it'

m — w

milh	[ˈ**m**iɬ]	's/he came'
wiilh	[ˈ**β**iːɬ]	'seated'

t — t' — s — x — ch — ch' — k' — 7 — tz

tuun	[ˈ**t**uːn]	ID: 'splat'
t'uun	[ˈ**ɗ**uːn]	'earth'
suun	[ˈ**s**uːn]	'bitter'
xuun	[ˈ**ʃ**uːn]	ID: 'smell of burnt food'

chuun	[ˈ**tʃ**uːn]	‘fish sp.’
ch'uun	[ˈ**tʃ’**uːn]	‘buzzard’
k'uun	[ˈ**k’**uːn]	‘it swells’
7uun	[ˈ**ʔ**uːn]	‘wind’
tzuum	[ˈ**ts**uːm]	‘smoke’

t — tz — tz'

tukulun	[ˌ**t**u.ku.ˈlun]	‘rheumatism’
tzukulh	[ˈ**ts**u.kuɬ]	‘it began’
tz'ukunk'u	[**ts’**u.ˈkuŋ.k’u̥]	‘cold’

t' — tz'

t'a7ax	[ˈ**ɗ**a.ʔaʃ]	‘sticky’, ‘gummy’
tz'a7am	[**tʃ’**a.ˈʔam]	‘dried shaft of corn stalk’

t — tz — tz' — s — ch' — m — k — j — p — n

taw	[ˈ**t**au]	ID: ‘sound of a guitar’
tzaw	[ˈ**ts**au]	‘edible greens’
tz'aw	[ˈ**ts’**au]	ID: ‘buzzing sound, e.g., of flies’
saw	[ˈ**s**au]	ID: ‘smell of a rotting corpse’
maw	[ˈ**m**au]	ID: ‘meow’
kaw	[ˈ**k**au]	‘ten’
jaw	[ˈ**h**au]	ID: ‘howl’
paw	[ˈ**p**au]	ID: ‘bark’
ch'awti	[ˈ**tʃ’**au.ti̥]	‘body hair’, ‘pubic hair’
naaw	[ˈ**n**aːu]	ID: ‘swinging motion’

t — ch

xaan**t**i	[ˈʃaːn.**t**i̥]	‘flower’
xaan**ch**i	[ˈʃaːn.**tʃ**i̥]	‘general greeting, hello’

s — x

p'a**s**	[ˈɓa**s**]	‘she shells it (corn)’
p'a**x**	[ˈɓa**ʃ**]	pig

7uk**s**tín	[ʔuk.ˈ**s**tin]	‘green fly’
7uk**x**tín	[ʔuk.ˈ**ʃ**tin]	‘boss’, ‘mayor’, ‘president’

s — n — t — tz

sii	[ˈ**s**iː]	‘pure’
nii	[ˈ**n**iː]	complementizer
tii	[ˈ**t**iː]	‘road’
lhii-	[ˈ**ɬ**iː]	applicative prefix
tziitzii	[ˈ**ts**iː.tsiː]	‘rain’

lh — l — n

lhuu	[ˈ**ɬ**uː]	‘much’, ‘many’
luw	[ˈ**l**uː]	‘snake’
nuu	[ˈ**n**uː]	‘be inside’

lh — x — s

xkuluk'u	[**ʃ**ku.ˈlu.k’u̥]	‘wart’
lhkuluk	[ˈ**ɬ**ku.luk]	‘crooked’, ‘twisted’
skuluk	[ˈ**s**ku.luk]	‘sip’

n — w — m

nati	[ˈ**n**a.t̪i̥]	‘mother’
waati	[ˈ**β**aː.t̪i̥]	‘tortilla’
mati7	[**m**a.ˈtiʔ]	‘nothing’

k — k'

kukat	[ˈ**k**u.kat]	‘oak tree’, ‘acorn’
k'uk'ata	[**k’**u.ˈka.tḁ]	‘he had carried it’
kachuchu	[ˈ**k**a.ˌtʃu.ˌtʃu]	ID: ‘sound of flautas being eaten’
k'achuchu	[ˈ**k’**a.ˌtʃu.ˌtʃu]	ID: ‘sound of walking through dry leaves’

q — 7

qaay	[ˈ**q**aːi]	‘hog plum tree’[21]
7aay	[ˈ**ʔ**aːi]	‘hair’

q/7 — k

qay ~ 7ay	[ˈ**q**ai] ~ [ˈ**ʔ**ai]	‘big’[22]
kay	[ˈ**k**ai]	ID: ‘very slow gait’
maka**k**an	[ma.ka.ˈ**k**an]	‘someone/they throw(s) it’
maka**7**an	[ma.ka.ˈ**ʔ**an]	‘he throws it away’

h — k

kuuk	[ˈ**k**uːk]	‘uncle’
juuki	[ˈ**h**uː.k̥i]	‘deer’

h — 7

najun	[na.ˈ**h**un]	‘he says it’
na7un	[na.ˈ**ʔ**un]	‘you say it’

h — y

kuu**k**uu	[ˈkuː.**k**uː]	‘sand’
kuu**y**uu	[ˈkuː.**j**uː]	‘armadillo’

2.2.3.2 Vowel Quality

i — u

kach**i**ch**i**	[ˈka.ˌtʃ**ɪ.**ˌtʃ**ɪ**]	ID: ‘sound of a mountain lion’
kach**u**ch**u**	[ˈka.ˌtʃ**u.**ˌtʃ**u**]	ID: ‘sound of flautas being eaten’

i — e

t**ii**n	[ˈt**iː**n]	ID: ‘sound of something falling on the (cement) floor’
t**ee**n	[ˈt**ɛː**n]	ID: ‘sound of a tree falling’

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[21] This lexeme *qaay* ‘hog plum’ was pronounced with a uvular stop only in the speech of my eldest consultants (>76) at the time of my fieldwork. Younger speakers pronounced it [ʔaːi], making it homophonous with *7aay* ‘hair’. See section 2.3 on the sound change in progress.

[22] Younger speakers pronounced this as [ʔai], and older speakers pronounced it [qai].

tz'uul**i**w	[ts’uː.ˈl**i**u]	‘black and white’
ch'ool**e**w	[tʃ’oː.ˈl**e**u]	‘multi-colored’

i — o

k**ii**n	[ˈk**iː**n]	‘aunt’
q**oo**n ~ 7**oo**n	[ˈq**ɔ**ːn] ~ [ˈʔ**o**ːn]	‘fat’
tz'**i**7	[ˈts’**ɪ**ʔ]	‘mole’, ‘birthmark’
tz'**o**qo	[ˈts’**ɔ.**qo̯]	‘bird’

a — e, a — i

7**aa**x ~ q**aa**x	[ˈʔ**aː**ʃ] ~ [ˈq**aː**ʃ]	‘gourd’
7**e**x ~ q**e**x	[ˈʔ**e**ʃ] ~ [ˈq**e**ʃ]	‘rock wall’, ‘dam’
saal**a**7	[saː.ˈl**a**ʔ]	‘clean’
siil**e**7 ~ siil**e**q	[ˈsiː.l**e**ʔ] ~ [ˈsiː.l**e**q]	‘cricket’
7**i**ntach	[ˈʔ**i**n.tatʃ]	‘approximately’
7**a**ntach	[ˈʔ**a**n.tatʃ]	‘he had already gone’

a — u

kal**a**kx	[ˈka.ˌl**a**kʃ]	ID: ‘sound of a horse walking’
kal**u**kx	[ˈka.ˌl**u**kʃ]	ID: ‘sound of a gun firing’
t**a**r**a**n	[t**a.**ˈɾ**a**n][23]	ID: ‘clang’, ‘sound of a bell’
t**u**r**u**n	[t**u.**ˈɾ**u**n]	ID: ‘sound of a clap of thunder’
j**aa**k	[ˈh**aː**k]	‘banana’
j**uu**ki	[ˈh**uː**.k̟i̯]	‘deer’

a — o

x7**aa**y	[ˈʃʔ**aː**i]	‘his/her hair’
x7**oo**y	[ˈʃʔ**oː**i] ~ [ˈʃq**oː**i][24]	‘dog’

[23] The stress pattern in this pair of ideophones indicates that both ideophones are probably borrowed from Spanish. See sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3.

u — o

p**u**t**u**t**u**	[p**u.**ˈt**u.**tu̯]	‘a ball’
p**o**t**o**t**o**	[p**o.**ˈt**o.**to̯]	‘a bigger ball’
tz'**uu**liw	[ts’**u**ː.ˈliu]	‘black and white’
ch'**oo**lew	[tʃ’**o**ː.ˈleu]	‘multi-colored’

2.2.3.3 Vowel Length

i — iː

7**i**n	[ˈʔ**i**n]	‘you go’
7**ii**lh	[ˈʔ**iː**ɬ]	‘he got it’
7**i**t'it	[ˈʔ**i.**ɗɪt]	‘you all went’
7**ii**t'it	[ˈʔ**iː.**ɗɪt]	‘you all brought it’

u — uː

tzuun**u**n	[tzuː.ˈn**u**n]	‘he always puts it out (e.g., a fire)’
tan**uu**n	[ta.ˈn**uː**n]	‘it is inserted (horizontally)’

e — eː

7achen7**e**	[ʔa.ˈtʃɛn.ʔe̯]	‘toasted’
tiitiilii7**ee**	[ˈtiː.tiː.liː.ˌʔ**eː**]	ID: ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’
t**ee**nsuun	[ˈt**eː**n.suːn]	‘goat’
talit**e**n7e	[ˌta.li.ˈt**e**n.ʔɛ]	‘cylindrical’

o — oː

xq**o**y	[ˈʃqɔi][25]	‘leaf’
xq**oo**y	[ˈʃqɔ**ː**i][26]	‘dog’

---

[24] Younger speakers pronounced this as [ˈʃʔoːi], while older speakers pronounced it as [ˈʃqɔːi] at the time of my fieldwork.

[25] Younger speakers pronounced this as [ˈʃʔ**o**i], while older speakers pronounced it as [ˈʃqɔi] at the time of my fieldwork

[26] See footnote 24.

a — aː

q**a**y ~ 7**a**y	[ˈq**a**i] ~ [ˈʔ**a**i][27]	'big'
7**aa**y	[ˈʔ**aː**i]	'hair'

chaa7**a**n	[tʃaː.ˈʔ**a**n]	'he arrives there'
cha7**aa**n	[tʃa.ˈʔ**aː**n]	'ant'

2.2.3.4 Stress

The first member of each of the following pairs is a derived verb form, while the second member of each pair is an un-derived form. I include them to show that a change in stress can signal a change in meaning.

7alam**aa**	[ʔa.la.ˈmaː]	'lying spread eagle'
7al**a**maa	[ʔa.ˈla.maː]	'ocean', 'sea'

l**uu**luu	[ˈluː.luː]	'submerged'
luul**uu**	[luː.ˈluː]	'soft'

lh**ii**7iich	[ˈɬiː.ʔiːtʃ]	'Bring it!' (command)
lhii7**ii**ych	[ɬiː.ˈʔiːtʃ]	'hot (weather)'

2.2.4 Distinctive Features of Phonemes

The distinctive features of the HT consonants are shown in Table 5, and the distinctive features of the HT vowels are shown in Table 6. With respect to the consonants, I have assigned the feature [+son] to the glottal approximant /h/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/ (following MacKay 1999) because these two phonemes pattern like the other sonorant consonants in that they attract stress in word-final position (please see section 2.5). I have assigned the features [-son][+cont] to the voiceless

[27] Younger speakers pronounced this as [ʔai], while older speakers pronounced it as [qai] at the time of my fieldwork.

lateral fricative /ɬ/ because it patterns like the other fricatives with respect to syllable structure and stress assignment ([-son][+cont] consonants do not attract primary stress); please see sections 2.4 and 2.5, respectively.

Table 5: Distinctive Features of HT Consonants[28]

	p	p’	t	t’	k	k’	q	s	ɬ	ʃ	ts	ts’	tʃ	tʃ’	m	n	l	r	ɾ	w	j	h	ʔ
cons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
son	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
cont	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
strid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
lat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
lab	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
cor	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
ant	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
dist	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
dor	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
back	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
high					+	+	-													+	+	-	-
vd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
sprd glot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
cnstr glot	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

Table 6: Distinctive Features of HT Vowels

	i	iː	e	eː	a	aː	o	oː	u	uː
High	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Low	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
Back	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Round	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

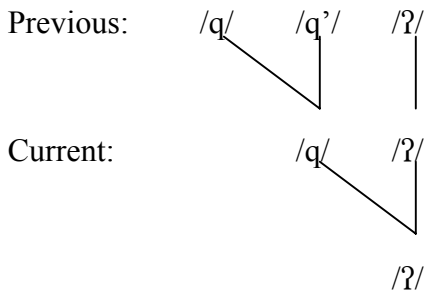
[28] The abbreviations in this table are the following: cons=consonant, son=sonorant, cont=continuant, strid=strident, nas=nasal, lat=lateral, lab=labial, cor=coronal, ant=anterior, dist=distributed, dor=dorsal, vd=voiced, sprd glot=spread glottis, and cnstr glot=constricted glottis.

2.3 SOUND CHANGE IN PROGRESS (/q/→/ʔ/)

At an diachronically earlier stage of the language, the phonemic inventory of Huehuetla Tepehua included a glottal stop, a plain voiceless uvular stop, and a glottalized voiceless uvular stop; these three phonemes have been documented in Arana 1953; Bower 1948; Herzog 1974, no date; Kryder 1987; and Watters 1988. Of these researchers, Bower, Herzog, and Kryder conducted linguistic fieldwork on HT; Arana got her HT data from Bower, while Watters got his HT data from Herzog. I have no doubt that there was a three-way distinction between /ʔ/, /q/, and /q'/ in HT at the time that Bower and Herzog began their fieldwork just after World War II. However, by the time that Kryder began her fieldwork in 1984, the merger had already begun. In an appendix to her 1987 master's thesis, Kryder includes a list of approximately 400 HT lexical roots, some of which contain a uvular stop /q/, but none of which contains a glottalized uvular stop /q'/.

During the course of my own fieldwork on HT that began in June 1999 and concluded in July 2005, I found no perceptible evidence of a glottalized voiceless uvular stop /q'/. Furthermore, I perceived the plain voiceless uvular stop /q/ only in the speech of the oldest speakers; and I noticed that where the oldest speakers had a /q/, younger speakers had a /ʔ/. This empirical evidence led me to two conclusions: first, the glottalized uvular stop most likely had already merged with the plain uvular stop (prior to my first contact with the language), and, second, the plain uvular stop was in the process of merging with the glottal stop. The mergers are shown below in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Two Mergers



In order to test this conclusion, I conducted a sociolinguistic survey in Huehuetla in the spring of 2001; I first reported the results of this survey in a unpublished presentation that I gave at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (Smythe 2002), and I summarize them here. Using a small set of sources (Arana 1953; Herzog no date; and Kryder 1987), as well as my own field notes, I created a list of 44 lexemes that contained either a glottal stop, a plain uvular stop, and/or a glottalized uvular stop. This list of lexemes, along with the source where I found each lexeme, is shown below in Table 7. I recorded this list of words with 24 native HT speakers between the ages of 15 and 82 (8 males and 16 females). I recorded each word two times with each speaker so that I would have two tokens of each lexeme. My findings are summarized below the table.

Table 7: List of Lexemes Containing /q/, /q'/, and/or /ʔ/

Token Number	**Tepehua Lexeme**[29]	**Gloss**	**HT Lexeme and Source(s)**[30], [31]
L03:01 a/b	[ˈ**q**aːi] ~ [ˈ**ʔ**aːi]	hog plum tree (tree sp.)	--- (A) /**q'**a/ (H) --- (K)
L03:02 a/b	[ˈ**q**ai] ~ [ˈ**ʔ**ai]	big	--- (A) /**q'**ay/ (H) /ˈ**q**ahi/ (K)
L03:03 a/b	[ˈ**q**aʃ] ~ [ˈ**ʔ**aʃ]	gourd	--- (A) /**q'**aʃ/ (H) /**ʔ**aʃ/ (K)
L03:04 a/b	[ˈ**ʔ**aːi]	hair	--- (A) /ay/ (H) /**ʔ**ay/ (K)
L03:05 a/b	**[**ˈ**ʔ**uːn**]**	wind	/**ʔ**uːn/ (A) /un/ (H) /uːn/ (K)
L03:06 a/b	[ˈ**q**oʃ] ~ [ˈ**ʔ**oʃ]	good, well	--- (A) /**q'**oʃ/ (H) --- (K)
L03:07 a/b	**[**ˈhaːn.tutʃ tu.ˈ**ʔ**u**ʔ]**	you are welcome, nothing	--- (A) /hantutʃ tu**ʔ**u**ʔ**/ (H) /ˈhantu tuˈ**ʔ**u/ (K)
L03:08 a/b	[tso.ˈ**q**ot] ~ [tso.ˈ**ʔ**ot]	knee	/ts'u**q**ut/ (A) /tso**q**otni/ (H) /ˈtso**q**ot/ (K)

[29] The lexemes in this column come from my own field notes. The spellings are phonemic, using IPA. Multiple entries represent different pronunciations given to me by different speakers.
[30] The following abbreviations are used for the sources: (A)=Arana 1953, (H)=Herzog no date, (K)=Kryder 1987. Arana does not mark stress. Herzog does not mark vowel length or stress.
[31] Because the transcriptions differ in each of these sources, I have used IPA, instead of the original transcription, to phonemically (not phonetically) represent each lexeme.

L03:09 a/b	**[**la.ka.mu.nut.ˈpa**ʔ]** ~ **[**la.ka.mu.nuɬ.ˈpa**ʔ]**	world	--- (A) /lakamunutpa**ʔ**/ ~ /lakamunuɬpa**ʔ**/ (H) --- (K)
L03:10 a/b	**[**tʃa.ˈ**q**a**ʔ]** ~ **[**tʃa.ˈ**ʔ**a**ʔ]**	house	/tʃa**q**a**ʔ**/ (A) /tʃa**q**a**ʔ**/ (H) /tʃaˈ**ʔ**a**ʔ**/ (K)
L03:11 a/b	**[**pa.ˈpa**ʔ]** ~ **[**po.ˈpa**ʔ]**	man	--- (A) /papa**ʔ**/ (H) /paˈpa**ʔ**/ (K)
L03:12 a/b	[tʃa.ˈ**ʔ**aːn]	ant	/tʃa**ʔ**aːn/ (A) /tʃa**ʔ**an/ (H) /tʃaˈ**ʔ**an/ (K)
L03:13 a/b	[yu.ˈ**ʔ**untʃ ta.-ˈ**ʔ**uy]	they 3PL.SUB-eat_it	--- (A) /ju**ʔ**untʃ ta-**ʔ**uy/ (H) /juˈ**ʔ**untʃ/ (K)
L03:14 a/b	**[**miːs.ˈtu**ʔ]**	cat	--- (A) /mistu**ʔ**/ (H) /miːsˈtu**ʔ**/ (K)
L03:15 a/b	[ʔa**q.**ˈts’iːs] ~ [ʔa**ʔ.**ˈts’iːs]	flea	/ʔa**q**ts’iːs/ (A) /a**q**ts’is/ (H) /a**q**ˈts’is/ (K)
L03:16 a/b	[ʃ**q**oː.ˈjaːm] ~ [ʃ**ʔ**oː.ˈjaːm]	coal, charcoal	/ʃ**q**uyaːm/ (A) /ʃ**q**oyam/ (H) /ʃ**q**oˈyaːm/ (K)
L03:17 a/b	[ˈpa**q.**tʃi̥] ~ [ˈpa**ʔ.**tʃi̥]	tomato	/pa**q**tʃ/ (A) /pa**q**tʃu/ ~ /pa**q**tʃi/ (H) /pa**q**tʃ/ (K)
L03:18 a/b	[ˈsa**q.**si̥] ~ [ˈsa**ʔ.**si̥]	sweet	/sa**q**s/ (A) --- (H) /sa**q**s/ (K)

L03:19 a/b	[ˈpaː**q.**ʃ**q**̥a] ~ [ˈpaː**ʔ.**ʃ**ʔ**̥a]	skillet	/paːʃ**q’**a/ (A) /paqʃ**q’**a/ (H) --- (K)
L03:20 a/b	[puɬ.ˈ**q**om] ~ [puɬ.ˈ**ʔ**om] ~ [puɬ.ˈ**ʔ**um] ~ [puɬ.ˈ**ʔ**am]	mud	/puɬ**q**um/ (A) /puɬ**q’**om/ (H) --- (K)
L03:21 a/b	**[q**oː.ˈle**q**s t’a.ˈkuʔ**]**	inch worm	--- (A) --- (H) --- (K)
L03:22 a/b	[ˈse**q**] ~ [ˈse**ʔ**] ~ [ˈsa**q**]	silent, calm	--- (A) /se**q**/ (H) --- (K)
L03:23 a/b	[ʔas.ˈ**q**a.t’**ḁ**] ~ [ʔas.ˈ**ʔ**a.t’a]	child	--- (A) /as**q’**at’a/ (H), /asˈ**ʔ**at’/ (K)
L03:24 a/b	[ʔas.**q**a.ˈt’an] ~ [ʔas.**ʔ**a.ˈt’an]	children	--- (A) /asq’at’an/ (H) --- (K)
L03:25 a/b	[ˈp’a**ʔ.**laːt̥i] ~ [ˈp’a**q.**laːt̥i]	coffin, box	--- (A) /p’a**q**lat/ (H) --- (K)
L03:26 a/b	[ʔa**q.**ˈta.nuː.t̥i] ~ [ʔa**ʔ.**ˈta.nuː.t̥i]	hat	/ʔa**q**tanuːt/ (A) /a**q**tanut/ (H) --- (K)
L03:27 a/b	[ʔa.**q**aʃ.ˈ**q**oɬ] ~ [ʔa.**ʔ**aʃ.ˈ**ʔ**oɬ]	ear	/ʔaː**q**aʃ**k**uɬ/[32] (A) /a**q’**aʃ**q’**oɬ/ (H) /a**ʔ**aˈʃoɬ/ (K)
L03:28 a/b	[ˈʃ**ʔ**o.pat]	pinole[33]	/ʃ**q**apat/ (A) --- (H) --- (K)

[32] The /k/ in this transcription is most likely the result of a sound symbolic phonemic alternation that occurs in certain discourse contexts, including “affectionate speech”. Please see section 2.6.10 for more information.

[33] *Pinole* is toasted, sweetened ground corn that is eaten dry or mixed into a beverage.

L03:29 a/b	[ˈʃ**ʔ**oi] ~ [ˈʃ**q**oi]	leaf	--- (A) /ʃ**q’**oy/ (H) /ʃ**ʔ**oy/ (K)
L03:30 a/b	[ˈʃ**ʔ**oːi] ~ [ˈʃ**q**oːi]	dog	--- (A) /ʃ**q’**oy/ (H) /ʃ**ʔ**oːy/ (K)
L03:31 a/b	**[**ˌma.**ʔ**a.ˈli**ʔ]**	rich (person)	--- (A) /ma**q’**alit/ ~ /ma**q**alit/ (H) --- (K)
L03:32 a/b	[ma.ˌ**ʔ**ał.**ʔ**a.ˈma**ʔ**] ~ [ma.ˌ**q**ał.**q**a.ˈma**ʔ**]	Tepehua (person)	--- (A) /ma**q’**ał**q’**ama**ʔ**/ (H) /ma**ʔ**ał**ʔ**aˈma**ʔ**/ ~ /ma**ʔ**ał**ʔ**aˈmat/ (K)
L03:33 a/b	[ts’o.ˈ**ʔ**on] ~ [ts’o.ˈ**q**on]	Otomí (person)	--- (A) /ts’o**q’**on/ (H) /ts’oˈ**ʔ**oːn/ (K)
L03:34 a/b	[ˌtʃa.**ʔ**a.ˈwaʃ.d̪i̥] ~ [ˌtʃa.**q**a.ˈwaʃ.d̪i̥]	Totonaco (person)	--- (A) --- (H) /tʃa**ʔ**aˈwaʃt/ (K)
L03:35 a/b	[la.ˈ**ʔ**aw] ~ [la.ˈ**q**aw]	brother	--- (A) --- (H) /laˈ**ʔ**aw/ (K)
L03:36 a/b	[ɬo.ˈ**ʔ**o**ʔ**] ~ [ɬo.ˈ**q**o**q**]	hollow	--- (A) --- (H) /puɬaˈ**ʔ**o**ʔ**/ (K)
L03:37 a/b	[ˈts’o.**ʔ**o] ~ [ˈts’o.**q**o]	bird	--- (A) /ts’o**q’**o/ (H) /ts’o**ʔ**/ (K)
L03:38 a/b	[ˈweːn.**q**eːn] ~ [ˈweːn.**ʔ**eːn]	frog	/--- (A) /wen**q’**en/ (H) /ˈwen**q**en/ (K)
L03:39 a/b	[ˌma**q.**ti.ˈli**ʔ**] ~ [ˌma**ʔ.**ti.ˈli**ʔ**]	wild cat	--- (A) /ma**q**tili**ʔ**/ (H) --- (K)

L03:40 a/b	**[**siː.ˈle**q]** ~ **[**siː.ˈle**ʔ]**	cricket	--- (A) /sile**q**/ (H) /siˈla**q**/ (K)
L03:41 a/b	[ˈ**q**oːn.tạ̊] ~ [ˈ**ʔ**oːn.tạ̊]	fat	--- (A) /**q’**onta/ (H) /**q**oːnt/ (K)
L03:42 a/b	[ˌpo.**q**o.ˈ**ʔ**uɬ] ~ [ˌpo.**ʔ**o.ˈ**ʔ**uɬ]	old man	--- (A) /po**q**o**ʔ**uɬ/ (H) /po**q**oˈ**ʔ**uɬ/ (K)
L03:43 a/b	[**q**oː.ˈ**q**e**ʔ**] ~ [**ʔ**oː.ˈ**ʔ**e**ʔ**]	firefly	--- (A) --- (H) /oˈ**q**e**ʔ**/ (K)
L03:44 a/b	[ˈ**ʃq**an] ~ [ˈ**ʃq**en] ~ [ˈ**ʃʔ**en]	fly	--- (A) /**ʃq’**an/ ~ /**ʃq’**en/ (H) /**ʃq**an/ (K)

The contrastive environments for /q, q’/ versus /ʔ/ that are represented by the words on the list are shown in (43). All three phonemes can appear word initially, intervocalically, and word finally.

(43) Contrastive Environments: /q, q’/ vs. /ʔ/

(a) Word initial

(i) #__ a [**q**aːi] ‘hog plum tree’
[**ʔ**aːi] ‘hair’

(ii) #__ u/o [**q**oː.ˈqeʔ] ‘firefly’
[ʔuːn] ‘wind’

(b) Intervocalic

(i) a __ a [tʃa.ˈ**q**aʔ] ‘house’
[tʃa.ˈ**ʔ**aːn] ‘ant’

(ii) o __ o [ts’ɔ.ˈ**q**ɔn] ‘Otomí (person)’
u __ u [tu.ˈʔuʔ] ‘something’

(c) Word final
[ˈsiː.lɛ**q**] ‘cricket’
[ˌma.ʔa.ˈli**ʔ**] ‘rich (person)’

There were also words on the list that historically contained either a /q/ or /q’/ in environments where /ʔ/ was not occur. These non-contrastive environments are shown below in (44). In the prevocalic position, they are found as the second member of a syllable initial consonant cluster and in syllable onset (non-word-initial) position. Post-vocalically, they occur syllable finally in coda position or as the first member of a syllable-final consonant cluster.

(44) Non-contrastive Environment: historically /q/ or /q’/ only
(a) Second consonant in syllable-initial cluster (CqV)
/ʃ**q’**oi/ (H) ‘dog’
/ʃ**q**apat/ (A) ‘pinole’

(b) Word-internal, syllable initial (C.qV)
/wen**q’**en/ (H) ‘frog’
/puɬ**q**um/ (A) ‘mud’

(c) Syllable final consonant cluster (VqC.)
/sa**q**s/ (A) ‘sweet’

(d) Word-internal, syllable final (Vq.C)
/p’a**q**lat/ (H) ‘coffin’

I chose a subset of six male speakers based on their ages and the quality of the recordings. They ranged in age from 15 to 80 years old. I did not initially divide these speakers into groups. Using the computer program Speech Analyzer, I made spectrograms of all of the individual tokens for each of the six speakers. I

examined the spectrograms of the "uvular" words for phonetic evidence of uvular phonemes, and I compared the spectrograms of these "uvular" words with the spectrograms of the words that indisputably contained glottal stops. On a spectrogram, a stop produces a gap in the pattern formed by the formants of the vowels. The locus of closure of a glottal stop does not effect the formant structures of the contiguous vowels; thus, a glottal stop between two vowels is transparent to the transition between those two vowels. A uvular stop, on the other hand, *does* affect the formant structures of the contiguous vowels by producing a narrowing of the distance between formant 1 (F1) and formant 2 (F2), with a high F1 frequency and a low F2 frequency, at the beginning of a following vowel or at the end of a preceding vowel's formants (Bessell 1998).

Comparison of all of the spectrograms revealed that there were three different age-groups representing three different pronunciation patterns. The speakers, their ages, and their groupings are shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Age-graded Grouping of HT Consultants

GROUP	**CONSULTANT**	**AGE**
1	EDS AVH	80 76
2	LRM	62
3	LVP ASG NGG	44 30 15

Group 1, with two members, represents the oldest group, with speakers ranging in age from 76 to 80 years old. Group 2, with only one member, is the middle group; the sole member was 62 years old at the time of recording. Group

3, the youngest group, has three members who ranged in age from 15 to 44 years old.

The speech patterns that I found were the following: the plain uvular stop was still present in all environments (both contrastive and non-contrastive) in the speech of the members of Group 1; however, it consistently alternated with the glottal stop. When uttering the lexemes that historically contained a uvular stop, each member of Group 1 consistently pronounced the first token of each lexeme with a *glottal* stop. When I asked him to repeat himself, he pronounced the second token of that lexeme with a *uvular* stop. Thus, the uvular and glottal stops were in free variation in the speech of Group 1.

For Group 2, I found that in both the contrastive and the non-contrastive environments, /q/ was only sporadically and unpredictably maintained *pre-vocalically*, while it never occurred post-vocalically. Furthermore, the uvular stop never manifested itself in the first token, only in the second, repeated, token, and sometimes not even then. Thus, /q/ and /ʔ/ are in free variation pre-vocalically, and /q/ has merged with /ʔ/ post-vocalically in the speech of the sole member of Group 2.

Finally, there was no spectrographic evidence of a uvular stop in any of the tokens uttered by members of Group 3. In their speech, the uvular stop had been completely replaced by /ʔ/.

Unfortunately, it is virtually impossible to distinguish a plain from a glottalized stop using spectrograms, and I am told that the test to distinguish plain stops from glottalized ones is quite invasive (Scott Myers p.c.). I was limited to

using my ear to distinguish a plain uvular stop from a glottalized one. The 76-year-old speaker AVH spent a summer working with me on the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica. During that summer neither I, nor any of the more experienced linguists with whom I worked on the PDLMA (including Terrence Kaufman, Roberto Zavala, and Thom Smith Stark), could detect a glottalized uvular stop in his speech.

In conclusion, the uvular stop is merging with the glottal stop and is retained only sporadically in the speech of the oldest (older that 60) HT speakers. Today, the presence of a plain uvular stop in an HT speaker's phonemic inventory falls on an age-graded continuum: the younger the speaker, the less likely he is to have uvular stops in his phonemic inventory. In the speech of the younger HT speakers, the uvular stop has been completely replaced by the glottal stop.

This merger has two consequences for the HT: first and most obviously, the uvular stop is no longer a separate phoneme because (i) it is in free variation with glottal stop in the speech of the older speakers and (ii) it is no longer a part of the phonemic inventory of "younger" HT speakers. Second, in Proto-Totonacan and in some present-day Totonac languages, the presence of a contiguous uvular stop conditions the lowering of /i, iː/ and /u, uː/ to [ɛ, ɛː] and [o, oː], respectively. In these languages, /i(ː), u(ː)/ are in complementary distribution with [ɛ(ː), o(ː)] (Arana 1953; MacKay 1999; among others). However, even though the HT speakers have lost the uvular stop, they have retained the mid vowels in the lexemes that historically contained uvular stops. Thus, in modern HT, the mid vowels are contrastive with the high vowels.

2.4 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

In Huehuetla Tepehua, only vowels are syllabic (i.e., only a vowel may serve as the nucleus of a syllable), while both vowels and sonorant consonants may be moraic (i.e., both vowels and sonorant consonants add weight to the syllable). These constraints on the syllable are schematized in (45), following Zec (1995: 115, ex. 77).

(45) a. HT syllabicity constraint b. HT moraic constraint

The fact that sonorant consonants in HT are moraic while non-sonorant consonants are not means that HT has both light and heavy closed syllables such that a light closed syllable has a non-sonorant consonant in the coda while a heavy closed syllable has a sonorant consonant in the coda. According to Hayes (1989, 1995) a syllable coda may be assigned a mora and incorporated into the syllable by virtue of weight by position, as seen in (46a). If the coda is not assigned a mora, then it is an adjunct to the syllable, as seen in (46b).

(46) a. Weight by position b. Coda adjunction

Zec (1995) models the difference between a moraic and a non-moraic coda by adjunction of the non-moraic coda directly to the *syllable*, as seen below in (47). I follow Zec's model hereafter because it makes a clearer distinction

between a moraic coda, which is associated directly with a mora, and a non-moraic coda, which is associated with the syllable and not with a mora.

(47) a. Heavy closed syllable b. Light closed syllable

In HT only a sonorant consonant is moraic in coda position and, thus, adds weight to the syllable, as seen in (48a). A non-sonorant consonant in coda position is an adjunct to the syllable, as seen in (48b).

(48) a. HT heavy closed syllable (Weight by position) b. HT light closed syllable (Coda adjunction)

In addition to demonstrating the above sonority constraints on the syllable, HT also demonstrates edge constraints (Itô 1989) that affect the structure of the syllable. First, there are two constraints on the coda in HT. The first coda constraint prevents the sonorant lateral [l] from occurring in syllable final position; the constraint is shown in example (49). When there is an underlying /l/ in coda position, it neutralizes to the non-sonorant [ɫ], as discussed in section 2.6.2. Since this phone is underlying sonorant, it still contributes weight to the syllable, as can be seen in the example [ˌʔa.mak.ˈʃtaɫ] 'trash', which is underlying /ʔamakʃtal/, based on the primary stress pattern discussed in section 2.5.

(49) Lateral coda constraint

$* [+son, +lat]]_{\sigma}$

The second coda constraint prevents a glottalized consonant /p', t', k'/ from occurring in coda position; the constraint is shown below in (50).

(50) Glottalized C coda constraint

$* [-son, +constr]]_{\sigma}$

There is one onset constraint that specifies that a syllable must have a consonant in the onset; the constraint is shown below in (51). If a syllable does not have an onset, a glottal stop is inserted, as discussed in section 2.6.3.

(51) Onset constraint

$* {}_{\sigma}[[-cons]$

Finally, there is an edge constraint that affects both edges of the syllable: the onset and the coda. This constraint specifies that only coronal consonants may occur as the first member of an onset consonant cluster and as the last member of a coda consonant cluster. The constraint in (52a) specifies that a non-coronal consonant may not precede another consonant in onset position, while the constraint in (52b) specifies that a non-coronal consonant may not follow another consonant in coda position. It is typologically quite common for coronal consonants to occur at the edges of syllables; in fact, it is reminiscent of English (M. Crowhurst, p.c.).

(52) a. Coronal onset constraint

$*_{\sigma}[\underset{[-cor]}{\underset{|}{C}} \; C$

b. Coronal coda constraint

$* C \; \underset{[-cor]}{\underset{|}{C}}]_{\sigma}$

Nevertheless, there is one exception to the onset constraint given in (52a). The first person subject marker *k-* may occur as the first member of a syllable-initial

consonant cluster preceding any other consonant. However, the language utilizes various techniques to break up this [k]+C cluster; please see the discussion in section 2.4.5.

Other constraints on the syllable include a constraint against two contiguous laterals in a consonant cluster, as seen in (53), and a constraint against two contiguous sonorant consonants in either onset (54a) or coda position (54b).

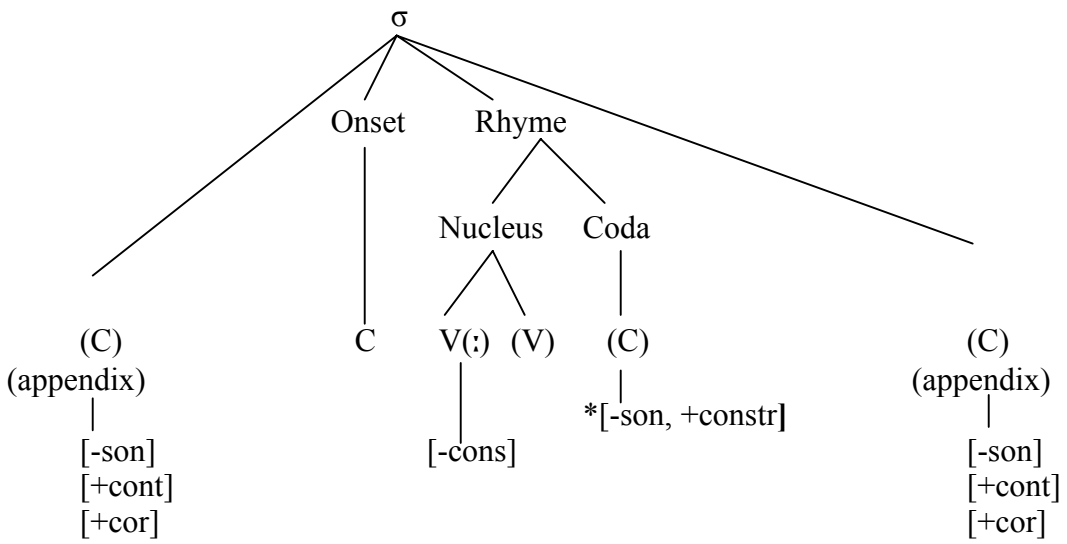
(53) * [+lat] [+lat]

(54) a. * $_{\sigma}$[[+son, +cons] [+son, +cons]

b. * [+son, +cons] [+son, +cons]] $_{\sigma}$

In HT, a syllable minimally consists of a consonant and a vowel: CV. The maximal syllable is (C)CV(:)(V)(C)(C). The syllable structure is shown below in (55). Note that this model does not include moras, which I have omitted here in order to make the diagram as general and inclusive as possible. I return to the issue of syllable weight in the discussion of stress (section 2.5).

(55) Huehuetla Tepehua syllable structure



Attested syllable structures are shown below in example (56). With respect to syllables that end in consonant clusters, the syllable type CVCC, shown in example (56q), is quite common, while the other CC-final syllable types, CVːCC, CVVCC, CCVCC, CCVːCC, and CCVVCC, are not. Two possible CC-final syllable types, CVːVCC and CCVːVCC, are not attested at all.

(56) Attested syllables

a.	CV	[tʃa.ˈqaʔ]	‘house’
b.	CVː	[ˈtiː]	‘road’
c.	CVV	[tʃau.ˈlaʔ]	‘turkey’
d.	CVːV	[ˈlaːi]	‘s/he can’
e.	CCV	[ʔaʔ.ˈsna.ti]	‘female turkey’
f.	CCVː	[ʃpaː.ˈhah]	‘flat’
g.	CCVV	[ˈʃqoi]	‘leaf’
h.	CCVːV	[ˈʃqoːi]	‘dog’
i.	CVC	[kuk.ˈɬiɬi̥]	‘avocado’
j.	CVːC	[ˈʃaːn.ti̥]	‘flower’
k.	CVVC	[ˈta.mauɬ]	‘s/he bought it’

l.	CVːVC	[ˈtʃiːuʃ]	‘stone’, ‘rock’
m.	CCVC	[ˈʃmuɬ]	‘gourd for holding liquid’
n.	CCVːC	[ˈɬkaːn.ti]	‘measurement’
o.	CCVVC	[ˈʃkaitʃ]	‘it already hurts’
p.	CCVːVC	[ˈʃmaːutʃ]	‘we (INCL) were lying down’
q.	CVCC	[ˈɬakɬ]	‘sour-sweet taste’
r.	CVːCC	[ˈts’iːnk]	‘heavy’
s.	CVVCC	[ˈta.maułtʃ]	‘s/he already bought it’
t.	CCVCC	[ˈʃmiɬtʃ]	‘s/he would have come already’
u.	CCVːCC	[ˈɬkaːɬtʃ]	‘s/he measured it already’
v.	CCVVCC	[ˈʃjauɬtʃ]	‘s/he would have stopped’

I have found only one form that has a three-member consonant cluster in the coda, shown below in (57). I have found no onsets that consist of three consonants.

(57) CCC cluster in coda

[ˈʔa**kstʃ**]	‘when’

2.4.1 Syllable Onsets

Any single HT consonant may occur at the beginning of a syllable. The phonemes /r/ and /ɾ/ occur syllable-initially only in ideophones and Spanish loanwords. Examples are shown below in (58).

(58) Consonants in onset position

[**ʔ**a.ˈβiː]	‘mouse’
[**p**uːɬ.ˈt’uh]	‘water frog’
[ˌ**t**ak.hu.ˈβin]	‘pulse’
[ˈ**k**an]	‘delicious’
[ˈ**q**ah]	‘nettle’
[tʃa.ˈ**ʔ**aːn]	‘ant’
[ˈ**p’**aq.la.t̪i]	‘chest’, ‘coffin’

[ˈ**t’**ak.**t’**a̰]	‘ear of corn’
[ˈ**k’**u.tʃ’ṵ]	‘remedy’, ‘cure’
[ˈ**s**aːs.tḭ]	‘new’
[ˈ**ɬ**uː]	‘much’, ‘many’
[ˈ**ʃ**ɪʃ]	‘dry’
[**ts**a.ˈhiːn]	‘eight’
[**tʃ**a.ˈβai]	‘now’, ‘today’
[ˈ**ts’**aɬ]	‘boy’
[ɬiː.ˈ**tʃ’**aɬ.kat]	‘work’, ‘job’
[**l**aː.ˈtʃah]	‘fighting cock’
[ˈ**m**ah.qot]	‘palm sp.’
[ˈ**n**ipʃ]	‘zucchini’, ‘squash’
[ˈ**β**aː.tḭ]	‘tortilla’
[ˈ**j**utʃ]	‘third person pronoun’
[**h**uː]	‘definite article’
[ˈ**r**un]	ID: ‘buzz of a bee’, ‘sound of a motor’
[ˌʔa.kuːm.ˈpaː.**ɾ**iː]	‘compadre relationship’, ‘compadrazgo’

The following types of consonant cluster are allowed in the syllable onset position: (a) [fricative] + [nasal], (b) [fricative] + [stop], (c) [fricative] + /w/, and (d) [fricative] + [liquid]. All four types of consonant cluster have in common the fact that the first member must be a fricative: /ɬ/, /ʃ/, or /s/, all of which are coronals. Additionally, all four types of consonant cluster may occur at a morphophonemic boundary, as well as in root lexemes. The fourth type (/s/ + /l/) never occurs at a morphophonemic boundary. Examples are shown below in (59).

(59) Onset consonant clusters

a. Fricative + nasal

[ˈ**ɬm**an]	‘long’
[ˈaq.**ʃm**u.tḭ]	‘arch’, ‘bow’
[**sm**a.ˈlaq]	‘dark-skinned’

[ˈ**ɬn**a.kak]	‘laughingly’
[ˈ**ʃn**a.t̪i]	‘his/her/its mother’
[ˈak.**sn**iː]	‘when’

b. Fricative + stop

[kik.ˈ**ɬp**a.kaɬ]	‘harelip’
[ˌʔoʔ.**ʃp**a.ˈlan]	‘plant (orchid or lily) sp.’
[maq.ˈ**sp**aʔ]	‘outside’
[**ɬɓ**u.ˈɗuɬ]	‘scar’
[ˌ**ʃɓ**a.t’aɬ.ˈnun]	‘hammer’
[ˌ**sɓ**i.li.ˈliʔ]	‘plant/orchid sp.’
[**ɬt**u.ˌku.ni.ˈniʔ]	‘beetle’
[ˈ**ʃt**aːn]	‘opossum’
[ˈ**st**ai]	‘squirrel’
[ˌ**ɬɗ**i.lin.ˈk’int̪i]	‘fin’
[ˈ**ʃɗ**a.qa̪]	‘skin’, ‘leather’
[ˌkik.**ɬk**a.ˈwin.k’i̪]	‘handlebar mustache’
[ˈ**ʃk**aːn]	‘water’
[ˈ**sk**i.ti.t̪i]	‘dough’
[ˈ**ɬk’**ak]	‘ashes’
[ˈ**ʃk’**aː.piɬ]	‘s/he locked it’
[**sk’**iːk.ˈluu]	‘eel’
[ˈ**ɬq**a.ɓaqɬ][34]	‘spoon’
[ˌ**ʃq**a.pa.ˈβaː.t̪i][35]	‘bread’
[ˈ**sq**ah][36]	‘rotten’

c. Fricative + /w/

[**sβ**aː.ˈqai]	‘s/he regrinds it’
[ˈ**ʃβ**aː.ɗ̪i]	‘grinding stone’

[34] In the speech of the “younger” speakers: [ˈ**ɬʔ**a.ɓaʔɬ].

[35] In the speech of the “younger” speakers: [**ʃʔ**a.pa.ˈβa.t̪i].

[36] In the speech of the “younger” speakers: [**sʔ**ah].

[ˈ**ʃβ**aː.t̪i̥]	‘his/her-tortilla’
[ˌ**ɬβ**a.ɗa.ˈlan.t̪i̥]	‘scaly’

d. Fricative + liquid[37]

[ˈ**sl**uɬ]	‘lizard’
[**sl**i.ˈβiu]	‘elliptical’
[**sl**a.ˈpuɬ]	‘red’
[**ʃl**a.ˈk’a.ɓu̥]	‘down (feather)’
[ˈ**ʃl**a.ʔa.t̪i̥]	‘bird sp.’
[ˈ**ʃl**itɬ]	‘she ironed it’

The consonant clusters shown in (59a) and (59d) conform to the Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP) that states that within a syllable, the sequence up to the peak must be rising in sonority, and the sequence after the peak must be falling in sonority (Selkirk 1984). In the [fricative] + [nasal] clusters shown in (59a), the nasal is more sonorous than the fricative that precedes it. It is also the case that the liquid lateral /l/ is more sonorous than the fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ that precede it in the examples shown in (59d). The clusters in (59b) and (59c) do not violate the SSP because stops and fricatives—both being obstruents—are of equal sonority. Note that the forms in (59c) vary with the pronunciation of the speaker. Some older HT speakers pronounce the glide /w/ as a true bilabial approximant [w] when it occurs in an onset position, while all younger speakers and most older speakers pronounce it as a bilabial fricative [β] in onset position.

[37] The constraint *[+lat][+lat] discussed in the previous section prevents combinations of the lateral fricative followed by the liquid.

2.4.2 Syllable Nuclei

All ten of the HT vowels may occur as the syllable nucleus. Examples are shown in (60).

(60) Vowels in nucleus position

[puʃ.ˈl**i**m.ti̥]	‘nephew’
[ˌɬ**iː**.ma.ˌqaɬ.qa.ˈmaʔ]	‘Tepehua language’
[ˈtʃ’**e.**qe̥]	‘thrush’
[maɬ.ˈt**eː**.qaː]	‘s/he opened it’
[ts’**a.**ˈʔ**a**m]	‘dried corn stalk’
[ˈʃq**aː**m]	‘corn husk’, ‘corn shuck’
[ɬiː.ˈq**o**.ɗa.ti]	‘drink (N)’
[ˌta.mak.ˈp**oː**.qa.ti̥]	‘space between the fingers’
[ˈsl**u**ɬ]	‘lizard’
[ˈh**uː.**ki̥]	‘deer’

The only diphthongs in the language are those that are formed (i) by the combination of a vowel followed by one of the glides /w/ or /j/, or (ii) by deletion of an intervocalic /h/ (see section 2.6.9). There are eight possible diphthongs: [a(ː)i], [a(ː)u], [u(ː)i], [o(ː)i], [o(ː)u], [e(ː)u], [ei], and [i(ː)u]. With the exception of [ei], the first member of each diphthong may be short or long. The lack of an example of [eːi] might be the result of an accidental gap in the data; however, instances of [ei], [ou], and [oːu] are extremely rare. Examples are shown below in (61).

(61) Diphthongs

[ai] and [aːi]

[ˈq**ai**]	‘big’
[ˈʔa**ːi**]	‘hair’

[au] and [aːu]

[ʔaʔ.ˈʃl**au**.t̪i]	‘sap’
[ʔaʔ.ˈʃ**aːu**]	‘large pot with handles’ (tinaja)

[ui] and [uːi]

[ˈʔ**ui**]	‘s/he eats it’
[ˈtʃ**uːi**]	‘large basket used for fishing’

[oi] and [oːi]

[ˈʃq**oi**]	‘leaf’
[ˈʃq**oːi**]	‘dog’

[ou] and [oːu]

[ˌʔak.ʃt**ou**.ˈkai]	‘it hops’
[ˈsk**oːu**.roː]	‘chisel’

[eu] and [eːu]

[ʔoq.ˈʃq**eu**]	‘yucca’, ‘sweet potato’
[sp**eːu**]	‘mirror’

[ei]

[ʔa.ˈʔ**ei**ʃ.taː]	‘tree sp.’

[iu] and [iːu]

[ˈk’**iu**]	‘tree’, ‘wood’, ‘stick’
[ˈk**iːu**]	‘chayote’ (edible plant sp.)

The diphthongs [au] and [ai] are optionally pronounced [oː] and [eː] by HT speakers. Examples are shown in (62).

(62) [au] ~ [oː] and [ai] ~ [eː]

/tʃawlaʔ/	[tʃ**au**.ˈlaʔ]	~	[tʃ**oː**.ˈlaʔ]	‘turkey’
/kaw-tam/	[k**au**.ˈtam]	~	[k**oː**.ˈtam]	‘eleven’
/ʔa-qaɬaju-nVʔ/	[ʔa.ˌqa.ɬ**au**.ˈnaʔ]	~	[ʔa.ˌqa.ɬ**oː**.ˈnaʔ]	‘thief’
/tajuk’a-lh/	[ˈt**au**.k’aɬ]	~	[ˈt**oː**.k’aɬ]	‘he went up’
/wahin-putun/	[ˌw**ai**m.puˈtun]	~	[ˌw**eː**m.puˈtun]	‘he wants to eat it’[38]

[38] This is the only clear example of [ai] ~ [eː] that I found in my database, and I did not test this in the field.

When the glide /w/ follows the high, back vowel /u/ or /uː/, the results is [uː], and when the glide /j/ follows the high, front vowel /i/ or /iː/, the result is [iː]. Examples appear in (63).

(63) /uw/ → [uː] and /ij/ → [iː]

/juːkil**uw**/	[ˌhuː.ki.ˈl**uː**]	'boa constrictor'
/k-ʔ**u-w**/	[ˈk'**uː**]	'we (EXCL) eat it'
/aw**ij**/	[ʔa.ˈβ**iː**]	'mouse'
/hun-n**i-j**/	[huː.n**iː**]	'he says it'

2.4.3 Syllable Codas

The glottalized consonants /p', t', k', ts', tʃ'/ (i.e., C [-son, +constr gl]) do not occur in the coda position, but all other consonants—including the glottal stop /ʔ/[39]—do occur in the coda. Examples are shown below in (64). Note that there is a phonological rule that neutralizes /l/ to [ɬ] in coda position (see section 2.6.2).

(64) Consonants in coda position

[ˈhi**p**]	'fire'
[ˌɬak.tʃa.ˈʔa**t**]	'envy'
[ˈhaː**k**]	'banana'
[ˈsiː.le**q**]	'cricket'
[tʃ'a.ˈha**ʔ**]	'foot'
[ˈʔaː.liː**s**]	'parrot', 'parakeet'
[taŋ.ˈk'a**ʃ**]	'fer-de-lance' (snake sp.)
[ˌmaː.ɬa.ˈβaː.ka**ɬ**]	'basket used to harvest corn' (tancolote)
[na.ˈha**ts**]	'nine'
[qa.ˈʔi**tʃ**]	'half-burned log' (tizón)

[39] Glottal stop differs from the glottalized consonants in that it is [+son] while they are [-son]. When a glottal stop occurs in word-final position, it attracts primary stress to the ultimate syllable, as do the other sonorant consonants. Non-sonorant consonants do not attract stress. Please see section 2.5.

[ts'a.ˈʔa**m**]	'dried corn stalk'
[ˌtan.ta.ˈʔa**n**]	'fire ant'
[ˈta**r**]	ID: 'running action'
[ˈtʃu**ɾ**]	ID: 'gurgling sound'
[tsaː.ˈpuː**h**]	'caterpillar', 'bug'

Far fewer consonant clusters occur in coda position than occur in onset position. The following types of consonant cluster are found in coda position: (a) [stop] + [fricative] or /ts/, (b) /n/ + /tʃ/, and (c) C + temporal clitic (+*ch* ALD). Examples are shown below in (65).

(65) Coda consonant clusters

a. Stop + fricative or /ts/

[aː.ˈk'iː.lu**ks**]	'frog sp.' (rana pinta)
[ˈmutsa**qs**] ~ [ˈmutsa**ʔs**]	'camote', 'sweet potato'
[ˈk'i.li**pɬ**]	ID: 'action/sound of turtle hiding in shell'
[tiː.ˈtʃu**tɬ**]	'lid', 'cap'
[tan.ˈɗu**kɬ**]	'small fish sp.'
[ˈto**qɬ**] ~ [ˈto**ʔɬ**]	ID: 'burning'
[ʔaɬ.ˈʔe**px**]	'ant sp.'
[ˈʔu**kx**]	'surface'
[ˈma**qx**]	'left'
[ˈɗa**ʔx**]	ID: 'sound of footsteps'
[ˈlo**qts**]	ID: 'sound of applause'
[ˈsiː.la**ʔts**]	ID: 'flashing' (e.g., lightening)

b. Nasal + /tʃ/

[ju.ˈʔu**ɲtʃ**]	'third person plural pronoun'
[ta**ɲtʃ**]	'where'
[kuː.ˈtaː**ɲtʃ**]	'yesterday'
[ʔu.ˈʃa**mtʃ**]	'day before yesterday'

c. C +*ch* (temporal clitic ALD)

[ˈmi**ɬtʃ**]	‘s/he came already’
[na.ˈhu**ɲtʃ**]	‘s/he says’
[la.ˌpa.nak.ˈni**ɲtʃ**]	‘person-PL’
[ˈniː**ɲtʃ**]	‘nearby’
[ˈso**qtʃ**]	‘straight’
[ˈʔak**stʃ**]	‘when’

With respect to the first type of consonant cluster, [stop] + [fricative] or /ts/, shown above in (65a), there are several gaps in the paradigms: while /k/, /q/, and /ʔ/ occur before /s/, /p/ and /t/ do not; all stops except /t/ occur before /ʃ/; and only /q/ and /ʔ/ precede /ts/. All stops occur before /ɬ/, making its paradigm the only complete one. Furthermore, there are no lexical examples at all in which a stop is followed by /tʃ/ in the coda. I do not know if these gaps in the paradigm represent disallowed consonant cluster combinations or if they represent gaps in my data.

Though I have found no lexicalized forms that end in a [stop] + /tʃ/ cluster, there are many lexicalized forms that end in a [nasal] + /tʃ/, as seen in the examples in (65b). However, I have found no examples of a [nasal] + /ts/ cluster in the coda.

The temporal clitic +*ch* (ALD), shown above in (65c), may follow inflected verbs ending in /ɬ/ or /n/ and words of other classes that end in /n/. I have found the temporal clitic +*ch* on two other lexemes—one ending in /q/, *soqch* ‘straight’, and one ending in /s/, *7aksch* ‘when’. This last form, *7aksch,* is the only example that I have found of a three-member consonant cluster.

2.4.4 Medial Consonant Clusters

Medial consonant clusters can be divided into those comprised of two members, shown below in (66), and those comprised of three members, shown below in (67). With respect to the two-member consonant clusters, all combinations of [sonorant], [stop], [fricative], and [affricate] are attested. With respect to the three-member clusters, there are some restrictions. First, the middle member must be a fricative, while the external members may be stops or sonorants; the combinations include [stop] + [fricative] + [sonorant], [stop] + [fricative] + [stop], [sonorant] + [fricative] + [stop], and [sonorant] + [fricative] + [sonorant]. Finally, an affricate never appears in a three-member medial cluster.

(66) *Two-member medial consonant clusters*

a. Stop + Sonorant

[ku**k.ˈβ**iː.tiː]	'horse tail plant'
[la.ˌpa.na**k.ˈn**iɲtʃ]	'person-PL'
[ˌlaq.ɬwa**q.ˈn**in]	'dismember'
[ma.ˌʔa.li**p.ˈn**iʔ]	'lightening'
[mɔ**q.ˈj**au]	'fungus species'
[sk'iː**k.ˈl**uu]	'eel'
[sɔ**q.ˈn**i.k'a̰]	'straight'
[ta**k.h**u.ˈβin]	'pulse'
[ˌtʃ'aɬ.ka**t.ˈn**aʔ]	'worker'

b. Stop + Stop

[ˌta.ma**k.ˈp**oː.qa.t̪i̥]	'space between the fingers'
[la**q.p**uː.ˈluks]	'sty (on eye)'
[ˈʃqo**p.t**atʃ]	'tired'
[ˌtʃ'an.ka**t.ˈp**aɬ]	'plant sp.'
[ʔa.ˌma**q.t**aj.ˈnaʔ]	'fire'
[ˌpa.ɬi**t.ˈk**an.ta]	'bruised'

[ʔa**k.**ˈ**t**i.jak]	‘weed’
[ma**k.**ˈ**ɓ**a.qaɬ]	‘he peeled (dead skin off) his hand’
[ˌpaː.la**q.**ˈ**ɓ**aqx]	‘ax’
[ˌʔa**q.ɗ**aɬ.ˈman]	‘bean tortilla’
[ˌpaːʃ.k’i**t.**ˈ**k’**in]	‘comb’
[la.ka.ˈɗi**k.ɗ**i̥]	‘small’

c. Stop + Fricative

[ʔa**ʔ.**ˈ**ʃ**aːu]	‘large pot with handles’ (tinaja)
[ʔa**k.**ˈ**ɬ**un.ti̥]	‘cold, illness’
[ˌʔa.ma**k.**ˈ**ʃ**taɬ]	‘trash’
[ʔa**q.**ˈ**ʃ**uː.nuːk]	‘bug sp.’
[ku**k.**ˈ**ɬ**ɪɬ]	‘avocado’

d. Stop + Affricate

[kɪɬ.ˈma**k.tʃ**at]	‘rainbow’
[ˌɬa**k.tʃ**a.ˈʔat]	‘envy’
[la**q.**ˈ**ts’**in]	‘s/he sees it/him/her’
[ˈla**q.tʃ’**iː.ti̥]	‘cover’
[ˌtam.ɓu**k.**ˈ**ts**uɬ]	‘navel’

e. Fricative + Sonorant

[kaːɬ.ˈ**m**iː.luː]	‘sheep’
[kɪɬ.ˈ**m**ak.tʃat]	‘rainbow’
[ˌla**ʃ.m**a.ˈkaʔ]	‘handrail’
[pu**ʃ.**ˈ**l**im.ti̥]	‘nephew’
[ˈtsaː**s.n**aː.ti̥]	‘iron’
[ˌʃɪ**ʃ.n**i.ˈwaː.ti̥]	‘dried bread’

f. Fricative + Stop

[ʔa.ˈʔei**ʃ.t**aː]	‘tree sp.’
[ʔa**ɬ.**ˈ**ʔ**epx]	‘ant sp.’
[kɪ**ɬ.**ˈ**t**uʔ]	‘edge’
[ˌɬiː.ma.ˌqa**ɬ.q**a.ˈmaʔ]	‘Tepehua language’

[ma**ɬ.**ˈ**t**eː.qaː]	‘s/he opened it’
[ma.ˌqa**ɬ.q**a.ˈmaʔ]	‘Tepehua’
[maː**ʃ.**ˈ**t**eː.wan]	‘brown tadpole’
[miː**s.**ˈ**t**uʔ]	‘cat’
[ˌtʃa.qa.ˈβa**ʃ.d**i̥]	‘Totonac’
[ˌtʃ’a**ɬ.k**at.ˈnaʔ]	‘worker’
[ˌtʃ’a.na**ʃ.**ˈ**t**aqa̰]	‘callous (on foot)’

g. Fricative + Fricative

[ʃa.ˌqo**ʃ.ɬ**aːʃ.ˈɓaːn]	‘plant species’ (chichicastle)
[ʔa**ɬ.**ˌ**s**pu.tu.ˈtun.ti̥]	‘bean fritter’ (tamalate)

h. Fricative + Affricate

[ˌʔa.βi**ɬ.**ˈ**tʃ**an]	‘day’
[ˌtiː**s.tʃ**a.ˈβaitʃ]	‘who’
[paː.qo**ʃ.**ˈ**tʃ**aq.ʃni̥]	‘unworked land’
[ˌʔa**ɬ.ts**a.ˈhin]	‘plant sp.’ (dormilona)

i. Sonorant + Stop

[ʔa.ˈtʃɛ**n.ʔ**ɛ̰]	‘toasted’
[k**au**.ˈtam][40]	‘eleven’
[ˈjaː**n.t**u̥]	‘no’
[puː**m**.ˈ**p**uʔ]	‘clothes’
[ˌta**m.ɓ**uk.ˈtsuɬ]	‘navel’
[ta**ŋ.**ˈ**k’**aʃ]	‘fer-de-lance’ (snake sp.)
[ˌwai**m.p**uˈtun]	‘he wants to eat it’
[ˌsβi.li**ŋ.**ˈ**k’**i**n.t**i̥]	‘swirl shape’
[ˈtʃ’a**ŋ.k**at]	‘sugar cane’
[tʃ’a**ɴ.**ˈ**q**ɛ.siːt]	‘toe nail’

j. Sonorant+ Fricative (no /m/ exs)

[ˈteː**n.s**uːn]	‘goat’

[40] From /ka**w-t**am/.

[ˌlaq.ʃta**n.ˈʃ**aʔ] ‘cheek’
[ˌtʃ’a**n.ɬ**aː.ˈlaʔ] ‘barefoot’

k. Sonorant + Affricate
[puː.ˌtan.tsu.ˈpi.pi̥] ‘horizontal corner’
[ɓuː.ˌʃa**m.tʃ**aːˈʃan] ‘twenty-six’
[ɓuː.ˌʃa**m.ts**a.ˈhin] ‘twenty-eight’
[ɗuː.ˈʃa**m.tʃ**itʃ] ‘day before yesterday’
[ˌtʃ’a**ɲ.tʃ**a.ˈhaʔ] ‘leg’

l. Sonorant + Sonorant
[ˌtʃ’a**n.ʔ**a.ˈka.nit] ‘flesh or muscle of the leg’
[ˈtʃa**h.ʔ**iːt] ‘hail’
[tʃa**u.ˈl**aʔ][41] ‘turkey’
[tʃ’a**n.ˈl**u.kut] ‘leg bone’

(67) *Three-member medial consonant clusters*
a. Stop + Fricative + Sonorant
[ʔa**ʔ.ˈʃl**au.ti̥] ‘sap’
[ʔa.ˌhi.la**q.ˈsn**in] ‘hiccups’
[ˈa**q.ʃm**u.ti̥] ‘arch’, ‘bow’
[kɪ**k.ˈʃl**au.ti̥] ‘drool’
[ˌla**q.ɬw**aq.ˈnin] ‘dismember’
[mɔ**q.ˈʃn**uʔ] ‘owl’
[ta.ˈla**q.ʃm**iɬ] ‘bean tamales’

b. Stop+Fricative+Stop
[ˌʔa**k.ʃt**ou.ˈkai] ‘it hops’
[ˈʔa**q.st**u̥] ‘alone’
[ˈhuː**k.ʃp**i̥] ‘alligator’
[ˌkɪ**k.ɬk**a.ˈwin.k’i̥] ‘handlebar mustache’
[kɪ**k**.ˈ**ɬp**a.kaɬ] ‘harelip’

[41] From /tʃa**wl**aʔ/,

[kɪ**k.ˈʃɗ**a.qa̰]	‘lip’
[ma**q**.ˈ**sp**aʔ]	‘outside’
[ˌʔo**ʔ.ʃp**a.ˈlan]	‘plant (orchid or lily) sp.’
[ʔo**q.ˈʃq**eu]	‘yucca’, ‘sweet potato’

c. Sonorant+Fricative+Stop

[ˌtʃ’a**n.ʃɗ**a.ˈqan]	‘sandals’
[ˌpaː.ta**n.ˈʃt**uk.nḭ]	‘fishing spear’
[ʔa.ˌta**n.ɬɗ**oː.ˈqon.tḭ]	‘knife-wound’

d. Sonorant+Fricative+Sonorant

[laq.ˌʃta**n.ʃw**iːh.ˈkan]	‘he shaves’
[ta**n.ˌsw**i.lin.ˈk’in.tḭ]	‘swirl of the belly button’

2.4.5 Syllabification

Syllabification of phonemes into syllables follows the sequence of rules shown in (68).

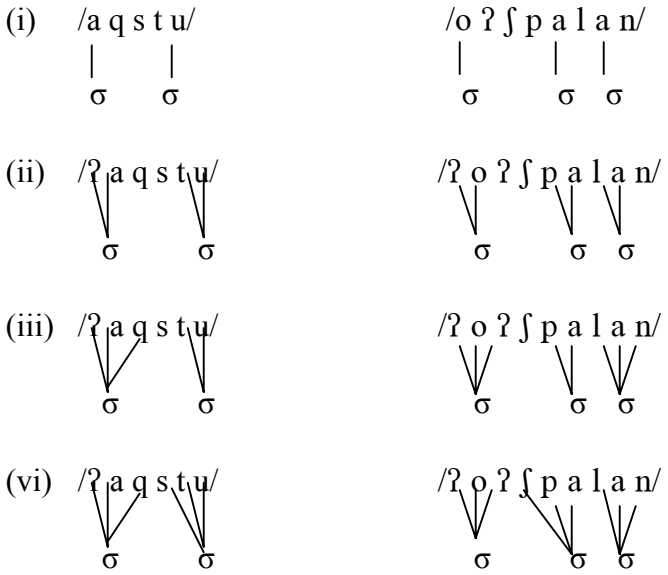
(68) Syllabification Rules:
- (i) first establish the vocalic nucleus, then
- (ii) establish a consonant onset,[42] then
- (iii) establish a consonant coda, then
- (iv) assign any pre-vocalic unsyllabified consonant that is [-son] [+cont] [+cor] to the Left (Onset) edge of the syllable, and/or
- (v) assign any post-vocalic unsyllabified consonant that is [-son] [+cont] [+cor] to the Right (coda) edge of the syllable, and/or
- (vi) if an unsyllabified segment falls between a coda and an onset, assign it to the following onset (favor onsets over codas).

These syllabification rules favor onset consonant clusters and disfavor coda consonant clusters at syllable boundaries, based on the constraint that all syllables must have an onset (see example (51) in section 2.4). For example, following these syllabification rules, the word *7aqstu* ‘alone’ is syllabified as

[42] If a root is vowel initial, a glottal stop is inserted as the onset. See section 2.6.3.

[ˈʔaq.stu̥] and not as [ˈʔaqs.tu̥]. Unfortunately, I have not found a good test for syllable constituency in HT to reinforce these syllabification rules. The derivation of the syllable structures of [ˈʔaqs.tu̥] ‘alone’ and [ˌʔoʔ.ʃpa.ˈlan] ‘lily species’ are shown below in (69).

(69) Syllabification of [ˈʔaq.stu̥] ‘alone’ and [ˌʔoʔ.ʃpa.ˈlan] ‘lily species’



There are three prefixes which, when added to a consonant-initial stem, have the potential to create an onset consonant cluster that does not conform to the syllable structure given in (55). These prefixes are the first person subject prefix *k*- that occurs on verb stems, the past tense prefix *x*- that also occurs on verb stems, and the homophonous third person possessor prefix *x*- that occurs on noun stems.

The first person subject prefix *k*- (1SUB) may precede any consonant except /k/[43] and /q/.[44] The examples below show *k*- preceding a stop (70a), a nasal

[43] Please see section 2.6.7.1 on identical consonant deletion at morphophonemic boundaries.

(70b), a fricative (70c), an affricate (70d), the liquid (70e), an approximant (70f), the glottal stop (70g), and a vowel (70h).

(70) *k-* (1SUB) + C

a. *k-* + stop

[**kt**aʃ.ˈtui]
/k-taʃtu-y/
1SUB-go.out-IMPFV
'I go out'

[**kɗ**a.ˈhun]
/k-t'ahun/
1SUB-be
'I am X-ing'

b. *k-* + nasal

[**kn**a.ˈβiː]
/k-nawii-y/
1SUB-make-IMPFV
'I do/make it'

c. *k-* + fricative

[**kɬ**iː.ˈʔan.tą̊]
/**k-ɬ**iːʔan-ta/
1SUB-wear-PF
'I wear it'

d. *k-* + affricate

[ˌ**ktʃ**a.βa.ˈniː]
/k-tʃawani-y/
1SUB-be.hungry-IMPFV
'I am hungry'

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[44] Of all of the uvular-initial verb stems in the database, almost none of them include first person subject examples. The ones that do where uttered by younger speakers who do not retain the uvular stop; I transcribed these examples with /k'/, e.g. [k'oːnlitʃ] from /k-qoːnlitʃ/ 'I got fat'.

e. *k-* + liquid

[ˌ**kl**a.ka.ˈʔiː]
/k-lakaʔii-y/
1SUB-believe-IMPFV
‘I believe it’

f. *k-* + approximant

[**kh**u.ˈnau]
/k-hun-aw/
1SUB-say(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB
‘we say’

[kβa.ˈhin] ~ [kwa.ˈhin]
/k-wahin/
1SUB-eat(IMPFV)
‘I eat’

g. *k-* + /ʔ/

[ˌ**k’**ak.ɬɗuŋ.ˈk’u.tḁ]
/**k-ʔ**ak-ɬt’unk’u-ta/
1SUB-HEAD-carry-PF
‘I had carried it on my head’

h. *k-* + V

[ˌ**ka**m.pu.ˈtun]
/**k-ʔ**an-putun/
1SUB-go-DESID(IMPFV)
‘I want to go’

Though the above examples in (70) are attested forms, the onset consonant cluster produced by the prefixation of *k-* (1SUB) to a consonant-initial stem does not conform to the syllable structure shown above in (55) because the /k/ is neither a continuant, nor a coronal. Speakers resolve this conflict in one of four ways: (i) they allow the cluster, as seen in the examples above in (70), which are exceptions to the coronal edge constraint, (ii) they syllabify the /k/ of the first

person prefix as the coda of a preceding vowel-final particle or word, (iii) they insert an epenthetic [ʔi-] before the [k], or (iv) they omit the *k*- prefix entirely.

Examples of syllabification as a coda of the first person subject prefix *k*- are shown below in (71). In (71a), the /k/ has been syllabified as the coda of the preceding adverb, and in (71b), the /k/ has been syllabified as the coda of the preceding particle. Evidence for syllabification of the prefix as a coda is found in the form of an audible release after the [k] in both forms in (71). In these examples, the [k] behaves more like a word-final stop (in that it is released) than a word-initial stop (which is not released). In contrast, the word-initial [k] in the examples shown in (70) above is not released preceding another consonant in onset position. This process of syllabifying the *k*- prefix as the coda of the preceding word or particle conforms to the syllabification rules shown above in (68) in that an unsyllabified consonant will be put into coda position before it will be put into a consonant cluster in onset position.

(71) a. [ˈjun.taː**k.** ta.ˌpaː.sa.ˈjau]
/juntaː **k**-ta-paːsa-j-aw/
where **1SUB**-INCH-pass-IMPFV-1PL.SUB
'where we pass' [T0022:051]

b. [βaː**k.** ˌta.ɬa.ˈnan]
/waː k-talhanan/
FOC **1SUB**-be.scared(IMPFV)
'I am scared.' [T0054: 034]

The elder speaker with whom I worked closely, don Antonio, would sometimes resolve the conflict by inserting an epenthetic [ʔi-] before the [k], so

that /k/ became the coda and not the onset of its syllable, as seen in the example in (72). This process, too, conforms to the syllabification rules given in (68).

(72) [**ʔɪk**.ˈmak.tʃaːɬ huː ˈɬiː.ʔutɨ̥]
/**ʔi-k**-maktʃaː-li huː ɬiːʔuti/
EPE-1SUB-ripen(VT)-PFV ART fruit
'I let the fruit ripen.' [ELIEX1: 002 (AVH)]

While I was eliciting verb paradigms, I noticed that all of my consultants frequently omitted the first person subject prefix on consonant-initial verb stems. The example in (73a) is from don Nicolás, my 46-year-old consultant, the one in (73b) is from Micaela, my 23-year-old consultant, and the example in (73c) is from don Antonio, my 76-year-old consultant.[45] However, if the first person subject prefix is omitted, then the verb is ambiguous and may be (mis)interpreted as having a third person singular subject. The translations in these examples reflect this ambiguity.

(73) a. [ta.ˈnuːi]
/tanuː-j/
enter-IMPFV
'I enter.' / 'S/he enters.' [MNB16: 99 (NVP)]

b. [na.ˈβiː ˈβaːtɨ̥]
/nawiː-j waːti/
make-IMPFV tortilla
'I make tortillas.' / 'S/he makes tortillas.' [MNB6: 355 (MSP)]

c. [ˌta.qɛɬ.ˈta.huɬtʃ]
/taqeɬtahu-li+tʃ/
get.off-PFV+ALD
'I got off.' / 'S/he got off' (e.g., the bus). [MNB16: 30 (AVH)]

[45] These were their ages at the time of elicitation.

Only after I asked the speaker to repeat him- or herself, would he or she include the first person prefix, and it usually took more than one emphatic repetition before the [k]+C combination was auditorily perceptible, especially when *k-* preceded another stop. In the emphatic repetition, don Nicolás and Micaela both would use the *k-* prefix, (74a) and (74b), respectively. Don Antonio, on the other hand, would use *7ik-* in such environments, as seen in (74c).

(74) a. [**k**ta.ˈnuːi]
/**k**-tanuː-j/
1SUB-enter-IMPFV
'I enter.' [MNB16: 99 (NVP)]

b. [**k**na.ˈβiː ˈβaːt̪i̥]
/**k**-nawiː-j waːti/
1SUB-make-IMPFV tortilla
'I make tortillas.' [MNB6: 355 (MSP)]

c. [**ʔɪk**.ˌta.qɛɬ.ˈta.juɬtʃ]
/ʔi-k-taqeɬtahu-li+tʃ/
EPE-1SUB-get.off-PFV+ALD
'I got off (e.g., the bus).' [MNB16: 30 (AVH)]

Furthermore, the *k-* prefix is frequently omitted even when it could have been syllabified with the preceding particle, as seen in the example in (75). In this example, the focus particle *waa* precedes the verb. It is frequently the case that *k-* is syllabified as the coda of this particle, as seen in (71b) above. However, in the clause shown here in (75), the *k-* is simply omitted. Though the gloss says 'I killed it', the verb *maqniilhch* [ˈmaqniːɬtʃ] is not marked for first person and literally means 'He killed it'. This process of omission does not fall out from the syllabification rules given in (68).

(75) [ˈpuːs βaː ˈmaqniːɬtʃ ˌkaʔuˈjaːutʃ]
/puːs waː maqniː-li+tʃ ka-ʔu-yaʔ-w+tʃ/
well FOC kill-PFV+ALD IRR-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
'Well, I killed it and we are going to eat it.' [T0059: 013]

The other two prefixes, the verbal past tense marker *x-* and the nominal third person possessor marker *x-*, are homophones, and they are syllabified in exactly the same way. Though they do conform to the syllable structure given in (55), they create consonant clusters such as [fricative] + [fricative] or [fricative] + [affricate] that are not otherwise attested. They are syllabified in the same way that the first person subject prefix *k-* is: either as the coda of a preceding word or particle, as seen in the examples in (76), or as the coda of an epenthetic [ʔɪ], as seen in the examples in (77). However, unlike the *k-* prefix, these two prefixes are never omitted.[46]

In the example in (76a), the possessive prefix *x-* is syllabified as the coda of the preceding article *juu*. In the example in (76b), the past tense prefix *x-* is syllabified as the coda of the preceding focus particle *waa.*

(76) a. [huːʃ tʃa.ˈqaʔ]
/huː ʃ-tʃaqaʔ/
ART **3POS**-house
'his/her house'

b. [βaːʃ ˌtʃu.tʃu.ˈʔuitʃ]
/waː ʃ-tʃutʃu=ʔu-j+tʃ/
FOC **PAST**-suck=eat-IMPFV+ALD
'S/he sucked it.'

[46] Occasionally, the past tense marker *x-* is omitted in the narrative past, much like it is in English, e.g. "So I *say* to him . . ." instead of "So I *said* to him . . .". This is a narrative style that is independent of syllabification.

When there is no preceding vowel-final word or particle, an epenthetic [ʔɪ] is inserted before the prefix *x*-, and [ʃ] is syllabified as the coda of this syllable, as seen in the examples in (77).

(77) a. [ˌ**ʔɪx**.tʃa.ˈqaʔ]
/**ʔi-ʃ**-tʃaqaʔ/
EPE-3POS-house
'his/her house'

b. [**ʔɪʃ.**ˌtʃu.tʃu.ˈʔuitʃ]
/**ʔi-ʃ**-tʃutʃu=ʔu-j+tʃ/
EPE-PAST-suck=eat-IMPFV+ALD
'S/he sucked it.'

Comparing epenthesis of [ʔɪ] before these two *x*- prefixes to epenthesis of [ʔɪ] before the first person subject prefix *k*-, I found one important difference: whereas only the eldest of my three principal consultants used the epenthesis strategy to syllabify the *k*- prefix, all three of them (as well as other speakers with whom I worked in Huehuetla) used the epenthesis strategy to syllabify the two *x*-prefixes.

2.5 STRESS

Huehuetla Tepehua displays three stress patterns: one pattern for native words, including verbs, adjectives, non-ideophonic adverbs, and nouns (section 2.5.1), a second pattern for ideophonic adverbs (section 2.5.2), and a third pattern for loanwords from Spanish (section 2.5.3).

2.5.1 Stress in Native, Non-ideophonic Words

HT has two degrees of stress: primary and secondary. Stress is assigned from right to left. Primary stress may fall on the ultimate, penultimate, or antepenultimate syllable of the word, depending on syllable codas, word length, and word class. Secondary stress is assigned to alternate syllables in the morphological word, moving from right to left starting at the syllable bearing primary stress. The primary stress rule is as follows: stress the final syllable if it ends in a sonorant (i.e., moraic)[47] consonant or glide, otherwise, stress the penult. The sonorant consonants are /m, n, l, r, ɾ/ and the glides are /h, ʔ, w, j/.[48] Note that /ʔ/ is included in this group even though it is not typically considered to be a sonorant; it is included in the sonorant class because it patterns like the other sonorant consonants in that it adds weight to a syllable. Furthermore, it behaves differently from the glottalized consonants /p', t', k'/, which do not occur syllable-finally and which do not add weight to a syllable. Certain morphemes are extrametrical and may not bear primary stress; these include the body part prefixes, the third person plural subject and object markers (*ta-* and *lak-*, respectively), the instrumental prefix *paa-*, and the nominalizing suffix *–ti.* These prefixes may bear secondary stress, but the suffix never does.

An alternative way to state the stress rule is to specify that primary stress falls on the final syllable only if that syllable has a moraic coda; otherwise, stress

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[47] Recall from section 2.4 that the sonorant consonants are moraic when they occur at the end of a syllable.

[48] Though the rhotics /r, ɾ/ are included in the group of sonorants, I do not have any evidence that they do or do not attract stress. They occur only in a few ideophones and in Spanish loan words, both of which have different stress patterns from the pattern discussed here. Please see sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3. respectively.

falls on the penult (or antepenult in the case of some nominalized forms, see section 2.5.1.4). Recall from section 2.4 that HT has both heavy and light closed syllables: CVS and CVO,[49] respectively, because sonorants in coda position are moraic, while obstruents in coda position are not. Since vowel length is distinctive in HT, the language also has both heavy and light opened syllables: CVV and CV. What is interesting and unique about the HT stress pattern is that the heavy opened syllable CVV behaves like the light syllables CV and CVO with respect to stress assignment in that none of these three syllable types attracts primary stress. Only the heavy *closed* syllable CVS attracts primary stress. Cross-linguistically, it is typically the case that if a heavy closed syllable attracts stress, then a heavy opened syllable will also attract stress (Zec 1995). However, this is not the case in HT, and I do not know of any other language which exhibits this unusual stress assignment pattern. Examples showing the contrast in stress between words ending in CVS versus words ending in CVV, CVO, and CV are given in each of the following subsections.

Examples of words from which an intervocalic /h/ has been deleted provided evidence that primary and secondary stress assignment do not happen simultaneously.[50] Instead, /h/-deletion happens after primary stress assignment and before secondary stress assignment. Simultaneous assignment of primary and secondary stress, shown in the derivation in (78), produces ungrammatical forms in which either (i) /h/-deletion fails to happen, which is the case with the first example in this derivation or (ii) the secondary stress assignment is incorrect,

[49] S stands for 'sonorant' and O stands for 'obstruent', following Zec (1995).
[50] Please see section 2.6.9 for more information on /h/-deletion.

which is the case with the second example in this derivation. In the derivation in (79), primary stress assignment precedes /h/-deletion, which in turn precedes secondary stress assignment, and the outputs are grammatical.

(78) *Simultaneous stress assignment*

Underlying Rep	/wahin-putun/	/ʔa-qałahu-nan/
N-assimilation	/wahim-putun/	-----
1º stress	/wahim-puˈtun/	/ʔa-qałahu-ˈnan/
H-deletion	/waim-puˈtun/	/ʔa-qałau-ˈnan/
2º stress	/ˌwaim-puˈtun/	/ʔa-ˌqałau-ˈnan/
Surface Rep	[ˌwaimpuˈtun]	[ʔaˌqałauˈnan]
Gloss	'he wants to eat'	'he steals'

(79) *Ordered stress assignment*

Underlying Rep	/wahin-putun/	/ʔa-qałahu-nan/
N-assimilation	/wahim-putun/	-----
Stress	/waˌhim-puˈtun/	/ˌʔa-qaˌłahu-ˈnan/
H-deletion	-----	/ˌʔa-qaˌłau-ˈnan/
Surface Rep	**[wa.ˌ**h**im.pu.ˈtun][51]	** [ˌʔa.qa.ˌłau.ˈnan]

The rest of this section is organized as follows: verbal stress is covered in section 2.5.1.1, adjectival stress in 2.5.1.2, adverbial (non-ideophonic) stress in 2.5.1.3, and nominal stress in 2.5.1.4.

2.5.1.1 Stress in Verbs

The assignment of stress in a verb is quite straight-forward: if the final syllable ends in a sonorant consonant or glide, it receives primary stress; otherwise the penultimate syllable receives primary stress. Secondary stress is assigned to every other syllable from right to left starting at the syllable bearing

[51] A double asterisk (**) indicates an ungrammatical or unattested form; a single asterisk (*) indicates a reconstruction.

the primary stress. Verbs that bear primary stress on the final syllable are shown below in (80), and verbs that bear primary stress on the penultimate syllable are shown in (81). If a verb consists of a single syllable, it receives primary stress, even if the syllable ends in a non-sonorant consonant; examples are shown below in (82).

(80) *Verbs: Primary stress on ultimate syllable*

7akminaaw	[ˌʔak.mi.ˈnaːu]	/ʔa-k-min-aʔ-w/	‘we (EXCL) will come’
chaa7an	[tʃaː.ˈʔan]	/tʃaː-ʔan/	‘he arrives there’
chawaniiy	[ˌtʃa.βa.ˈniː]	/tʃawaniː-j/	‘he is hungry’
7iknawiiy	[ˌʔɪk.na.ˈβiː]	/ʔi-k-nawiː-j/	‘I do/make it’
7ixchuchu7uy	[ʔɪˌʃ.tʃu.tʃu.ˈʔui]	/ʔɪ-ʃ-tʃutʃu-ʔu-j/	‘S/he sucked it.’
junaw	[hu.ˈnau]	/hun-aw/	‘we (INCL) say it’
ka7ana7	[ˌka.ʔa.ˈnaʔ]	/ka-ʔan-aʔ/	‘s/he will go’
k'anchoqoya7	[k’an.ˌtʃɔ.qɔ.ˈjaʔ]	/k-ʔan-tʃoqo-jaʔ/	‘I will go again’
k'anputun	[ˌk’am.pu.ˈtun]	/k-ʔan-putun/	‘I want to go’
laka7iiy	[ˌla.ka.ˈʔiː]	/lakaʔiː-j/	‘he believes it’
laqlhwaqnin	[ˌlaq.ɬβaq.ˈnin]	/laq-ɬwaq-nin/	‘to dismember’
laqtz'in	[laq.ˈts’in]	/laqts’in/	‘s/he sees it/him/her’
tanuuy	[ta.ˈnuːi]	/tanuː-j/	‘S/he enters.’
taxtuy	[taʃ.ˈtui]	/taʃtu-j/	‘he goes out’
t'ajun	[ɗa.ˈhun]	/t’ahun/	‘he is X-ing’
wajin	[βa.ˈhin]	/wahin/	‘he eats’

(81) *Verbs: Primary stress on penultimate syllable*

7anawiit'i	[ˌʔa.na.ˈβiː.ɗi̥]	/ʔa-nawiː-t’i/	‘(you SG) do it!’
k'i7ut'i	[k’i.ˈʔu.ɗi̥]	/ki-ʔu-t’i/	‘you eat me’
k'uk'ata	[k’u.ˈka.tḁ]	/k’uka-ta/	‘he has carried it’
lhii7anta	[ɬiː.ˈʔan.tḁ]	/ɬiːʔan-ta/	‘he wears it’
malhtee7aa	[maːɬ.ˈteː.ʔaː]	/maːɬteːʔaː-li/	‘it opened it’
nawiiyat'it	[ˌna.βiː.ˈja.ɗit]	/nawiː-j-at’it/	‘you all do/make it’
p'it'ilh	[ˈɓɪ.ɗɪɬ]	/p’it’i-li/	‘she scrubbed it’

taqelhtajulh	[ˌta.qɛɬ.ˈta.huɬ]	/taqeɬtaju-li/	‘S/he got off’
tzukulh	[ˈtsu.kuɬ]	/tsuku-li/	‘it began’
witilh	[ˈβɪ.tɪɬ]	/witi-li/	‘she somersaulted’
xk'aapilh	[ˈʃk’aː.pɪɬ]	/ʃk’aːpi-li/	‘s/he locked it’

(82) *Single syllable verbs*

min	[ˈmin]	/min/	‘he comes’
milh	[ˈmiɬ]	/min-li/	‘he came’
7uy	[ˈʔui]	/u-j/	‘he eats’
7ulh	[ˈʔuɬ]	/u-li/	‘he ate’

As discussed above, a heavy CVS syllable attracts primary stress in word-final position while the other syllable types (heavy CVV, light CVO, and light CV) do not attract stress in word-final position. Examples demonstrating this contrast appear below in (83) and (84). The examples in (83) all end in a heavy CVS syllable, and they all have primary stress on the ultimate syllable. All of the examples in (84) have penultimate stress: the examples in (84a) end in a heavy opened syllable, CVV; the examples in (84b) end in a light closed syllable, CVO; and the examples in (84d) end in a light opened syllable, CV.

(83) *Final heavy CVS syllable bears ultimate stress*

junaw	[hu.ˈnau]	/hun-aw/	‘we (INCL) say it’
ka7ana7	[ˌka.ʔa.ˈnaʔ]	/ka-ʔan-aʔ/	‘s/he will go’
k'anputun	[ˌk’am.pu.ˈtun]	/k-ʔan-putun/	‘I want to go’
tanuuy	[ta.ˈnuːi]	/tanuː-j/	‘S/he enters.’

(84) *Final syllable types that do not bear ultimate stress*

a. *Heavy CVV*

malhtee7aa	[maːɬ.ˈteː.ʔaː]	/maːɬteːʔaː-li/	‘it opened it’
maaqeswaa	[maː.ˈqɛs.βaː]	/maːqeswaː-li/	‘it scared him/her’
talaamaqnii	[ˌta.laː.ˈmaq.niː]	/ta-laː-maqniː-li/	‘they killed each other’

b. *Light CVO*

nawiiyat'it	[ˌna.βiː.ˈja.d̪it̪]	/nawiː-j-at’it/	‘you all do/make it’
xk'aapilh	[ˈʃk’aː.pɾɬ]	/ʃk’aːpi-li/	‘s/he locked it’

d. *Light CV*

7anawiit'i	[ˌʔa.na.ˈβiː.d̪i̥]	/ʔa-nawiː-t’i/	‘(you SG) do it!’
lhii7anta	[ɬiː.ˈʔan.ta̪]	/ɬiːʔan-ta/	‘he wears it’

Certain verbal affixes do not bear primary stress. These include body part prefixes (BPPs) and subject and object third person plural markers. Examples of verbs bearing body part prefixes are shown below in (85). In (85a) the stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a three-syllable word because the final syllable ends in a non-sonorant consonant. The first syllable of this word is a body part prefix. In (85b), the word has been reduced to two syllables by the removal of reflexive suffix *-kan*; the first syllable is a body part prefix, which may not bear primary stress. Thus, in this example, the primary stress must occur on the final syllable, even though it ends in the non-sonorant consonant [ɬ]. Additional examples of primary stress on verbs bearing body part prefixes are shown in (85c). Though the BPPs are extrametrical with respect to primary stress assignment, they may bear secondary stress, as seen in the final two examples in (85c).

(85) *Body part prefixes*

a. [**tan.**ˈʃd̪u.kaːɬ]
/**tan**-ʃt’uk-kan-li/
TORSO-button-RFL-PFV
‘Someone buttoned his shirt.’

b. [**tan.**ˈʃd̪ukɬ huː ˌʔɪʃ.puːm.ˈpuʔ huː ˈʃiː.βan]
/**tan**-ʃt’uk-li huː ʔiʃ-puːmpuʔ huː ʃiːwan/
TORSO-button-PFV ART 3POS-shirt ART John
‘John buttoned his shirt.’ [PDLMA05]

c.	**7aq**xt'aqlh	[ʔaq.ˈʃɗaqɬ]	/ʔaq-ʃt’aq-li/	‘he covers it’
	kikxix	[kɪk.ˈʃɪʃ]	/kik-ʃiʃ/	‘s/he is thirsty’
	ch'anch'aqay	[ˌtʃ’an.tʃ’a.ˈqai]	/ch’an-tʃ’aqa-j/	‘he washes his feet’
	makxakay	[ˌmak.ʃa.ˈkai]	/mak-ʃaka-j/	‘he cleaned his hands’

Person prefixes that indicate a third person plural subject (*ta*-) and object (*lak*-) do not bear primary stress, as seen in the examples below in (86). According to the stress rule, if the word does not end in a sonorant consonant, the penultimate syllable should carry the primary stress. However, in each example in (86), the verb ends in two non-sonorant consonants, and the final syllable bears the primary stress even though we would expect the stress to fall on the penultimate syllable. In (86a) the third person plural subject prefix *ta*- is the penult, but it may not bear primary stress, and in (86b) the third person plural object prefix *lak*- is the penult, but it may not bear primary stress either.

(86) *Subject and object person marking prefixes*

a. [huː su.sa.ˈni.ta huː ʔo.ˈta.ñatʃ **ta.**ˈɓuʃɬ]
/huː susan-ita huː otaɲa+tʃ ta-p’uʃ-li/
ART Susan-DIM ART Otaña+ALD **3PL.SUB**-pick-PVF

[huː ʔaː.ˈlaː.ʃuːʃ]
/huː ʔaːlaːʃuːʃ/
‘Susanita and Otaña picked the oranges.’

b. [huː su.sa.ˈni.ta **lak.**ˈɓuʃɬ huː ˌla.k’aː.ˈlaː.ʃuːʃ]
/huː susan-ita **lak-**p’uʃ-li huː lak-ʔaːlaːʃuːʃ/
ART Susan-DIM 3**PL.OBJ**-pick-PFV ART PL-orange
‘Susanita picked the oranges.’ [PDLMA05]

When the root consists of a single syllable that is prefixed with a person marker or a body part prefix that may not bear primary stress, the perfective

aspect suffix /-li/ may be preserved (i.e., it does not neutralize [ɬ]) as seen in the examples in (87).[52]

(87) a. [huː su.sa.ˈni.ta lak.ˈɓuʃ.**li̥** huː ˌla.k’aː.ˈlaː.ʃuːʃ]
/huː susan-ita lak-p’uʃ-**li** huː lak-ʔaːlaːʃuːʃ/
ART Susan-DIM 3PL.OBJ-pick-**PFV** ART PL-orange
‘Susanita picked the oranges.’ [PDLMA05]

b. [tiː.ˈpuj.**li** ˌʔɪʃ.tiː.ˈk’iu huː ˈpuɬ.ki̥]
/tiː-puj-**li** ʔiʃ-tiː-k’iw huː puɬki/
BUTT-dig.up-PFV 3POS-BUTT-tree ART maguey
‘He dug up the maguey plant.’ [PDLMA05]

2.5.1.2 Stress in Adjectives

Primary stress is assigned to an adjective in the same way it is assigned to a verb. If the final syllable ends in a sonorant consonant or glide, it receives primary stress; otherwise the penult receives primary stress. Secondary stress is assigned to alternate syllables from right to left starting at the syllable bearing the primary stress. Adjectives that bear primary stress on the final syllable are shown below in (88), and adjectives that bear primary stress on the penult are shown in (89).

(88) *Adjectives: Primary stress on ultimate syllable*

ch'oolew	[tʃ’oː.ˈlɛu]	/tʃ’oːlew/	‘multi-colored’
saala7	[saː.ˈlaʔ]	/saːlaʔ/	‘clean’
sliwiw	[sli.ˈβiu]	/sliwiw/	‘elliptical’
tz'uuliw	[ts’uː.ˈliu]	/ts’uːliw/	‘black and white’
xpaajaj	[ʃpaː.ˈhah]	/ʃpaːhah/	‘flat’

[52] Please see section 2.7.6.1 on perfective lateral neutralization.

(89) *Adjectives: Primary stress on penultimate syllable*

7achen7e	[ʔa.ˈtʃɛn.ʔɛ̥]	/atʃen-q’V/	‘toasted’
kuliknik'a	[ˌku.lɪk.ˈni.k’ḁ]	/kulik-ni-k’a/	‘curvy’
k'ayank'a	[k’a.ˈjaŋ.k’ḁ]	/k’aja-n-k’V/	‘painful’
lalhank'a	[la.ˈɬaŋ.k’ḁ]	/laɬa-n-k’V/	‘hanging’
laman7a	[la.ˈman.ʔḁ]	/laman-q’V/	‘sticky’
lhkuluku	[ɬku.ˈlu.ku̥]	/ɬkuluku/	‘crooked’, ‘twisted’
pututu	[pu.ˈtu.tu̥]	/pututu/	‘round’
smalaqa	[sma.ˈla.qḁ]	/smalaqa/	‘dark-skinned’, ‘black’
soqnik'a	[sɔq.ˈni.k’a]	/soq-ni-k’a/	‘straight’
st'ilik'a	[sɗi.ˈli.k’ḁ]	/st’ili-k’a/	‘standing’
taliten7e	[ta.li.ˈtɛn.ʔɛ]	/talite-n-q’V/	‘cylindrical’
xnapapa	[ʃna.ˈpa.pḁ]	/ʃnapapa/	‘white’

In the previous subsection on verbal stress, we saw that a heavy CVS syllable is the only type of syllable that attracts primary stress in word-final position; verbs ending in any of the other syllable types (CVV, CVO, and CV) have penultimate stress. This stress pattern is not so obvious with respect to the class of adjectives because the final syllable of an adjective may belong to one of only two syllable types: the heavy type CVS, as seen in the examples in (90), or the light type CV, as seen in the examples in (91). The other two possible syllable types (CVO and CVV) do not occur word-finally in adjectives. The CVS-final adjectives have ultimate stress, while the CV-final adjectives have penultimate stress.

(90) *Final heavy CVS syllable bears ultimate stress*

k'ilhij	[k’i.ˈɬih]	/k’iɬih/	‘stiff’
maqaqay	[ˌma.qa.ˈqai]	/maqaqaj/	‘wide’
slawa7	[sla.ˈβaʔ]	/slawaʔ/	‘slippery’
slaajan	[slaː.ˈhan]	/slaːhan/	‘soft’

tzasaw	[tsa.ˈsau]	/tsasaw/	‘bald’
waqtam	[βaq.ˈtam]	/waq-tam/	‘together’

(91) *Final light CV syllable does not bear ultimate stress*

lhkilik'i	[ɬki.ˈli.k’i̥]	/ɬkili-k’V/	‘trashy’
matzatnik'a	[ˌma.tsat.ˈnik’ḁ]	/matsat-ni-k’a/	‘salty’
sluyon7o	[slu.ˈjoɴ.ʔo̥]	/slujo-n-q’V/	‘extended’
sqoqo	[ˈsʔo.ʔo̥]	/sqoqo/	‘salty’
spututu	[spu.ˈtu.tu̥]	/spututu/	‘round’

Though body part prefixes do occur on adjectives, I have found no examples in which a final syllable ending in something other than a sonorant consonant was stressed in order to avoid stressing the BPP. The only single-syllable adjective that I found which may be prefixed with a BPP is *qay* /qaj/ ‘big’, which ends in a sonorant consonant, so it receives primary stress. In all other examples of adjectives prefixed with BPPs that I have found, the adjective is at least two syllables long, so there is no stress conflict. Examples are shown in (92).

(92) *Adjectives: Primary stress and body part prefixes*

7aktzasan	[ˌʔak.tsa.ˈsan]	/ʔak-tzasan/	‘gray-headed’
kiksmulunk'u	[ˌkɪk.smu.ˈluŋ.k’u̥]	/kik-smulu-n-k’V/	‘thick-lipped’
lakat'ikst'i	[ˌla.ka.ˈdɪk.sd̪i̥]	/laka-t’ikst’i/	‘small-bodied’
laqxtiixqawaaw	[laq.ˌʃtiːʃ.qa.ˈβaːu]	/laqʃtiː-ʃqwaːw/	‘blond-haired’
maqaqay	[ˌma.qa.ˈqai]	/maqa-qaj/	‘wide’
puutanqay	[ˌpuː.taɴ.ˈqai]	/puː-tan-qaj/	‘tall’

2.5.1.3 Stress in Non-ideophonic Adverbs

Non-ideophonic adverbs[53] follow the same primary stress rule as verbs and adjectives: stress the final syllable if it ends in a sonorant consonant or glide; otherwise stress the penult. Secondary stress is assigned to every other syllable from right to left starting at the syllable bearing the primary stress. Examples of word-final stress appear in (93), and examples of penultimate stress appear in (94). Body part prefixes do not occur on adverbs.

(93) *Adverbs: Primary stress on ultimate syllable*

7aali7	[ʔaː.ˈlɪʔ]	/aːliʔ/	'more'
chaway	[tʃa.ˈβai]	/tʃawaj/	'now'
ch'ayaaw	[tʃ'a.ˈjaːu]	/tʃ'ajaːw/	'sweet flavor/scent'
kuutanch	[kuː.ˈtaːɲtʃ]	/kuː.taːn+tʃ/	'yesterday'
laanij	[laː.ˈniːh]	/laːniːh/	'truly', 'really'
palay	[pa.ˈlai]	/palaj/	'more', 'better'
p'ulhnan	[ɓuɬ.ˈnan]	/p'uɬnan/	'first'
tawanan	[ˌta.βa.ˈnan]	/tawanan/	'never'
tunkajun	[ˌtuŋ.ka.ˈhun]	/tunkahun/	'daily'

(94) *Adverbs: Primary stress on penultimate syllable*

7aksnii	[ˈʔak.sniː]	/aksniː/	'when'
7aqstu	[ˈʔaq.stu̥]	/aqstu/	'alone'
juntaa	[ˈhun.taː]	/huntaː/	'where'
laqasii	[la.ˈqa.siː]	/laqasiː/	'first'
maqanchi	[ma.ˈqaɲ.tʃi̥]	/maqantʃi/	'long time'
palata	[pa.ˈla.tḁ]	/palata/	'more', 'better'
tzakaa	[ˈtsa.kaː]	/tsakaː/	'heavily'
tz'isich	[ˈts'iː.sitʃ]	/ts'iːsi+tʃ/	'last night'
7uwiint'i	[ʔu.ˈβiːn.di̥]	/uwiːnt'i/	'over there'
waataach	[ˈβaː.taːtʃ]	/waːtaːtʃ/	'always'

[53] Please see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1 for information on ideophonic adverbs.

With respect to syllable weight and stress, we once again find the pattern in which a heavy CVS syllable attracts primary stress in word-final position while the other three syllable types (CVV, CVO, and CV) do not. All of the examples of words with ultimate stress in (93) end in a sonorant consonant (CVS), while all of the examples of words with penultimate stress in (94) end in one of the other syllable types.

2.5.1.4 Stress in Nouns

Nouns follow the same primary stress rule as the other word classes: stress the final syllable if it ends in a sonorant consonant, otherwise stress the penult. Secondary stress is assigned to alternate syllables from right to left, starting at the syllable bearing primary stress. Examples of nouns with word-final stress appear in (95), and examples of nouns with penultimate stress appear in (96). Once again, we see the stress pattern in which the CVS syllable behaves differently in word-final position than the other syllable types do. All of the words in (95) end in a sonorant consonant (CVS), and they all have ultimate primary stress. The words in (96) end in one of the other three syllable types (CVV, CVO, CV), and these words all have penultimate stress.

(95) *Nouns: Primary stress on ultimate syllable*

7amakxtal	[ˌʔa.mak.ˈʃtaɬ]	/ʔamakʃtal/	‘garbage’
7aqalhoona7	[ʔa.ˌqa.łoː.ˈnaʔ]	/ʔa-qałahun-nVʔ/	‘thief’
7awiy	[ʔa.ˈβiː]	/awij/	‘mouse’
ch'alhkatna7	[ˌtʃ’aɬ.kat.ˈnaʔ]	/tʃ’ałkat-nVʔ/	‘worker’
juumpay	[huːm.ˈpai]	/huːmpaj/	‘dragonfly’
kilhij	[ki.ˈɬih]	/kiɬih/	‘lace’
k'iwin	[k’i.ˈβin]	/k’iw-Vn/	‘trees’

miistu7	[miːs.ˈtuʔ]	/miːstuʔ/	‘cat’
7oqxqew	[ʔɔq.ˈʃqɛu]	/oqʃqew/	‘yucca’, ‘cassava’
puulht'uj	[puːɬ.ˈɗuh]	/puːɬt’uh/	‘water frog’
puutamaan	[ˌpuː.ta.ˈmaːn]	/puː-ta-maː-n/	‘bed’
sk'iikluw	[sk’iːk.ˈluː]	/sk’iːk-luw/	‘eel’
tach'iin	[ta.ˈtʃ’iːn]	/ta-tʃ’iː-n/	‘prisoner’
tukulun	[ˌtu.ku.ˈlun]	/tukulun/	‘rheumatism’
tzaapuuj	[tsaː.ˈpuːh]	/tsaːpuːh/	‘caterpillar’
tz'a7am	[ts’a.ˈʔam]	/ts’aʔam/	‘dried corn stalk’
7ukstin	[ʔuk.ˈstin]	/ukstin/	‘green fly’
ya7a7	[ja.ˈʔaʔ]	/jaʔaʔ/	‘white person’

(96) *Nouns: Primary stress on penultimate syllable*

7a7eyxtaa	[ʔa.ˈʔeiʃ.taː]	/aqejʃtaː/	‘tree sp.’
7aak'iiluks	[ʔaː.ˈk’iː.luks]	/aːk’iːluks/	‘frog sp.’
7aalaaxuux	[ʔaː.ˈlaː.ʃuːʃ]	/aːlaːʃuːʃ/	‘orange’
7asiiwiik	[ʔa.ˈsiː.βiːk]	/asiːwiːk/	‘vein’, ‘vine’
chu7ut	[ˈtʃu.ʔut]	/tʃuʔut/	‘saliva’
ch'aqawaxt'i	[ˈtʃa.qa.ˈβaʃ.t’i̥]	/tʃaqawaʃt’i̥/	‘Totonac’
joo7at	[ˈhoː.ʔat]	/ˈhoːʔat/	‘male’
juuyuu ~ kuuyuu	[ˈhuː.juː]~[ˈkuː.juː]	/huːjuː/~/kuːjuː/	‘armadillo’
katz'aluunas	[ˌka.ts’a.ˈluː.nas]	/kats’aluːnas/	‘fried pork skin’
kukat	[ˈku.kat]	/kukat/	‘oak tree’, ‘acorn’
kuklhilhi	[kuk.ˈɬiɬi̥]	/kukɬiɬi/	‘avocado’
kukwiitii	[kukˈ.βiː.tiː]	/kukwiːtiː/	‘horse tail plant’
kuukuu	[ˈkuː.kuː]	/kuːkuː/	‘sand’
lapanak	[la.ˈpa.nak]	/lapanak/	‘person’, ‘man’
lhqapaq	[ˈɬʔa.paʔ]	/ɬqapaq/	‘walking stick bug’
maalhawaakalh	[ˌmaː.ɬa.ˈβaː.kaɬ]	/maːɬawaːkaɬ/	‘large basket’
maalhiyuk	[maː.ˈɬi.juk]	/maːɬijuk/	‘spider’
maatuupik	[maːˈ.tuː.pɪk]	/maːtuːpik/	‘butterfly’
mutzaqs	[ˈmu.tsaqs]	/mutsaqs/	‘camote’, ‘sweet potato’
puxlimti	[puʃ.ˈlim.ti̥]	/puʃlimti/	‘nephew’

puut'iijooqat	[ˌpuː.ɗiː.ˈhɔː.qat]	/puːt’iːhoːqat/	‘father-in-law’
qesiit	[ˈqɛ.siːt]	/qesiːt/	‘nail’ (finger, toe)
siileq	[ˈsiː.lɛq]	/siːleq/	‘cricket’
siimaqat	[siː.ˈma.qat]	/siːmaqat/	‘tongue’
talaqxmilh	[ta.ˈlaq.ʃmiɬ]	/talaqʃmiɬ/	‘bean tamales’
tziitzii	[ˈtsiː.tsiː]	/tsiːtsiː/	‘rain’

Body part prefixes affixed to nouns may bear secondary stress, but not primary stress. Examples of nouns affixed with body part prefixes are shown in (97). If the noun root is longer than one syllable, the addition of the body part prefix does not cause a conflict in stress assignment, as seen in the examples in (97a). However, if the noun root consists of a single syllable, it will bear the primary stress, even if it does not end in a sonorant consonant, as seen in the examples in (97b).

(97) *Nominals bearing BPPs*

a. *Noun roots larger than one syllable*

7aqxlawti	[ʔaʔ.ˈʃlau.t̪i]	/ʔaq-ʃlawti/	‘sap’
7aqxuunuu	[ʔaq.ˈʃuː.nuː]	/ʔaq-ʃuːnuː/	‘bug sp.’
ch'an7akanit	[ˌtʃ’an.ʔa.ˈka.nit]	/tʃ’an-ʔakanit/	‘leg flesh or muscle’
ch'anchawti	[tʃ’aɲ.ˈtʃau.t̪i]	/tʃ’an-tʃawti/	‘leg hair’
ch'anlukut	[tʃ’an.ˈlu.kut]	/tʃ’an-lukut/	‘leg bone’
ch'anqesiit	[tʃ’aɴ.ˈqɛ.siːt]	/tʃ’an-qesiːt/	‘toe nail’
kiklhkawink'i	[ˌkɪk.ɬka.ˈβiŋ.k’i̯]	/kik-ɬkawin-k’V/	‘handlebar mustache’
kikxlawti	[kɪk.ˈʃlau.t̪i]	/kik-ʃlawti /	‘drool’
kikxt'aqa	[kɪk.ˈʃɗa.qa̰]	/kik-ʃt’aqa/	‘lip’

b. *Single syllable noun roots*

ch'anp'aas	[tʃ’am.ˈɓaːs]	/tʃ’an-p’aːs/	‘callous (on foot)’
laqpuuluks	[ˌlaq.puː.ˈluks]	/laqpuː-luks/	‘sty (on eye)’
tant’uklh	[ta**n.ˈɗ**ukɬ]	/tan-t’ukɬ/	‘small fish sp.’
tiichutlh	[tiː.ˈtʃutɬ]	/tiː-tʃutɬ/	‘lid’, ‘cap’

tiitanp'in	[ˌtiː.tam.ˈɓɪn]	/tiː-tan-p’in/	‘buttocks’

Similarly, the instrumental prefix *paa-* may bear secondary stress, but not primary stress; examples of nouns bearing the instrumental prefix are shown in (98). These nouns are actually comprised of a verb root, plus the instrumental prefix. If the verb root is longer than one syllable, there is no conflict with the stress rule, as seen in the examples in (98a). However, if the root consists of a single syllable, that syllable will bear the primary stress, even if it does not end in a sonorant consonant; examples with single syllable roots appear in (98b).

(98) *Nominals bearing the instrumental prefix paa-*

a. *Multi-syllable roots*

paachiwin	[ˌpaː.tʃi.ˈβin]	/paː-tʃiβin/	‘telephone’
paach'apa	[paː.ˈtʃ’a.pa̰]	/paː-tʃ’apa/	‘pliers’
paak'uch'un	[ˌpaː.k’u.ˈtʃ’un]	/paː-k’utʃ’u-n/	‘hospital’
paalakch'uk'un	[paː.ˌlak.tʃ’u.ˈk’un]	/paː.-lak-tʃ’uk’u-n/	‘saw’
paat'alan	[ˌpaː.ɗa.ˈlan]	/paː-t’ala-n/	‘pistol’, ‘gun’
paatz'oqo	[paː.ˈts’ɔ.qo̰]	/ paː-ts’ɔqɔ/	‘pencil’, ‘pen’

b. *Single syllable roots*

paalhkaan	[paːɬ.ˈkaːn]	/paː-ɬkaːn/	‘ruler’
paalhoq	[paː.ˈɬoq]	/paː-ɬoq/	‘plow’
paalhwaj	[paːɬ.ˈβah]	/ paː-ɬβah/	‘toothbrush’
paap'alh	[paː.ˈɓaɬ]	/paː-p’aɬ/	‘broom’
paaxoq	[paː.ˈʃoq]	/paː-ʃoq/	‘shovel’
paaxqan	[paːʃ.ˈqan]	/ paː-ʃqan /	‘reaper’
paaxtuk	[paːʃ.ˈtuk]	/paː-ʃtuk/	‘fish-hanging pole’

There are several noun forms that violate the primary stress rule. Among these are nouns that end in the nominalizing suffix *–ti* [-tḭ#], examples of which appear below in (99). The examples in (99a) all have *antepenultimate* stress,

where the stress rule would predict *penultimate* stress because the final syllable does not end in a sonorant consonant. However, not all nominals ending in *–ti* actually violate the stress rule; the nominalized examples shown in (99b) do not end in a sonorant consonant, and they exhibit the expected penultimate stress. The examples in (99a) do not follow the stress rule because the nominalizing suffix *–ti* is extrametrical with respect to primary stress assignment. Since <*–ti*> is invisible to stress assignment, the assignment of primary stress will begin with the *penultimate* syllable, which is the *final* syllable disregarding <*–ti*>. If that syllable does not end in a sonorant consonant, as is the case for the examples in (99a), then the antepenultimate syllable is stressed. If the penultimate syllable ends in a sonorant consonant, as is the case for the examples in (99b), then it is stressed.

(99) *Nominalized forms suffixed with –ti*

a. *Antepenultimate stress*

ch'anka<ti>	[ˈtʃ’aŋ.kat̪i]	/tʃ’an-kan-ti/	‘sugarcane’
lhii7u<ti>	[ˈɬiː.ʔu.t̪i]	/ɬiː-ʔu-ti/	‘fruit’
laqch'ii<ti>	[ˈlaq.tʃ’iː.t̪i]	/laq-tʃ’iː-ti/	‘cover’
p'aqlaa<ti>	[ˈɓaq.laa.t̪i]	/p’aq-laa-ti/	‘trunk’, ‘coffin’
xla7a<ti>	[ˈʃla.ʔa.t̪i]	/ʃlaʔa-ti/	‘bird sp.’

b. *Penultimate stress*

7ach'anan<ti>	[ˌʔa.tʃ’a.ˈnan.t̪i]	/ʔa-tʃ’an-nan-ti/	‘garden’
chiwin<ti>	[tʃɪ.ˈβɪn.t̪i]	/tʃiwin-ti/	‘word’
lhakcha7an<ti>	[ˌɬak.tʃa.ˈʔan.t̪i]	/ɬaktʃa-ʔan-ti/	‘envy’

Additional nouns that violate the stress rule are shown below in (100). The examples in (100a) show word-final stress where the stress rule predicts penultimate stress. The first form *lapanak* ‘people’ is a lexicalized form from an older form *lapanakni* [ˌla.pa.ˈnak.ni], which bears a nominalizing suffix *-ni* that is

cognate in other Totonacan languages and that is falling into disuse in modern HT; this older, nominalized form does show the expected stress pattern. Furthermore, the singular form *lapanak* [la.ˈpa.nak] 'person' also exhibits the expected stress pattern. The second form *tankilhak* [ˌtaŋ.ki.ˈɬak] has an older form, *tankilhakni* (Herzog no date), that also ends in the nominalizing suffix *-ni*; the stress pattern is retained from this older form. The final form *najatz* 'nine' has lexical stress.

(100) *Noun forms that violate the stress rule*

a. *Final stress instead of penult stress*

lapanak	[ˌla.pa.ˈnak]	/lapanak-ni/	'people'
tankilhak	[ˌtaŋ.ki.ˈɬak]	/tankiɬak(-ni)/	'chest'
najatz	[na.ˈhats]	/nahats/	'nine'

b. *Penult stress instead of final stress*

maaxteewan	[maːʃ.ˈteː.βan]	/maːʃteːwan/	'brown tadpole'
teensuun	[ˈteːn.suːn]	/teːnsuːn/	'goat'
lhqapan	[ˈɬqa.pan]	/ɬqapan/	'horse'
xtiilaan	[ˈʃtiː.laːn]	/ʃtiːlaːn/	'green cockroach'

The examples in (100b) show penultimate stress where the stress pattern predicts word-final stress. The first two forms, *maaxteewan* 'brown tadpole' and *teensuun* 'goat', do not sound like native HT words to me because of their [eː] phones (as well as their stress patterns), and I suspect that they loanwords, though I do not know their origins.[54] As will be seen in the next section, when loanwords are incorporated into HT, their native stress pattern is maintained—at least when

[54] The goat is not native to the Americans; it was introduced after the Spanish Conquest.

the loanword is of Spanish origin. If these two words are loanwords, their stress pattern most likely reflects that of the origin words.

The last two examples in (100b), *lhqapan* 'horse' and *xtiilan* 'green cockroach', do sound like native HT words. Though the horse species is not native to the Americas and was introduced by the Spanish, there is an ideophone *qapa*, the refers to the sound made by a horse's hooves. The word for horse, *lhqapan*, is clearly derived from the ideophone, and it seems to retain the stress on the initial syllable found in the ideophone. I have no explanation for the stress pattern found in *xtiilan* 'green cockroach', and I have no alternative but to claim that this form has lexical stress.

2.5.2 Stress in Ideophonic Adverbs

The assignment of both primary and secondary stress in ideophonic adverbs, or simply ideophones, is completely different from stress assignment in the other word classes. In ideophones, primary stress is assigned to the first syllable of the word. Secondary stress is assigned to all subsequent syllables from left to right. Examples are shown in (101).

(101) *Ideophones: initial syllable stress*

chilili	[ˈtʃi.ˌli.ˌli]	'sensation of fear'
kulhuk	[ˈku.ˌɬuk]	'action of entering'
k'achuchu	[ˈk'a.ˌtʃu.ˌtʃu]	'sound of walking through dry leaves'
lapaq	[ˈla.ˌpaq]	'the motion of moving like a snake'
7ot'it'i	[ˈʔo.ˌɗi.ˌɗi]	'sensation of being upset or bothered'
kixixi	[ˈki.ˌʃi.ˌʃi]	'hiss', 'sound a snake makes'
maqeqe	[ˈma.ˌʔe.ˌʔe]	'sensation of being sick to the stomach'
taqaqa	[ˈta.ˌʔa.ˌʔa]	'the cry of a hen that is going to lay an egg'
qolo	[ˈʔo.ˌlo]	'the cry of a male turkey'

lhkuku	[ˈɬku.ˌku]	‘purring of a cat’

2.5.3 Stress in Spanish Loanwords

Primary stress in a Spanish loanword falls on the syllable that corresponds to the stress-bearing syllable in the origin word, regardless of its class (verb or noun). Secondary stress is assigned to alternate syllables from right to left, beginning at the syllable bearing primary stress. Examples of HT loanwords from Spanish are shown in (102). In these examples, I have underlined the stressed syllable of each of the Spanish words.

(102) *Loanwords from Spanish*

7abonalaa	[ʔa.ɸo.ˈna.laː]	‘abonar’	‘fertilize’
7alaambrii	[ʔa.ˈlaːm.bɾiː]	‘alambre’	‘wire’
7aarreesgaalaa	[ˌʔaː.reːs.ˈgaː.laː]	‘arresgar’	‘take a chance’
atoolii	[ʔa.ˈtoː.liː]	‘atole’	‘corn drink’
buutak	[ˈbuː.tak]	‘butaque’	‘type of chair’
choorruu	[ˈtʃoː.ruː]	‘chorro’	‘trickle’
duulsii	[ˈduːl.siː]	‘dulce’	‘candy’
duseenaa	[du.ˈseː.naː]	‘docena’	‘dozen’
7ensayaalaa	[ˌʔɛn.sa.ˈjaː.laː]	‘ensayar’	‘he rehearsed’
7espiirituu	[ʔɛs.ˈpiː.ɾi.tuː]	‘espírito’	‘spirit’
gaanchu	[ˈgaːɲ.tʃu̥]	‘gancho’	‘hook’
jaa'ati	[ˈhaː.ɓa.ti̥]	‘japa’	‘plant sp.’
kachuupiin	[ka.ˈtʃuː.piːn]	‘gachupin’	‘gringo’
kaapeen	[kaː.ˈpeːn]	‘café’	‘coffee’
karrilh	[ka.ˈrɾɬ]	‘carril’	‘lane’
koneejuu	[ko.ˈneː.juː]	‘conejo’	‘rabbit’
kuchiiluu	[ku.ˈtʃiː.luː]	‘cuchillo’	‘knife’
kumpaalii	[kum.ˈpaː.liː]	‘compadre’	‘compadre’
7oongoos	[ˈʔoːŋ.goːs]	‘hongo’	‘mushroom’
saandiiyak	[saːn.ˈdiː.jak]	‘sandía’	‘watermelon’

sapootii	[sa.ˈpoː.tiː]	‘zapote’	‘sapote’ (fruit sp.)
waakax	[ˈβaː.kaʃ]	‘vacas’	‘cow’, ‘cattle’
borreeguu	[bo.ˈreː.guː]	‘borrego’	‘sheep’

2.6 PHONOLOGICAL RULES AND PROCESSES

HT phonological rules include word-final short vowel weakening (section 2.6.1), liquid neutralization (section 2.6.2), glottal stop insertion (section 2.6.3), epenthesis (section 2.6.4), consonant place assimilation (section 2.6.5), velar metathesis and spirantization (section 2.6.6), coda consonant deletion (section 2.6.7), compensatory lengthening (section 2.6.8), /h/-deletion (section 2.6.9), and sound symbolic alternations (section 2.6.10). Derivations showing critical ordering of particular rules are given within the relevant sections.

2.6.1 Word-Final Short Vowel Weakening

Word-final short vowels undergo two weakening processes when they occur phrase-finally: they are always devoiced in this context (section 2.6.1.1), and they are optionally deleted (2.6.1.2). The second process is a stronger version of the first.

2.6.1.1 Word-Final Short Vowel Devoicing

Word-final short vowels are devoiced when they occur utterance-finally; the rule is shown in (103) and examples appear in (104) and (105).

(103) $\underset{[\text{-voice}]}{\text{V}} \rightarrow \text{V} \quad /\_\_\ \#\ ]_{XP}$

(104) *Word-final devoiced short vowels*

juukxp**i**	[ˈhuːk.ʃp̥**i**]	/huːkʃp**i**/	‘alligator’
stak**u**	[ˈsta.k**u̥**]	/stak**u**/	‘star’

7achaakxk'**u**	[ʔa.ˈtʃaːk.ʃk’**u̥**]	/atʃaːkʃk’**u**/	‘a type of edible green’
7ilht'**i**	[ˈʔiɬ.d**i̥**]	/iɬt’**i**/	‘excrement’
nat**i**	[ˈna.t**i̥**]	/nat**i**/	‘mother’
k'us**i**	[ˈk’u.s**i̥**]	/ k’us**i**/	‘pretty’

(105) *Voiceless utterance-finally*[55]

[jii kiinati]$_{NP}$ [jii kiinati]$_{NP}$
[hiː kiː.ˈna.t**i̥**, hiː kiː.ˈna.t**i̥**]
/hiː kin-nat**i̥**, hiː kin-nat**i̥**/
VOC 1POS-mother, VOC 1POS-mother
‘Mother! Mother!’ [Someone calling for his mother]

When the word occurs as a non-final element within a larger phrase (e.g., a noun phrase), the short vowel is voiced, as seen in the examples in (106).

(106) *Voiced phrase internally*

a. [juu 7ilht'**i** t'akt'a]$_{NP}$
[huː ˈʔiɬ.d**i** ˈɗak.ɗa̰]
/huː ʔiɬt’**i** t’akt’a/
ART excrement ear.of.corn
‘corn smut’, ‘huitlacoche’

b. [juu nat**i** xqooy]$_{NP}$
[huː ˈna.t**i** ˈʃqɔːi]
/huː nati ʃqoːj/
‘female dog’

c. [juu 7ilht'**i** p'aax]$_{NP}$
[huː ˈʔiɬ.d**i** ˈɓaːʃ]
/huː ʔiɬt’**i** ɓaːʃ /
ART excrement pig
‘pig excrement’

[55] In the examples in (105) and (106), the first line is written in practical orthography, and the square brackets indicate constituency, not phonetic representation. The second and third lines are phonetic and phonemic representations, respectively.

2.6.1.2 Word-Final Short Vowel Deletion

When a word ending in a short vowel occurs at the end of its phrase (e.g., a predicate phrase), the final short vowel is optionally deleted; the rule is given in (107) and examples appear in (108).

(107) V → Ø / __# $]_{XP}$

(108) *Optional phrase final short V deletion*[56]

a. *No phrase-final short V deletion*

[[naa	k'usi]$_{PRED}$	[juu	7atzi7]$_{NP}$]$_{S}$
[naː	ˈk’u.si	huː	ʔa.ˈtziʔ]
/naː	k’usi	huː	atziʔ/
EMP	pretty	ART	girl

‘The girl is very pretty.’

b. *Phrase-final short V deletion*

[[naa	k'us]$_{PRED}$	[juu	7atzi7]$_{NP}$]$_{S}$
[naː	ˈk’us	huː	ʔa.ˈtziʔ]
/naː	k’us**i**	juː	atziʔ/
EMP	pretty	ART	girl

‘The girl is very pretty.’

2.6.2 Liquid Neutralization

The voiced, sonorant, lateral liquid /l/ neutralizes to the voiceless, non-sonorant, lateral fricative [ɬ] in syllable final (i.e., coda) position. This rule is formulated in (109); examples appear in (110), (111), and (112). This rule crucially follows word-final short vowel deletion (section 2.6.1.2).

[56] See footnote 55.

(109) $\begin{matrix} C \\ [+lat] \\ [+son] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} C \\ [-son] \end{matrix} \quad / \_\_ \,]\sigma$

The examples in (110) show the singular form and the plural form of *tz'al* 'boy'. When the plural suffix *–Vn* follows the noun, the /l/ acts as syllable onset for the suffix, and it does not neutralize, as seen in (110a). Without the suffix, /l/ occurs in coda position and neutralizes to [ɬ], as seen in (110b). Furthermore, one elderly speaker gave me the singular form in (110c).

(110) a.	[ts'a.ˈ**l**an]	b.	[ˈts'a**ɬ**]	c.	[ts'a.ˈ**l**aʔ]
	/tz'a**l**-Vn/		/ts'a**l**/		/ts'a**l**aʔ/
	boy-PL[57]		boy		boy
	'boys'		'boy'		'boy'

In the example in (111a), the adjective *7at'ili* 'old' occurs in the middle of the phrase; in this position, the word-final short vowel is not deleted (see section 2.6.1), so the /l/ acts as a syllable onset and not a syllable coda. In the examples in (111b), the adjective is in phrase-final position, so the word-final short vowel may be deleted, and the /l/ neutralizes to [ɬ].

(111) a.	[juu	7at'i**l**i	puumpu7]$_{NP}$[58]
	[huː	ʔa.ˈdì.**l**i	puːm.ˈpuʔ]
	/huː	at'i**l**i	puːmpuʔ/
	ART	old	clothing
	'the old clothing'		

[57] The unspecified vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the last vowel of the noun root. Please see Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.2.
[58] See footnote 55.

b. [naa 7at'i**lh**]$_{PRED}$ [juu puumpu7]$_{NP}$
[naː ʔa.ˈdɨɫ huː puːm.ˈpuʔ]
/naː at'i**l**i huː puːmpuʔ/
EMP old ART clothing
'The clothing is very old.'

In the example in (112a), the adjective *wiik'ili* 'wrinkled' is affixed with a nominalizing suffix *–nti*, which preserves the word-final short vowel, causing the /l/ to occur in onset—not coda—position. In the example in (112b), there is no suffix to preserve the word-final short vowel, so it may be deleted and the /l/ neutralizes to [ɫ] or the vowel may be retained, bleeding the liquid neutralization rule.

(112) a. lakpuuwiik'i**l**inti
[ˌlak.puː.ˌβiː.k'i.ˈ**l**in.t̬i]
/lakpuː-wiːk'i**l**i-nti/
FACE-wrinkled-NOM
'wrinkled face'

b. lakawiik'i**lh** ~ lakawiik'i**l**i
[la.ˌka.βiː.ˈk'iɫ] [la.ˌka.βiː.ˈk'i.**l**i̥]
/laka-wiːk'i**l**i/ /laka-wiːk'i**l**i/
BODY-wrinkled BODY-wrinkled
'wrinkled' 'wrinkled'

Examples of words borrowed from Spanish, shown in (113), demonstrate the liquid neutralization rule quite well. Where the Spanish word has the syllable-final liquid [l], the HT word has [ɫ], and where the Spanish word has a syllable-initial lateral [l], the HT word also has [l].

(113) *Spanish borrowings*

HT	Spanish	English
[ˈmɪɫ]	'mi**l**'	'thousand'

[ˈkaɬ]	‘cal’	‘lime’
[ka.ˈrɪɬ]	‘carril’	‘lane’
[ku.ˈtʃiː.luː]	cuchillo	‘knife’
[ʔa.ˈlaːm.bɾiː]	‘alambre’	‘wire’
[mu.ˈlaː.tuː]	‘mulato’	‘mulato’

The derivation in (114) shows that stress assignment precedes short-vowel deletion and that short-vowel deletion precedes liquid-neutralization.

(114) Underlying Rep	/wiːk’ili-nti/	/wiːk’ili/	/slapulu/	/kukɬiɬi/
Stress Assign	/ˌwiːk’iˈli-nti/	/wiːˈk’ili/	/slaˈpulu/	/kukˈɬiɬi/
V-deletion	----	/wiːˈk’il/	/slaˈpul/	/kukˈɬiɬ/
L-neutralization	----	/wiːˈk’iɬ/	/slaˈpuɬ/	----
Surface Rep	[ˌβiː.k’i.ˈlin.t̪i]	[wiː.ˈk’iɬ]	[sla.ˈpuɬ]	[kukˈɬiɬ]
Gloss	‘wrinkle’	‘wrinkled’	‘red’	‘avocado’

2.6.3 Glottal Stop Insertion

Every HT syllable must have an onset.[59] If the syllable is stem-initial and begins with a vowel, a glottal stop is inserted to act as the onset of the syllable. The rule is shown in (115) and examples are shown in (116).

(115) $\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{matrix} C \\ [+\text{sonorant}] \\ [+\text{constr glot}] \end{matrix} \quad / \# \_\_ V$

(116) 7ach'itin	[ˌʔa.tʃ’i.ˈtin]	/atʃ’itin/	‘herb’
7iismilh	[ˈʔiːs.miɬ]	/iːsmiɬ/	‘watercress’
7uklik	[ˈʔuk.lik]	/uklik/	‘gum tree’
7an	[ʔan]	/an/	‘he goes’

This rule must happen before a vowel-initial verb stem is inflected or else it will not happen at all (which is the case in many attested examples). In the

[59] See the onset constraint in example (51) in section 2.4 on the syllable.

example in (117a), inflection happens before glottal stop insertion. The first person subject prefix *k-* serves as the onset for the vowel-initial root *an* 'go', thus preventing the glottal stop insertion rule from happening. In (117b), a glottal stop is inserted as the onset of the vowel-initial root before inflection, and the glottal stop is co-articulated with the /k/ of the first person subject prefix, producing a glottalized velar.

(117) a. [ˌkam.pu.ˈtun]
/k-an-putun/
1SUB-go-DESID(IMPFV)
'I want to go'

b. [ˌkʼam.pu.ˈtun]
/k-ʔan-putun/
1SUB-go-DESID(IMPFV)
'I want to go'

2.6.4 [a]-Epenthesis

Epenthesis happens both as a phonological process and a morphophonemic process. The phonological process is described here, and the morphophonemic processes of epenthesis are described in section 2.7.2.

When a uvular or velar stop occurs syllable-finally following the low vowel and preceding another stop or affricate, low-vowel epenthesis may optionally occur between the two consonants. The epenthetic vowel is an echo copy of the low vowel that precedes the uvular or velar stop. The rule is formulated in (118). This process is optional because speakers both produce and accept the utterance with or without epenthesis, as seen in the following examples in (119).

(118) Ø → V / V C ___ C
[+low] [+low] [-son] [-son]
[+back]

(119) a. [ˈʔaq.tsuɬ] ~ [ˈʔa.q**a.**tsuɬ]
/aqtsuɬ/
'head'

b. [lak.ˌpaː.li.ˈpi.pi̥] ~ [la.k**a.**ˌpaː.li.ˈpi.pi̥]
/lakpaː-lipipi/
HEAD-bald
'bald-headed'

Epenthesis happens after stress assignment because the epenthetic vowel is never stressed. A derivation is shown in (120). Glottal stop insertion is not crucially ordered with stress assignment.

(120) Underlying Rep	/aqtsuɬ/	/lakpaː-lipipi/
Stress Assign	/ˈaqtsuɬ/	/lakˌpaː-liˈpipi/
[a]-epenthesis	/ˈaq**a**tsuɬ/	/lak**a**ˌpaː-liˈpipi/
Surface Rep	[ˈʔa.q**a.**tsuɬ]	[la.k**a.**ˌpaː.li.ˈpi.pi̥]
Gloss	'head'	'bald-headed'

I have found one example, shown below in (121), of [a]-epenthesis that intervenes between a prefix and a root where the prefix ends and the root begins with the same sound. Ordinarily, when like consonants are contiguous at a morpheme boundary, one of them is deleted to avoid a sequence of two identical consonants (see section 2.6.7.1). However, in this particular case, deletion of one of the consonants would cause ambiguity. In (121a), the epenthetic [a] intervenes between the body part prefix *7aks-* and the root *saa* 'hit'; together the prefix and the root mean 'hit on the <u>shoulder</u>'. If one of the alveolar fricatives were to be

deleted, the result would be the attested form in (121b) *7aksaay* [ʔak.ˈsaːi] 'he hits him on the head'. The lack of secondary stress on the example in (121a) indicates that this epenthetic process happens after stress assignment.

(121) a. [ʔak.s**a.**ˈsaːi]
/ʔaks-**a**-saː-j/
SHOULDER-**EPE**-hit-IMPFV
'he pats him on the back'

b. [ʔak.ˈsaːi]
/ʔak-saː-j/
HEAD-hit-IMPFV
'he hits him on the head'

This is the only attested example that I have found of [a]-epenthesis being used to break up a sequence of two identical consonants; however, I assume that it would happen whenever the body part prefix *7aks-* 'shoulder' precedes a root that begins with /s/ because deletion of an /s/ causes ambiguity between *7aks-* 'shoulder' and *7ak-* 'head'. Thus, even though this process is very similar to the process shown above in (118), it would be best to view this particular case as a morphophonemic alternation between *7aks-* and *7aksa-* 'shoulder,' where the latter occurs before /s/ and the former occurs elsewhere.

2.6.5 Place Assimilation

Assimilation in HT happens from right to left within the morphological word. Nasals assimilate in place to a following contiguous consonant (section 2.6.5.1) and velars assimilate in place to a following uvular (section 2.6.5.2).

2.6.5.1 Nasal Assimilation

A nasal consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of a following consonant. The rule is formulated in (122) and examples appear in (123).

(122) C → C / ___ C
[+nasal] [α place] [α place]

(123) *Nasal assimilation*

7a**n**putun	[ˌʔa**m.**pu.ˈtun]	/an-putun/	'he wants to go'
ki**n**pay	[ki**m.**ˈpai]	/kin-pay/	'my father'
ki**n**kanaa	[ki**ŋ.**ˈkanaː]	/kin-kanaː/	'my right hand'
7a**n**ta	[ˈʔa**n.**tạ]	/an-ta/	'he has come'
ki**n**t'uun	[ki**n.**ˈdʉːn]	/kin-t'uːn/	'my land'
ki**n**qaqch'awti	[ki**ɴ**.qaq.ˈtʃ'au.ti̥]	/ki**n-**qaq-tʃ'auti /	'my beard'

2.6.5.2 Velar Assimilation

The alternation between /k/ and /q/ discussed in section 2.6.10 goes beyond sound symbolism. In non-symbolic language, a velar stop in certain morphemes will assimilate in place to an adjacent uvular stop across morphemic boundaries. The rule is formulated in (124), and examples are shown in (125). Note that neither the first person subject prefix *k-* nor the first person possessor prefix *kin-* is affected by this rule, as seen in (125d) and (125e), respectively.

(124) a. k → q / __ (V) $_{\text{STEM}}$[. . . q

b. C → C / __ (V) $_{\text{STEM}}$[. . . C
[+high] [-high] [-high]
[+back] [+back]
[-son] [-son]

(125) a. [ˌta.la**q.**ˈɓaqʃɬ]
/ta-la**k**-p’aqʃ-li/
3PL.SUB-DIS-break(VI)-PFV
‘They all broke.’

b. [ˌla.**q**a.tʃa.ˈqaʔ]
/ˈla**k**a-tʃaˈqaʔ/
PREP-house
‘in the house’

c. [la**q.**ɬβaq.nin]
/la**k**-ɬwaq-nin/
DIS-dismember-INF
‘to dismember it.’

d. [waː**k.** ma**q.**tʃ’a.qai]
/waː **k**-ma**k**-tʃ’aqa-j/
FOC 1SUB-HAND-wash-IMPFV
‘I wash my hands’

e. [la.**k**iː.la.ˌqa.tʃa.ˈqan]
/laka-**k**in-laqatʃaqan/
PREP-1POS-village
‘in my town’

Because the uvular stop has merged (is merging) with the glottal stop in HT (see section 2.3), the younger speakers will optionally assimilate the velar to the glottal stop that has replaced the uvular stop. In the example in (126a), the velar stops have assimilated to the stem internal glottal (*q) stop, but in the example in (126b), the velar stops did not assimilate.

(126) a. [ˌla.**ʔ**a.ˌla**ʔ.**tʃa.ˈʔ͡aʔ]
/la**k**a-la**k**-tʃa͡qaʔ/
PREP-PL-house
‘in the houses’

b. [ˌla.**k**a.ˌla**k.**tʃa.ˈʔ̠aʔ]
/la**k**a-la**k**-tʃaq̠aʔ/
PREP-PL-house
'in the houses'

2.6.6 Phonological Processes Affecting Velars

Phonological processes affecting velar consonants include metathesis (section 2.6.6.1) and spirantization (section 2.6.6.2).

2.6.6.1 Velar Metathesis

When a velar stop follows the low vowel and precedes the approximant /h/, metathesis occurs and the /k/ and the /h/ change places. I have not found this process to happen when /k/ follows any other vowel. The rule is formulated in (127) and the examples appear in (128).

(127) a. kh → hk / a ___

b.

C	C	→	C	C	/	V ___
[-son]	[+son]		[+son]	[-son]		[+low]
[+back]	[+sprd glot]		[+sprd glot]	[+back]		
[+high]				[+high]		

(128) a. [ˌʃa**h.k**u:.ˈni:.tḁ]
/ʃa-**k-h**un-ni:ta/
PAST-1SUB-be-PF
'I was'

b. [ˌʔa**h.k**u.ˈnaʔ]
/ʔa-**k-h**un-aʔ/
IRR-1SUB-be-FUT
'I will be'

c. [ˌʃa**h.k**uː.ˈniː]
/ʃa-**k-h**un-ni-j/
PAST-1SUB-say-DAT-IMPFV
‘I would tell him’

d. [ʔɪʃ.ˌla**h.k**uː.ˈniː.ta̰]
/ʔi-ʃ-la**k-h**un-niːta/
EPE-PAST-DIS-be-PF
‘they (inanimate) were’

The examples in (129) show contexts in which metathesis does not occur. In (129a), *k-* is word-initial (it does not follow /a/), and metathesis does not happen. In (129b), there are intervening phones between the /k/ and the /h/.

(129) a. [**kh**u.ˈnau]
/k-hun-aw/
1SUB-say(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB
‘We say it.’

b. [ʃa.ˌ**k**i.**h**uː.ˈniː]
/ʃa-kin-hun-ni-j/
PAST-1OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV
‘he would say to me’

A derivation is shown in (130). Though metathesis precedes [ʔi]-epenthesis in this derivation, they are not crucially ordered.

(130) Underling Rep	/**k-h**un-ni-j/	/ʔa-**k-h**un-aʔ/
Metathesis	----	/ʔa-**h-k**un-aʔ/
[ʔi]-epenthesis	/ʔi**k-h**un-ni-j/	----
Surface Rep	[ˌʔi**k.h**u.ˈniː]	[ˌʔa**h.k**u.ˈnaʔ]
Gloss	‘I tell him’	‘I will be’

2.6.6.2 Velar Spirantization (Place Dissimilation)

A velar stop /k/ spirantizes and becomes the approximant /h/ when it is preceded by a vowel and followed by a velar or uvular stop /k, k', q/. The rule is formulated in (131) and examples are shown in (132).

(131)a. /k/ → [h] / V___ {k, k', q}

b.

C	→	C	/	V ___ C
[-son]		[+son]		[-son]
[+back]		[+ sprd glot]		[+back]
[+high]				

(132) *Velar spirantization*

a. [ˌʔa.la**h.**ˌkɪk.na.ˈβiː]
/ʔa-lak-kiknawiː-j/
PL-3PL.OBJ-flatter-IMPFV
'he flatters them'

b. [ˌla**h.**krɬ.ˌtu.saː.ˈmaːi]
/la**k**-kiɬtu-saːmaː-j/
DIS-edge-smooth-IMPFV
'he smoothes all the edges'

c. [naː**h.** ˈk'u.s̬i]
/naa **k**-k'usi/
EMP 1SUB-pretty
'I am very pretty.'

d. [la**h.**ˈk'u.s̬i]
/la**k**-k'usi/
DIS-pretty
'they are pretty'

e. [laq.ˌʃtan.ʃβiː**h.**ˈkan]
/laqʃtan-ʃwiː**k**-kan/
JAW-shave-RFL(IMPFV)
‘he shaves himself (on the face)’

f. [tan.ˈʃɗu**h.**kaɬ]
/tan-ʃt’u**k**-kan-li/
TRUNK-button-RFL-PFV
‘He buttoned his shirt.’

g. [la**h.**ˈk’a.ʔuɬ]
/la**k**-k’aʔuɬ/
PL-dish
‘dishes’

h. [kɪ**h.**ˈk’iu]
/ki**k**-k’iw/
MOUTH-wood
‘jawbone’

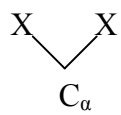
i. [ma**h.**ˈqɛ.siːt]
/ma**k**-qesiːt/
HAND-nail
‘fingernail’, ‘claw’

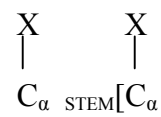
2.6.7 Coda Consonant Deletion

Processes of coda consonant deletion include identical consonant deletion (2.6.7.1) and word-final glottal stop deletion (2.6.7.2).

2.6.7.1 Identical Consonant Deletion

HT has no true geminate consonants, such as that shown in (133a). However, a fake geminate may result from morpheme concatenation when two identical consonants end up next to each other, as seen in (133b).

(133) a. 

b. 

When a sequence of two identical consonants results from morpheme concatenation, the first of the two consonants is deleted. The rule is shown in (134), and examples appear in (135). We know that it is the first consonant that is deleted and not the second one based on evidence provided by the sonorant consonants, which are moraic in coda position.[60] When the first of the two identical consonants is a sonorant consonant, as is the case in examples (135a) through (135c) below, deletion of this consonant leaves behind a mora, and the preceding vowel is compensatorily lengthened. Thus, this rule must precede the compensatory lengthening rule discussed in section 2.6.8.

(134) $C_\alpha \rightarrow \emptyset$ / __ $_{\text{STEM}}[C_\alpha$

(135) a. [ʔa.ˌlak.huː.ˈ**n**iː]
/ʔa-lak-hu**n-n**i-j/
PL-3PL.OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV
'he says it to them'

b. [ɬaː.ˌqa.maː.ˈnan]
/ɬaːqama**n-n**Vn/
waste-INO(IMPFV)
'he (habitually) wastes (stuff)'

c. [miː.ˈna.ti̥]
/mi**n-n**ati/
2POS-mother
'your mother'

[60] Please see sections 2.4 and 2.5 for discussion of the moraicity of sonorant consonants.

d. [ʔa.ˌqa.łoː.ˈnaʔ]
/ʔa-qałahu**n-n**Vʔ/
PL.INO-steal(VT)-AGNM
‘thief’

e. [ˌkɪɬ.k’a.ˈts’ai]
/**k-k**iɬ-k’atz’a-j/
1SUB-MOUTH-know-IMPFV
‘I taste it’

f. [t’aː.ˈqo.t’i̥]
/t’aː-qo**t-t**’i/
COM-drink-2SG.SUB.PFV
‘you drank with him’

Identical consonant (ID-C) deletion occurs after nasal assimilation and velar spirantization, as seen in the derivation in (136). Nasal assimilation and spirantization are not crucially ordered with each other. Identical consonant deletion precedes compensatory lengthening (see section 2.6.8).

(136)					
	Underlying Rep	/ki**n-m**akaʔ/	/ki**n-n**anaʔ/	/**k-k**atuch’iː-ɬ/	/ki**k-k**’iw/
	Nasal Assimilation	/kimmakaʔ/	----	----	----
	Vel Spirantization	----	----	----	/ki**h-k**’iw/
	ID-C Deletion	/kimakaʔ/	/kinanaʔ/	/katuch’iːɬ/	----
	Comp Length	/kiːmakaʔ/	/kiːnanaʔ/	----	----
	Surface Rep	[ˌkiː.ma.ˈkaʔ]	[ˌkiː.na.ˈnaʔ]	[ka.ˈtu.tʃ’iːɬ]	[kɪ**h.**ˈk’iu]
	Gloss	‘my hand’	‘my elder woman’	‘I yoke them’ (e.g. oxen)	‘jawbone’

2.6.7.2 Glottal Stop Deletion

A stem-final glottal stop is deleted before a suffix or an enclitic. The rule is shown in (137); examples appear in (138) and (139).

(137) $$\begin{matrix} C \\ [+\text{sonorant}] \\ [+\text{constr glot}] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \;/\; \_\_ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-suffix} \\ \text{+clitic} \end{Bmatrix}$$

(138) *Glottal stop deletion before an enclitic*

a. [ˌmaq.ti.ˈliːtʃ]
/maqtiliʔ+tʃ/
‘wild animal’

b. [ʔa.ˈnuːtʃ]
/anuʔ+tʃ/
‘that’

c. [pa.ˈpaːtʃ]
/papaʔ+tʃ/
‘man’

d. [ˌka.ʔa.ˈnaːtʃ]
/ka-ʔan-aʔ+tʃ /
IRR-go-FUT+ALD
‘he will go’

(139) *Glottal stop deletion before a suffix*

a. [ˌɗa.kuː.ˈnin]
/t’akuʔ-nin/
‘woman-PL’

b. [ˌmaq.ti.ˈliːn]
/maqtiliʔ-n/
‘wild animal-PL’

c. [tʃiː.ˈlaːn]
/tʃiːlaʔ-n/
‘chicken-PL’

d. [ˌka.la.ˌqo.ʃi.ˈjaau]
/ka-laqoʃi-jaʔ-w/
IRR-fix-FUT-1PL.SUB
‘we (INCL) will fix it’

e. [ˌʔak.mi.ˈnaːu]
/ʔa-k-min-aʔ-w/
IRR-1SUB-come-FUT-1PL.SUB
‘we (EXCL) will come’

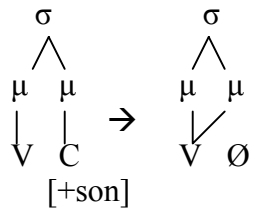
Stress assignment must precede glottal stop deletion, and glottal stop deletion precedes compensatory lengthening (see section 2.6.8). The derivation is shown in (140).

(140)			
Underlying Rep	/t’akuʔ-tʃ/	/t’akuʔ-nin/	/ka-7an-aʔ-tʃ/
Stress assign	/t’aˈkuʔ-tʃ /	/ˌt’akuʔ-ˈnin/	/ˌka-7aˈn-aʔ-tʃ/
ʔ-del	/t’aˈku-tʃ/	/ˌt’aku-ˈnin/	/ˌka-7aˈn-a-tʃ/
Comp length	/t’aˈkuː-tʃ/	/ˌt’akuː-ˈnin/	/ˌka-7aˈn-aː-tʃ/
Surface Rep	[t’a.ˈkuːtʃ]	[ˌt’a.kuː.ˈnin]	[ˌka.ʔa.ˈnaːtʃ]
Gloss	‘woman’	‘women’	‘he will go’

2.6.8 Compensatory Lengthening

Compensatory lengthening (Hayes 1989) of a syllable nucleus happens in HT after a sonorant (moraic) consonant has been deleted from coda position (see section 2.6.7). The vowel is lengthened to fill the timing gap left by the moraic coda. The rule is formulated two ways in (141). Please see sections 2.4 and 2.5 for a discussion of moraic codas.

(141) a.



b. V C → V: Ø
[+son]

Compensatory lengthening follows both of the consonant deletion rules discussed in section 2.6.7 (identical consonant deletion and glottal stop deletion), as well as the coda nasal deletion rules discussed below in sections 2.7.3 and 2.7.6.3. Derivations appear below in (142) and above in (136) and (140).

(142)				
Underlying Rep	/kin-wayti/	/kin-lak-makaʔ/	/kin-nati/	/t'akuʔ-nin/
ID-C-del	----	----	/ki-nati/	----
Nasal-del	/ki-wayti/	/ki-lak-makaʔ/	----	----
ʔ-del	----	----	----	/t'aku-nin/
Comp length	/kiː-wayti/	/kiː-lak-makaʔ/	/kiː-nati/	/t'akuː-nin/
Surface Rep	[kiː.ˈβai.t̪i̥]	[kiː.ˌlak.ma.ˈkaʔ]	[kiː.ˈna.t̪i̥]	[ˌɗa.kuː.ˈnin]
Gloss	'my food'	'my hands'	'my mother'	'women'

2.6.9 /h/-Deletion

An intervocalic /h/ in a stem is deleted when the following vowel is not stressed. The rule is formulated in (143), and examples appear in (144).

(143) C → Ø / V ___ V
[+sprd glot] [-stress][61]

[61] Stress here is not a distinctive feature. Here [-stress] is simply an abbreviation to indicate that this vowel must not bear stress.

(144) */h/-deletion*

a. [qa.ˈɬauɬ] **[qa.ˈɬa.huɬ][62]
/qaˈɬa**h**u-li/
steal-PFV
'he stole it'

b. [ʔa.ˌqa.ɬau.ˈnan] **[ˌʔa.qa.ˌɬa.hu.ˈnan]
/ʔa-qaɬa**h**u-nan/
PL-steal-INO(IMPFV)
'he steals (habitually, unspecified object)'

c. [mak.ˈtaiɬtʃ] **[mak.ˈta.hiɬtʃ]
/maktah**i**-li+tʃ/
flame-PFV+ALD
'it (a fire) flamed'

d. [ˌʔak.ɸai.ˈnaːu] **[ʔak.ˌɸa.hi.ˈnaːu]
/ʔa-k-wa**h**in-aʔ-w/
IRR-1SUB-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB
'We (EXCL) will eat'

e. [ˌta.miɴ.ˈqoːɬtʃ]
/ta-min-qo**h**u-li+tʃ/
3PL.SUB-come-ALL-PFV+ALD
'they all came'

If the vowel following the /h/ is stressed, then the /h/ is not deleted, as seen in the examples in (145).

(145) *No /h/-deletion*

a. [ˌqa.ɬa.ˈ**h**ui]
/qaɬa**h**u-j/
steal-IMPFV
'he steals it'

[62] A double asterisk ** indicates an ungrammatical form (whereas a single asterisk indicates a reconstructed form).

b. [na.ˈ**h**un]
/na**h**un/
say(IMPFV)
‘he says it’

c. [ˌmak.ta.ˈ**h**iː]
/maktа**h**i-j/
flame-IMPFV
‘it (the fire) flames’

d. [βa.ˈ**h**in.tatʃ]
[waˈ**h**in-ta+tʃ]
eat-PF+ALD
‘he has eaten’

Derivations are shown below in (146) and (147). This rule interacts crucially with the primary stress rule. In fact, it provides evidence that primary and secondary stress assignment do not happen simultaneously. Primary stress assignment precedes /h/-deletion, and secondary stress assignment follows /h/-deletion (specifically, see the last example in (146) and the first and last examples in (147)). Perfective nasal-deletion must precede both primary stress assignment and /h/-deletion.

(146)	URep	/qałahu-j/	/qałahu-ɬ/	/ʔa-qałahu-nan/
	1° stress	/qałaˈhu-j/	/qaˈłahu-ɬ/	/ʔa-qałahu-ˈnan/
	H-del	----	/qaˈłau-ɬ/	/ʔa-qałau-ˈnan/
	2° stress	/ˌqałaˈhu-j/	----	/ʔa-ˌqałau-ˈnan/
	S rep	[ˌqa.ła.ˈhui]	[qa.ˈłauɬ]	[ʔa.ˌqa.łau.ˈnan]
	Gloss	‘he steals it’	‘he stole it’	‘he steals’

(147)	U Rep	/wahin-putun/	/ʔa-k-wahin-aʔ-w/
	N-assim	/wahim-putun/	----
	1° stress	/wahim-puˈtun/	/ʔa-k-wahiˈn-aʔ-w/
	ʔ-del	----	/ʔa-k-wahiˈn-a-w/
	Comp leng	----	/ʔa-k-wahiˈn-aː-w/
	H-del	/waim-puˈtun/	/ʔa-k-waiˈn-aː-w/
	2° stress	/ˌwaim-puˈtun/	/ˌʔa-k-waiˈn-aː-w/
	S Rep	[ˌwaim.puˈtun]	[ˌʔak.βai.ˈnaːu]
	Gloss	'he wants to eat it'	'We (EXCL) will eat'

2.6.10 Sound Symbolic Phonemic Alternations

Sound symbolic phonemic alternations[63] are found in five areas of the Tepehua lexicon: the diminutive and augmentative (section 2.6.10.1), affection speech (section 2.6.10.2), lexical sets (section 2.6.10.3), phonemic alternations in body part prefixes (section 2.6.10.4), and ideophones (see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1). Verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs may undergo sound symbolic phonemic alternations. The sound symbolic phonemic alternations are summarized below in Table 9 and in greater detail in the subsequent subsections.

Table 9: Sound Symbolic Phonemic Alternations

s ~ ʃ ~ ɬ
ts, ts' ~ tʃ, tʃ'
k, k' ~ q/ʔ, *q'/ʔ
i, u ~ e, o

[63] Sound symbolic phonemic alternations have also been called *consonant ablaut* (Langdon 1971; Sapir 1911), *consonant symbolism* (Haas 1970), and *consonant- and vowel-shifts* (Nichols 1971).

The consonantal phonemic alternations exist in many, if not all, of the Totonacan languages. The alternations involve at least three different phonemic sets, /s ~ ʃ ~ ɬ/, / ts, ts' ~ tʃ, tʃ'/, and / k, k'~ q, q'/, and usually distinguish semantic extension, affection, or variations in intensity (McQuown 1940; Aschmann 1973; Bishop 1984; Levy 1987; MacKay 1999). However, as MacKay (1999) points out, phonemic alternation is not always accompanied by a change in meaning. McQuown (1940) was the first to note the phonemic alternation between /k/ and /q/ in words derived from the same root in Coatepec Totonac, but he gave only one example and did not extend his analysis to the other phonemic sets. In the subsequent literature, these phonemic alternations have been called *juego simbólico* 'symbolic set' by Aschmann (1973) and *simbolismo fonético* 'phonetic symbolism' by Levy (1987) for Papantla Totonac; *consonant play* by Bishop (1984) for Apapantilla (Northern) Totonac; and *sound symbolism* by MacKay (1999) for Misantla Totonac. This phenomenon in HT has been described by Herzog (1987), Smythe (2003), and Smythe Kung (2005a, 2005c, 2006c).

2.6.10.1 The Diminutive and Augmentative

In the Tepehua diminutive, the palato-alveolar fricatives and affricates are fronted to alveolars; the uvular stops are fronted to velars; and the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ are raised to /i/ and /u/, respectively. In the augmentative, we find the reverse pattern: the alveolar fricative /s/ and the alveolar affricates are backed to become palato-alveolars; the velar stops are backed to uvular stops; and the high-vowels are lowered to mid-vowels. Thus, in Huehuetla Tepehua, alveolar and

velar consonants and high vowels are associated with small size, while palato-alveolar and uvular consonants and mid-vowels are associated with large size. These alternations are summarized in Table 10, and examples (in practical orthography) appear in (148)

Table 10: Diminutive and Augmentative

Alternation	**Diminutive**	**Augmentative**
s ~ ʃ ~ ɬ ts, ts' ~ tʃ, tʃ' k, k' ~ q/ʔ, *q'/ʔ	ʃ, ɬ → s tʃ, tʃ' → ts, ts' q/ʔ, *q'/ʔ → k, k'	s → ʃ, ɬ ts, ts' → tʃ, tʃ' k, k' → q/ʔ, *q'/ʔ
i, u ~ e, o	e, o → i, u	i, u → e, o

(148)	Normal Speech	~	Diminutive	~	Augmentative
a.	**lhoqoqo** 'something hollow'	~	**sukuku**		
b.	**lhpututu** 'round thing'	~	**sputut**u 'small, round thing'	~	**pototo** 'large, round thing'
c.	**tz'**alh 'boy'			~	**ch'**alh 'big boy'
d.	**ki**lh 'mouth'			~	**qe**lh 'big mouth'
e.	**ch'**aay 'ripened'	~	**tz'**aay 'small and ripened'		

According to Hinton, Nichols, and Ohala (1994), the *Frequency Code* is the linguistic phenomenon according to which

> high tones, vowels with high second formants (notably /i/), and high-frequency consonants are associated with high-frequency sounds, small

size, sharpness, and rapid movement; low tones, vowels with low second formants (notably /u/), and low-frequency consonants are associated with low-frequency sounds, large size, softness, and heavy, slow movements" (p. 10).

All of the phonemic alternations found in the HT diminutive and augmentative correspond to the Frequency Code with the exception of the alternation between /o/ and /u/.

2.6.10.2 Affectionate Speech

"Affectionate speech," or "el habla con cariño," is the name that my principal consultant, don Nicolás, gave to this speech style, which is similar to baby talk in its social use. According to don Nicolás, affectionate speech can be used when an older speaker is addressing someone much younger than him/herself and when the speaker wants to indicate affection towards the addressee; for example, it is used when a parent or grandparent talks to a young adult or child. I observed both men and women using affectionate speech in Huehuetla, but I actually noticed more men than women using it. However, I did not hear this speech style used very often, and, according to don Nicolás, affectionate speech is used much less today than it was in the past. I presume that this is because, as I observed, the Tepehua people mostly speak to their children and grandchildren in Spanish now.

HT speakers usually translate affectionate speech into the Spanish diminutive, but it is not the equivalent of the Spanish diminutive for two reasons. First, the Spanish diminutive is a morphological process, while affectionate

speech is a phonological process. And, second, when I tried to elicit affectionate speech using the Spanish diminutive, I was given the HT equivalent of *little X*. For example, if I asked for *birdy*, or *pajarito*, I was given [ˌlakaˈdìkst'i ˈts'oʔ], which literally means 'little bird' or 'pájaro pequeño'. I found that I had to elicit affectionate speech by requesting that the speaker pretend to be talking to a child.

Bishop (1984) describes "baby talk" in Apapantilla (Northern) Totonac as follows: "Some fronting of the /ch/ has been observed in baby-talk (adults to babies)" (p. 31); however, she mentions no other phonological examples.

In HT, affectionate speech involves four sets of phonemic changes. First, the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative and affricates front to the corresponding alveolar consonants, as shown below in (149).

(149) Change 1: Palato-alveolar fronting: [ʃ, tʃ, tʃ'] → [s, ts, ts']

a.	xaanti	[ˈ**ʃ**aːn.t̪i̥] → [ˈ**s**aːn.t̪i̥]	'flower'
b.	paqachu	[pa.ˈqa.**tʃ**u̥] → [pa.ka.ˈ**ts**u̥]	'wing'
c.	kikwinch'u	[kɪk.ˈβin.**tʃ'**u̥] → [kɪk.ˈβin.**ts'**u̥]	'whiskers'

In example (149a), the /ʃ/ in *xaanti* 'flower' fronts to /s/. In example (149b), the /tʃ/ in *paqachu* 'wing'[64] fronts to /ts/. And in example (149c), the glottalized /tʃ'/ in *kikwinch'u* 'whiskers' fronts to glottalized /ts'/. Note that the quality of glottalization on the palato-alveolar affricate is carried over to the alveolar affricate.

[64] The word *paqachu* 'wing' is pronounced as [paqa**tʃ**u] by the older speakers who still retain a uvular stop and as [paʔa**tʃ**u] by the younger speakers who do not.

Second, the voiceless lateral fricative delateralizes only after a long vowel and at the beginning of a word, shown below in (150), where a double asterisk ** indicates an unacceptable or unattested form.[65]

(150) Change 2: Delateralization: [ɬ] → [s] / $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{V:}\ \_ \\ \#\ \_ \end{matrix}\right\}$

a.	puu**lh**tuj	[puːɬ.ˈtuh] → [puː**s.**ˈtuh]		'toad'
	lhoqoqo	[ɬɔ.ˈqɔ.qo̥] → [**s**u.ˈku.ku̥]		'hollow'
b.	ta**lh**pa	[ˈta**ɬ.**pa̰]	**[ˈta**s.**pa̰]	'hill'
	pu**lh**qom	[pu**ɬ.**ˈqɔm]	**[pu**s.**ˈk(')um]	'mud'
	maqa**lh**qama7	[ma.ˌqa**ɬ.**qa.ˈmaʔ]	**[ma.ˌka**s.**ka.ˈmaʔ]	'Tepehua'

In the examples in (150a), the /ɬ/ follows a long vowel or begins the word, and it delateralizes to /s/. However, in the examples in (150b), the /ɬ/ follows a short vowel, and it cannot not delateralize.

Third, the voiceless uvular stop front to a voiceless velar stop, shown below in (151).

(151) Change 3: Uvular fronting: *q, *q' [q/ʔ, ʔ] → [k, k']

a.	cha**q**a**7**	[tʃa.ˈ**q**a**ʔ**] → [tʃa.ˈ**k**a**ʔ**]	**cha**k'**a**k**	'house'
b.	x**q**an	[ˈʃ**ʔ**an] → [ˈs**k'**an]	**x**k**an	'fly'

Example (151a) is revealing because the word *chaqa7* 'house' contains both a plain uvular stop between the vowels and a glottal stop at the end of the word. In regular speech, the older HT speakers pronounce the word as [tʃa**q**aʔ], with a plain uvular stop and a glottal stop, while the younger speakers pronounce the word as [tʃa.ˈ**ʔ**aʔ], with two glottal stops. In affectionate speech, everyone fronts the first stop to a velar, but no one fronts the word-final stop to a velar, which

[65] A single asterisk indicates a reconstructed form.

indicates that this particular glottal stop was not historically a uvular. Also, no one fronts the first stop to a glottalized velar, implying that the underlying uvular was historically [-constricted glottis] **chaqa7*. In example (151b), the word *xqan* 'fly' contains a plain uvular stop, [ʃ**q**an], in the speech of the older HT speakers and a glottal stop, [ʃ**ʔ**an], in the speech of the younger HT speakers. In affectionate speech, speakers of all ages front this sound to a *glottalized* velar, *x**k'**an*. Recall from the discussion of (149), above, that the quality of glottalization on the palato-alveolar affricate carried over to the alveolar affricate in palato-alveolar fronting; assuming that the same pattern is to be found in uvular fronting, the reconstructed form of this word would be **xq'an* in Proto-HT.

Finally, the mid vowels raise to high vowels. According to Watters (1988), Tepehua previously had a three vowel system, /i, u, a/, and the mid vowels /e, o/ appeared only in the context of a uvular stop and at certain morpheme boundaries. The mid vowels have since become phonemic, but they are still scarce except in some loan words, at certain morpheme boundaries, and in the context of a glottal stop that was historically a uvular stop. Below in (152a), the mid vowels in *tz'oqon*[66] 'Otomí' raise to high vowels in [ts'uˈk'un]. Based on the glottalized velar in [ts'u.ˈk'un], I would reconstruct **tz'uq'un* in Proto-HT. In (152b), the /e/ in *teensuun* 'goat' raises to /i/ in affectionate speech. Since goats were not native to the Americas, I do not attempt to reconstruct this word.

(152) Change 4: Mid vowel raising: /e, o/ → [i, u]

a. tz'**o**q**o**n [ts'**ɔ.**ˈqɔn] → [ts'**u.**ˈk'**u**n] 'Otomí'

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[66] The word *tz'oqon* is pronounced as [ts'ɔˈqɔn] by the older speakers and as [ts'oˈʔon] by the younger speakers.

b. **tee**nsuun [ˈt**eː**n.suːn] → [ˈt**iː**n.suːn] ‘goat’

A summary of the sound changes involved in affectionate speech is given in Table 11.

Table 11: Phoneme Changes in Affectionate Speech

Regular Speech	Affectionate Speech	Sound Change Rule
ʃ	s	Palato-alveolar fronting
tʃ	ts	Palato-alveolar fronting
tʃ’	ts’	Palato-alveolar fronting
ɬ	s	Delateralization
ʔ	k	Uvular fronting
ʔ	k’	Uvular fronting
q/ʔ	k	Uvular fronting
q’/ʔ	k’	Uvular fronting
o	u	Mid-vowel raising
e	i	Mid-vowel raising

2.6.10.3 Lexical Sets

In addition to signaling the diminutive, the augmentative, and/or affectionate speech, all of the above mentioned phonemic alternations are also found in HT lexical sets that are based on the same root. In all of the lexical sets in (153), a phonemic alternation corresponds to a slight change in meaning.

(153) HT lexical sets

a. **x**aq**x** [ˈ**ʃ**aq**ʃ**]~[ˈ**ʃ**aʔ**ʃ**] ‘fig tree’

saq**s** [ˈ**s**aq**s**]~[ˈ**s**aʔ**s**] ‘candy, sweet’

b.	**ch'**a**q**a7iy	[ˌ**tʃ'**a.**q**a.ˈʔiː]~[ˌ**tʃ'**a.**ʔ**a.ˈʔiː]	'he breaks it apart with his hand (e.g. bread)'
	tz'a**k'**a7iy	[ˌ**ts'**a.**k'**a.ˈʔiː]	'he bites it apart'
c.	7al**oqo**t	[ʔa.ˈl**ɔ.qɔ**t]~[ʔa.ˈl**o.ʔo**t]	'horn'
	7al**uku**t	[ʔa.ˈl**u.ku**t]	'bone'
d.	**s**p**u**t**u**t**u**	[**s**p**u.**ˈt**u.**tu̥]	'round and small'
	lhp**u**t**u**t**u**	[**ɬ**p**u.**ˈt**u.**tu̥]	'round and medium'
	p**o**t**o**t**o**	[p**o.**ˈt**o.**to̥]	'round and large'
e.	**k'u**k**'**ay	[**k'u.**ˈ**k'**ai]	'he carried it'
	7o7ay (***q'**o**q'**ay)	[**ʔo.**ˈ**ʔ**ai]	'he carried it' (some-thing heavy)
f.	x**q**a**q**alh**ch**	[ˈʃ**q**a.**q**a**ɬtʃ**]~[ˈʃʔa.ʔa**ɬtʃ**]	'[the day] cleared up'
	s**k**a**k**alh**ch**	[ˈs**k**a.**k**a**ɬtʃ**]	'[the day] warmed up'

Note that in the examples in (153f), the temporal clitic +*ch* [tʃ] does not vary, even when other phonemes within the word do.

What is interesting about all of the examples in (153) is that some reflect a difference in size, while others do not. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to determine which word in each set reflects the root.

2.6.10.4 Phonemic Alternation in Body Part Prefixes

Though this section deals with a particular set of morphemes (the body part prefixes), I have chosen to include it here because it is a continuation of the theme of the sound symbolic alternations that was explored in the last three subsections.

Many of the body part prefixes (BPPs) show alternating forms based on the phonemic alternations discussed in this section. The relevant BPPs are shown below in table 12. For a complete list of all of the BPPs, please see Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8.

Table 12: Alternating Body Part Prefixes

Body Part Prefix (practical orthography)	**Full Noun**	**Gloss**
7aq- ~ 7ak- ~ lacuna-	7aqtzulh	head
7aqx(a)- ~ 7aks(a)- ~ 'aqxp'in-	7aqxp'un	shoulder, upper back, flat surface
ch'an- ~ tz'an-	ch'aja7	foot, leg, paw
kik- ~ kilhtu- ~ qelh-	kilh	mouth, edge
kinka- ~ ka-	kinkati7	tip, point
kinka- ~ kanka- ~ kanqa-	lhiixin	nose
laka- ~ lak- ~ laqa- ~ laq-	lakatunaj	body
lakpuu- ~ laq(a)puu- ~ laq- ~ lak-	7ukxpu7	face
lakpuu- ~ laq(a)puu- ~ laq- ~ lak-	laqchulh	eye
mak- ~ maq-	maka7	hand, arm
qaq- ~ kaq- ~ laq(a)xtan	laqxtan	cheek
qaq- ~ kaq-	kaalhtz'an	jaw

The choice between alternate forms of a BPP can be resolved in one of two ways: (i) the BPP may be symbolic of the size of a noun to which it attaches or (ii) the BPP may harmonize with a root consonant.

The first option is very similar to the distinction between the augmentative and the diminutive, which was see above in section 2.6.10.1. An example is shown below in (154). This example is unique because it is the only example that I have found of an alternation between /i/ and /a/. Note that while the place of the second stop alternates between velar and uvular, the place of the first stop does

not alternate. Note, also, that it is not the size of the ‘nose’ that is relevant, but rather the size of the ‘hair’.

(154) a. [ˌ**kaɴ.qa.**ˈtʃ’au.t̥i]
/**kanqa**-tʃ’awti/
NOSE-hair
‘mustache’

b. [ˌ**kaŋ.ka.**ˈtʃ’au.t̥i]
/**kanka**-tʃ’awti/
NOSE-hair
‘tentacle/filament on a bug’s face’

c. [ˌ**kiŋ.ka.**ˈtʃ’au.t̥i]
/**kinka**-tʃ’awti/
NOSE-hair
‘nose hair’

The second type of alternation found in the BPPs is dependent on the place of articulation of the consonants within the root. When a BPP has more than one allomorph, the allomorph whose consonants are the most similar to the consonants found in the root will be chosen. In other words, the consonants of the BPP will harmonize with the consonants of the root. Examples are shown below in (155) and (156). In (155a), the root contains a velar consonant, and the BPP *7ak-* ‘head’ harmonizes with that consonant. In (155b), the root contains a uvular consonant, and the BPP *7aq-* ‘head’ harmonizes with it. In (156a), the root contains a uvular stop, so the BPP *7aqx-* ‘shoulder’ that contains a uvular stop is used. In (156b), the root contains an alveolar fricative /s/, the BPP *7aks-* ‘shoulder’ that contains an alveolar fricative is used.

(155) a. [ˌk**’a<u>k</u>**.ɬɗuŋ.ˈ<u>k</u>’u.tatʃ]
/k-**ʔa<u>k</u>**-ɬt’un<u>k</u>’u-ta+tʃ/
1SUB-HEAD-carry-PF+ALD
‘I carried it on my head.’

b. [**ʔa<u>q</u>**.ˌʃɗa<u>q</u>.pu.ˈtun]
/**ʔa<u>q</u>**-ʃt’a<u>q</u>-putun/
HEAD-cover-DESID(IMPFV)
‘he wants to cover (the top of) it’

(156) a. [ˌ**ʔa<u>q</u>.ʃ<u>q</u>**o.ˈ<u>q</u>a.tatʃ]
/**ʔa<u>q</u>ʃ**-<u>q</u>o<u>q</u>a-ta+tʃ/
SHOULDER-throw-PF+ALD
‘He threw it on his shoulder.’

b. [ˌ**ʔak.<u>s</u>a.**ˈ<u>s</u>aːi]
/**ʔak<u>s</u>**-a-<u>s</u>aː-j/
SHOULDER-EPE-hit-IMPFV
‘he pats him on the back’

2.7 MORPHOPHONEMICS

In this section, I briefly examine the morphophonemic patterns found in the HT morphology. A more detailed discussion of each morpheme and any allomorphs it might have is found in the chapter to which that morpheme pertains. For example, verbal inflectional affixes are discussed in Chapter 3 on verbs, and nominal inflectional affixes are discussed in Chapter 4 on Nouns. Any cross-over morphemes are cross-referenced in the relevant chapters.

2.7.1 Second Person Subject Marking

A second person subject (both singular and plural) is indicated primarily by means of glottal constriction on all stops and affricates in the verbal stem, and a stem-internal glottal approximate /h/ becomes a glottal stop /ʔ/. Additionally, a

second person singular subject is co-referenced by the suffix *–t'i* in the perfective aspect, and a second person plural subject is co-referenced with the suffix *–t'it*. Comparison of the examples in (157) shows that (in the imperfective aspect) the only difference between a third person singular subject (157a) and a second person singular subject (157b) is the glottalization of the (non-nasal) stops in the stem; this glottalization indicates a second person subject.

(157) a. [lah.ˌ**kɪk.**na.ˈβiː]
/lak-kiknawiː-j/
3PL.OBJ-flatter-IMPFV
'he flatters them'

b. [lah.ˌ**k'ɪk'.**na.ˈβiː]
/lak-kiknawiː-j **[+constr glot]**/
3PL.OBJ-flatter-IMPFV
'you flatter them'

The alternation between /h/ and [ʔ] in second person is shown in the examples in (158). The verb in (158a) has a third person singular subject, and the /h/ of the verb root is retained as [h]. The verb in (158b) has a second person singular subject, and the /h/ of the root surfaces as a glottal stop [ʔ].

(158) a. [ˌʃta.**h**uː.ˈniː.ta̰]
/ʃ-**h**un-niːta/
PAST-be-PF
'he was'

b. [ˌʔɪʃ.**ʔ**uː.ˈniː.ɗa̰]
/ʔi-ʃ-**h**un-niːta **[+glot constr]**/
EPE-PAST-be-PF
'you (SG) were'

For more examples of second person subject glottalization, please see Chapter 3, sections 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.2.2.

2.7.2 Epenthesis

There are three types of morphophonemic epenthesis in HT: [a]-epenthesis between a stem and a suffix (section 2.7.2.1), [a]-epenthesis between a prefix and a stem (section 2.7.2.2), and [ʔi-]-epenthesis before a prefix (section 2.7.2.3).

2.7.2.1 Suffix [a]-Epenthesis

An epenthetic [a] occurs between a verb stem that ends in a consonant and a suffix that begins with a consonant. The suffixes that demonstrate this type of allomorphy include the first person plural subject suffix (-w ~ -aw), the second person plural subject suffix (-t'it ~ -at'it), and the second person object suffix (-n ~ -an). The consonant-initial allomorph of each of these prefixes occurs after a stem-final vowel, and the vowel-initial allomorph occurs after a stem-final consonant. The rule is shown in (159), and examples appear in (160), (161), and (162). It is not possible to make the environment of this rule more general because there a numerous consonant-initial verbal suffixes to which this rule does not apply, including second person singular subject (perfective aspect only) *–t'i*, reflexive/unspecified subject *–kan*, indefinite object *–nVn,* infinitive *–nin*, etc.

(159) $$\emptyset \rightarrow \underset{[+\text{low}]}{\text{V}} \;/\; \text{C}\,]_{\text{STEM}} \_\_\_ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-w} \\ \text{-t'it} \\ \text{-n} \end{array} \right\}$$

(160) *First person plural subject*

a. [ˌʃah.kun.ˈta**u**]
/ʃ-a-k-hun-ta-**w**/
PAST-EPE-1SUB-be-PF-1PL.SUB
'we (EXCL) were'

b. [ʃaˌ.kuː.ʃ.tu.ˈj**au**]
/ʃ-a-k-kuːʃtu-j-**a**-**w**/
PAST-EPE-1SUB-cultivate.corn-IMPFV-EPE-1PL.SUB
'we (EXCL) cultivated corn'

(161) *Second person plural subject*

a. [ˌʔa.ts'a.ˈla.**ɗit**]
/ʔatzala-**t'it [+constr glot]**/
run(PFV)-2PL.SUB
'you (PL) ran'

b. [ɗa.ˌɓai.ni.ˈj**a.ɗit**]
/tapajni-j-**a**-**t'it [+constr glot]**/
ask.forgiveness-IMPFV-EPE-2PL.SUB
'you (PL) ask forgiveness'

(162) *Second person object*

a. [ˌta.kiː.ˌpuːʃ.ka.ˈju**n**]
/ta-kiː-puːxkaju-**n**/
3PL.SUB-RT-search.for(PFV)-2OBJ
'they went looking for you (and came back)'

b. [ˌʃa.tʃoː.ˈj**an**]
/ʃ-a-tʃahu-j-**a**-**n**/
PAST-EPE-fall.on-IMPFV-EPE-2OBJ
'it would fall on you'

For more information on these suffixes, please see Chapter 3, sections 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.4.

2.7.2.2 Prefix [a]-Epenthesis

A second type of [a]-epenthesis applies only to the past tense prefix *x-* when it precedes the first person subject prefix *k-* and the first person object prefix *kin-*. In these two contexts, an epenthetic [a] occurs between the past tense prefix and the first person prefixes. The rule is formulated in (163), and examples are shown in (164).

(163) a. /ʃ/ → /ʃa/ / ___ { k- / kin- }

b. Ø → V [+low] / C [+strid] [+cont] [-ant] ___ { k- / kin- }

(164) a. *Past tense + first person subject*

[ˌ**ʃak.**tʃ’aɬ.ˌkat.na.ˈnaw]

/**ʃ-a-k**-tʃ’aɬkat-nVn-a-w/

PAST-EPE-1SUB-work-INO(IMPFV)-EPE-1PL.SUB

‘we worked’

b. *Past tense + first person object*

[**ʃa.**ˌ**ki.**huː.ˈniː]

/**ʃ-a-kin**-hun-ni-j/

PAST-EPE-1OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV

‘he would say it to me’

Please see Chapter 3, section 3.1.2.1 for more information on the past tense prefix.

2.7.2.3 [ʔi-]-Epenthesis

A third type of epenthesis—[ʔi-]-epenthesis—occurs when the addition of a prefix to a stem creates a word-initial onset consonant cluster that does not

conform to the syllable structure given in (55). This type of epenthesis happens only with the addition of the following prefixes: (i) the first person subject prefix *k-* that occurs on verb stems, (ii) the past tense prefix *x-* that occurs on verb stems, and (iii) the third person possessor prefix *x-* that occurs on noun stems.

The [ʔi-]-epenthesis rule is formulated below in (165), and examples appear in (166), (167), and (168). The addition of word-initial [ʔi-] allows the following prefix to act as a syllable coda rather than as a syllable onset. Please see section 2.4.5 for discussion of syllabification of these prefixes.

(165) $$\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{matrix} ʔ \\ [+high] \\ [-back] \end{matrix} \; V \quad / \; \#\_\_\_ \begin{Bmatrix} k\ C, \\ ʃ\ C \\ [-son] \\ [+cont] \end{Bmatrix}$$

(166) *Before k- 1SUB*

a. [**ʔɪ**k.ˈta.maːɬ]
/**ʔi**-k-tamaː-li/
EPE-1SUB-lie.down-PFV
'I laid down.'

b. [ˌ**ʔɪ**k.ʃtaq.ˌni.pu.ˈtun]
/**ʔi**-k-ʃtaq-ni-putun/
EPE-1SUB-give-DAT-DESID(IMPFV)
'I want to give it to him'

(167) *Before x- PAST*

a. [**ʔɪ**ʃ.ˈtʃaː.tạ]
/**ʔi**-ʃ-tʃaː-ta/
EPE-PAST-ripe-PF
'it was ripe'

b. [**ʔɪ**ʃ.ˈɗa.ʔa]
/**ʔi**-ʃ-ʃt’aq-ʔa/
EPE-PAST-give/gush-IMPFV
‘it (e.g., a liquid) would gush’

(168) *Before x- 3POS*

a. [**ʔɪ**ʃ.ˈtsɪʔ]
/**ʔi**-ʃ-tsiʔ/
EPE-3POS-girl
‘his/her daughter’

b. [**ʔɪ**ʃ.ˈqoi]
/**ʔi**-ʃ-ʃqoj/
EPE-3POS-leaf
‘its leaf (e.g., of a plant or tree)’

2.7.3 Coda Nasal Deletion from a Prefix

The second type of nasal deletion applies to the first and second person possessive prefixes, *kin-* and *min-,* respectively, and to the first person object prefix *kin-*. When *kin-* 1OBJ, *kin-* 1POS, or *min-* 2POS precedes either of the approximants /w/ or /h/, it is deleted. Unfortunately there is a gap in my data with respect to the behavior of these prefixes preceding the other approximant /j/. The rule is formulated in (169) and examples are shown in (170). Nasal deletion is followed by compensatory lengthening; please see section 2.6.8.

(169) *Prefix N-deletion before an approximant*

C → Ø / __ C
[+nasal] [+son]
[-nasal]

(170)a. [kiː.ˈβai.ti̥]
/ki**n**-wajti/
1POS-food
'my food'

b. [miː.ˈβaː.kaʃ]
/mi**n**-waːkaʃ/
2POS-cow
'your cow'

c. [ˌkiː.hu.ˈniː]
/ki**n**-hun-ni-j/
1OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV
'he says it to me'

When the first and second person possessive prefixes *kin-* and *min-* and the first person object prefix *kin-* precede the liquid /l/ or the glottal stop /ʔ/, the /n/ of the prefix is optionally deleted. This rule is formulated in (171) and examples are shown in (172). If this rule applies, then compensatory lengthening follows it (see section 2.6.8).

(171) *Optional prefix N-deletion before /l/ and /ʔ/*

C →	Ø / __	{C ,	C}
[+nasal]		[+son]	[+son]
		[+lateral]	[+constr glot]

(172) a. [**kin.**ˈʔaq.tsuɬ] ~ [**kiː.**ˈʔaq.tsuɬ]
/kin-ʔaqtsuɬ/
1POS-head
'my head'

b. [**kin.**ˌlak.ma.ˈkaʔ] ~ [**kiː.**ˌlak.ma.ˈkaʔ]
/kin-lak-makaʔ/
1POS-PL-hand
'my hands'

c. [ˌ**kin.**la.ˈqo.ʃɪɬ] ~ [ˌ**kiː.**la.ˈqo.ʃɪɬ]
/kin-laqoxi-li/
1OBJ-cure-PFV
'he cured me'

2.7.4 Vowel Harmony

There are several suffixes which have a vowel that is unspecified for quality; the unspecified vowel harmonizes with the last vowel of the stem to which the suffix attaches. These suffixes include the adjectivizing suffixes *–k'V* and *–7V* (*-*q'V*), the indefinite object suffix *–nVn,* the infinitive suffix *–nV7*, the plural nominal suffix *–Vn,* and the agent nominalizing suffix *–nV7*. Vowel harmony spreads from left to right from the stem to the suffix. The rule is formulated in (173), and examples appear in (174), (175), (176), (177), and (178).

(173) $\underset{[\text{-place}]}{\text{V}} \rightarrow \underset{[\alpha\ \text{place}]}{\text{V}} \ / \ \underset{[\alpha\ \text{place}]}{\text{V}} \ldots]_{\text{STEM}}\ \text{-(C)}\ \_\_\_$

(174) *Adjectivizer –k'V*

a. [la.ˈɬaŋ.k'**ḁ**]
/laɬa-n-k'**V**/
XXX-DVB-ADJZ[67]
'hanging'

b. [tsi.ˈhiŋ.k'**i̥**]
/tsihi-n-k'**V**/
XXX-DVB-ADJZ
'serrated'

[67] The abbreviation XXX indicates an unknown root. Please see the list of abbreviations.

c. [ts’u.ˈkuŋ.k’**u̥**]
/ts’uku-n-k’**V**/
be.cold-DVB-ADJZ
‘cold’

(175) *Indefinite object –nVn*

a. [ˌʃta.ʔa.ˌmaq.pa.ˈn**a**n]
/ʃ-ta-ʔa-maqpa-n**V**n/
PAST-3PL.SUB-PL-wash-INO(IMPFV)
‘they were washing’

b. [ta.ˌʔaɬ.ɗuh.ˈn**u**n]
/ta-ʔaɬt’uh-n**V**n/
3PL.SUB-jump-INO(IMPFV)
‘they jump’

c. [ˌkmaː.laq.ˈtʃ’iː.n**i**ːɬ]
/k-maːlaqtʃ’iː-n**V**n-li/
1SUB-get.dressed-INO-PFV
‘I got dressed’

(176) Infinitive *–n**V**7*

a. [ˌmaː.ʔa.ˈn**a**ʔ]
/maːʔan-n**V**ʔ/
throw-INF
‘to throw it’

b. [tan.ˌʃɗu.ɗu.ˈn**u**ʔ]
/tan-ʃt’ut’u-n**V**ʔ/
TORSO-suck-INF
‘to nurse’

c. laqtz'ini7
[ˌlaq.ts’i.ˈn**i**ʔ]
/laqts’in-n**V**ʔ/
see-INF
‘to see it’

(177) *Plural noun –Vn*

a. [ts’a.ˈl**a**n]
/ts’al-**V**n/
boy-PL
‘boys’

b. [ˌts’o.qo.ˈn**u**n]
/ts’oqon-**V**n/
*ts’uq’un-Vn
Otomí-PL
‘Otomí people’

c. [ˌʔa.tsi.ˈʔ**i**n]
/atsiʔ-**V**n/
girl-PL
‘girls’

(178) *Agent nominalizer –nV7*

a. [ˌtʃ’ał.kat.ˈn**a**ʔ]
/tʃ’ałkat-n**V**ʔ/
work-AGNM
‘worker’

b. [ʔa.ˌk’u.tʃ’u.ˈn**u**ʔ]
/ʔa-k’utʃ’u-n**V**ʔ/
PL-cure-AGNM
‘healer’, ‘doctor’

c. [ʔiː.ˈn**i**ʔ]
/ʔiː-n-ʔ/
bring-AGNM
‘servant’

2.7.5 Strident Assimilation

The strident continuant non-anterior consonant /ʃ/ in the third person possessive inflectional prefix *x-* becomes anterior when there is a following

anterior non-lateral strident consonant /s/ in the stem. The rule is formulated in (179), and examples appear in (180).

(179)

C	→	C	/ ___ STEM[. . .	C
[+strid]		[-ant]		[+strid]
[+cont]				[+cont]
[+ant]				[-ant]
[-lat]				[-lat]

(180) *Strident Assimilation*

sasqat'a	[sas.ˈqa.t'a]	/ʃ-asqat'a/	'his child'
7istampuus	[sˈtam.puːs]	/ʃ-tampuːs/	'its middle'
7isawaw	[ʔɪ.sa.ˈβau]	/ʃ-sawaw/	'his muscle'

The derivation shown in (181) demonstrates that strident assimilation precedes both [ʔi]-epenthesis (section 2.7.2.2) and identical consonant deletion (section 2.6.7.1).

(181)

Underlying Rep	/ʃ-sawaw/	/ʃ-tʃ'ahaʔ/	/ʃ-tampuːs/
Strident Assim	/s-sawaw/	----	/s-tampuːs/
[ʔi]-epenthesis	/ʔi-s-sawaw/	/ʔiʃ-tʃ'ahaʔ/	----
ID-C deletion	/ʔi-Ø-sawaw/	----	----
Surface Rep	[ʔɪ.sa.ˈβau]	[ˌʔɪʃ.tʃ'a.ˈhaʔ]	[sˈtam.puːs]
Gloss	'his muscle'	'his foot'	'its middle'

2.7.6 Perfective Apsect Morphophonemic Rules

Three morphophonemic rules are specific to the perfective aspect only. They are perfective lateral neutralization (section 2.7.6.1), perfective lateral deletion (section 2.7.6.2), and perfective nasal deletion (section 2.7.6.3).

2.7.6.1 Perfective Lateral Neutralization

The perfective aspect suffix *-li* neutralizes to *-lh* in all environments *except* when it occurs between a consonant-final stem and the temporal enclitic *+ch* (ALD). In other words, perfective lateral neutralization occurs in two environments: (i) when *-li* follows a vowel *and* precedes a word boundary or the temporal clitic *+ch*, and (ii) when *-li* occurs word-finally after a consonant or glide; this rule is shown below in (182).

(182)

$$\text{-li PFV} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-lh / V}\_\_\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{\#} \\ \text{+ch ALD} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{-lh / C }\_\_\text{\#} \end{array} \right\}$$

The examples in (183) demonstrate that *-li* always neutralizes to [ɬ] following a vowel. In (183a), *-li* occurs between a stem-final vowel and a word boundary. In (183b), *-li* occurs between a stem-final vowel and the temporal clitic *+ch*. In both cases, *-li* neutralizes to [ɬ].

(183) a. [ˈtsu.kuɬ]
/tsuku-**li**#/
begin-PFV
'it began'

b. [ʔa.ˈts'a.laɬtʃ]
/ats'ala-**li**+tʃ/
run-PFV+ALD
'he ran'

The examples in (184) demonstrate the outcome of the rule when *-li* follows a consonant. In (184a), *-li* occurs between a stem-final consonant and a word boundary, so it changes to [ɬ]. In (184b) it occurs between a stem-final consonant and the temporal clitic *+ch*, and it does not change.

(184) a. [ˈtas.pitɬ]
/taspit-**li**#/
return-PFV
'he returned'

b. [tas.ˈpit.**li**tʃ]
/taspit-**li**+tʃ/
return-PFV+ALD
'he already returned'

This rule feeds the perfective lateral deletion rule that is discussed in the next section. A derivation that shows this rule ordering is given there in (188).

Perfective lateral neutralization differs from the liquid neutralization rule that was discussed in section 2.6.2 in that the liquid neutralization rule (i) is not limited to the perfective aspect and (ii) must follow both primary stress assignment and short-vowel deletion. Perfective lateral neutralization, on the other hand, (i) is limited to the perfective aspect, and (ii) it occurs *before* stress assignment, and (iii) it bleeds both short-vowel deletion and liquid neutralization. A derivation showing this ordering appears in (185).

(185)				
Under Rep	/wiːk'ili/	/taspit-li/	/taspit-li+tʃ/	/tsuku-li+tʃ/
PFV L-Neut	----	/taspit-ɬ/	----	/tsuku-ɬ+tʃ/
1° Stress	/wiːˈk'ili/	/ˈtaspit-ɬ/	/tasˈpit-li+tʃ/	/ˈtsuku-ɬ+tʃ/
V-Del	/wiːˈk'il/	----	----	----
L-Neut	/wiːˈk'iɬ/	----	----	----
Surface Rep	[wiː.ˈk'iɬ]	[ˈtas.pitɬ]	[tas.ˈpit.litʃ]	[ˈtsu.kuɬtʃ]
Gloss	'wrinkled'	'he returned'	'he already returned'	'he already began'

2.7.6.2 Perfective Lateral Deletion

After the application of the perfective lateral neutralization rule (previous section), the resulting allomorph [-ɬ] may then optionally undergo word-final lateral deletion in a polysyllabic word when it occurs between a vowel and a word boundary. The rule is formulated in (186), examples are shown in (187), and a derivation is shown in (188). This is an optional process that seems to be age-graded; the younger the speaker, the more likely s/he is to delete the word-final perfective [-ɬ].

(186) -ɬ PFV → Ø / V __#

(187) a. [maː.ˈqɛs.βaːɬ] ~ [maː.ˈqɛs.βaː]
/maː-qeswaa-li/
CAUS-be.scared-PFV
'He scared her.'

b. [ˈmaq.niːɬ] ~ [ˈmaq.niː]
/maqniː-li/
kill-PFV
'He killed it.'

This rule crucially follows perfective neutralization. If a form undergoes /h/-deletion,[68] then it will not undergo perfective lateral deletion, even though the former neither feeds nor bleeds the latter.

[68] Please see section 2.6.9 of this chapter.

(188) Underlying Rep	/maqniː-li/	/maqniː-li/	/tamaju-li/	/maːqeswaː-li/
PFV L-Neut	/maqniː-ɬ/	/maqniː-ɬ/	/tamaju-ɬ/	/maːqeswaː-ɬ/
Stress	/ˈmaqniː/	/ˈmaqniː-ɬ/	/taˈmajuɬ/	/maːˈqeswaː-ɬ/
H-del	----	----	/taˈmauɬ/	----
PFV Lat-Del	/maqniː/	----	----	/maːˈqeswaː/
Surface Rep	[ˈmaq.niː]	[ˈmaq.niːɬ]	[ta.ˈmauɬ]	[maː.ˈqɛs.waː]
	'he killed it'	'he killed it'	'he bought it'	'it scared her'

2.7.6.3 Perfective Nasal Deletion

A stem-final nasal is deleted in the perfective aspect only. The rule is formulated in (189), and examples are shown in (190).

(189) C → Ø / __]$_{STEM}$ –PFV
[+nasal]

(190) *Stem-final nasal deletion, perfective aspect*

a. [ˈmiɬtʃ]
/mi**n**-li+tʃ/
come-PFV+ALD
'He already came'

b. [laq.ˈts'iŋ.kaɬ]
/laqts'in-ka**n**-li/
see-INS-PFV
'someone saw him'

c. [kla.ˈkau]
/k-lak-a**n**-w/
1SUB-DIS-go(PFV)-1PL.SUB
'We (EXCL) all went'

d. [ʔu.ˈpu.tuːɬtʃ]
/u-putu**n**-li+tʃ/
eat-DESID(PFV)-PFV+ALD
'he wanted to eat it'

Perfective nasal deletion must precede perfective lateral neutralization in order to create a vowel-final environment in which perfective lateral neutralization can happen. Also, perfective nasal deletion must precede stress assignment in order for the penult to bear stress in the perfective aspect[69] and to feed the /h/-deletion rule. It is followed by compensatory lengthening, which assigns the mora of the deleted moraic /n/ to the preceding vowel. Derivations appears in (191).

(191) U Rep	/ta-ʔa**n**-li+tʃ/	/laqts'in-ka**n**-li/	/nahu**n**-li/	/ʔa-k-lak-ʔa**n**-w/
PFV N-Del	/ta-ʔa-li+tʃ/	/laqts'in-ka-li/	/nahu-li/	/ʔa-k-lak-ʔa-w/
Comp Leng	/ta-ʔaː-li+tʃ/	/laqts'in-kaː-li/	/nahuː-li/	/ʔa-k-lak-ʔaː-w/
PFV L-Neut	----	/laqts'in-kaː-ɬ/	/nahuː-ɬ/	----
1° Stress	/ta-ˈʔa-li+tʃ/	/laqˈts'in-kaː-ɬ/	/ˈnahuː-ɬ/	/ʔa-k-lak-ˈʔaː-w/
H-Del	----	----	/ˈnauː-ɬ/	----
2° Stress	----	----	----	/ˌʔa-k-lak-ˈʔaː-w/
S Rep	[taˈʔalitʃ]	[laq.ˈts'in.kaːɬ]	[ˈnauːɬ]	[ˌʔaklakˈʔaːw]
Gloss	'they left'	'they saw it'	'he said it'	'we could go'

[69] The penultimate stress is a salient features of the perfective aspect; see Chapter 3, section 3.1.2.2

Chapter 3: Verbs and Verbal Morphology

3.1 INFLECTION

Inflectional categories in HT include nominative and accusative person and number, as well as tense, aspect, and mood. Inflection is accomplished by means of affixation, glottalization, deletion, and suppletion of the verb stem.

3.1.1 Person and Number Marking

Person and number are co-referenced on the Tepehua verb by prefixation, suffixation, glottalization, and suppletion. Person marking consists of first, second, and third; number consists of singular, simple plural, multiple plural, and first person plural inclusive and exclusive. The categories of third person and singular are not marked overtly on the verb; instead they are the default readings when there is no overt person or number morphology on the verb stem. Given that there is no case marking on the noun in HT and that there is only one set of free pronouns, grammatical relationships in HT are distinguished by means of word order of the major constituents, discourse pragmatics, and pronominal cross-referencing on the verb. The word order (which is both pragmatic and relatively fixed) is discussed in chapter 8, section 8.1. Pronominal cross-referencing is the topic of this section.

Person marking in Tepehua follows a predominantly accusative pattern. On a transitive verb, nominative person markers co-index subjects: a first person subject is shown in the example in (192a), a second person subject is shown in (192b), and a third person plural subject is shown in (192c).

(192) a. **k**'aqlhteyjuuy juu t'aku7
k-7aqlhteyjuu-y juu t'aku7
1SUB-help-IMPFV ART woman
'**I** help the woman.'

b. 7aqlh**t'**ey**7**uu**t'i** juu t'aku7
7aqlhteyjuu-**t'i** juu t'aku7
help-**2SG.SUB. PFV** ART woman
'**You** helped the woman.'

c. **ta**7aqlhteyjuuy juu t'aku7
ta-7aqlhteyjuu-y juu t'aku7
3PL.SUB-help-IMPFV ART woman
'**They** helped the woman.' [3QI]

Accusative person markers co-index objects on transitive verbs, as seen in the examples in (193). A first person object is shown in (193a), a second person object is shown in (193b), and a third person plural object is shown in both (193c) and (193d).

(193) a. **ki(n)**7aqlhteyjuuy
ki(n)-7aqlhteyjuu-y
1OBJ-help-IMPFV
'He helps **me**.' [3QI]

b. k'aqlhteyjuuy**an**ch
k-7aqlhteyjuu-y-**an**+ch
1SUB-help-IMPFV-**2OBJ**+ALD
'I help **you**.' [3QI]

c. maa yuuch **lak**titaymay juu t'akuunin
maa yuuch **lak**-titayma-y juu t'aku7-nin
RPT PRN.3SG **PL**-chase-IMPFV ART woman-PL
'It [the snake] chases after the women.' [T0003: 005]

d. xata**laq**p'aqx7ulaay juu xlhiisaan7an
xa-ta-**lak**-p'aqx7ulaa-y juu x-lhiisan-7an
PAST-3PL.SUB-**PL**-break(VT)-IMPFV ART 3POS-instrument-PL.POS
'They broke their musical instruments.' [T0063: 086]

HT displays split-intransitivity (Merlan 1985) in its alignment system. According to Dixon's (1994) types of split system, the split found in HT is conditioned by the semantics of the nominal referent. While first and second person subjects of intransitive verbs are always co-indexed with nominative person markers, as seen in the examples in (194a) and (194b), only *animate* third person plural subjects of intransitive verbs are co-indexed with nominative person markers, as seen in the example in (194c). An *inanimate* third person plural subject is co-indexed with the plural marker *lak*-, as seen in the example in (194d). This split is clearly conditioned by the animacy of the plural third person subject.

(194) a. **k**ti7anch
k-ti-7an+ch
1SUB-IMM-go(IMPFV)+ALD
'I'm leaving.' [T0066: 278]

b. **t'**i**7in**ch
ti-7an+ch
IMM-go(2SUB.IMPFV) +ALD
'Are you leaving now?' [T0066: 279]

c. **ta**chaa7an juu pulasiyaa
ta-chaa7an juu pulasiyaa
3PL.SUB-arrive.there(IMPFV) ART police
'The police arrive.' [T0055: 027]

d. juu jaak **lak**chaay
juu jaak **lak**-chaa-y
ART banana **PL**-ripen-IMPFV
'The bananas ripen.' [PDLMA2005]

The rest of this section describes the following topics with respect to person-marking in greater detail: nominative person marking (Section 3.1.1.1),

multiple plural and distributive marking (Section 3.1.1.2), indefinite subject marking (Section 3.1.1.3), accusative person marking (Section 3.1.1.4), indefinite object and plural indefinite and indirect object marking (Section 3.1.1.5), double object marking (Section 3.1.1.6), speech act participant marking (Section 3.1.1.7), and split-intransitivity (Section 3.1.1.8). All person and number markers covered in this section are summarized at the end in Section 3.1.1.9.

3.1.1.1 Nominative Marking

HT nominative marking consists of first person singular, plural inclusive, and plural exclusive; second person singular and plural; and third person plural. Third person singular is not overtly marked.

First Person

A first person singular subject is indicated on the verb by the prefix *k-* (~ *7ik-*), as seen below in (195a). A first person plural *inclusive* subject is indicated on the verb by the suffix *–w* (~ *-aw* after a consonant or semi-vowel), as seen below in (195b). A first person plural *exclusive* subject is doubly marked by both the prefix *k-* and the suffix *–w*, as seen below in (195c).

(195) a. waa **k**talhanan
waa **k**-talhtanan
FOC **1SUB**-scared(IMPFV)
'I'm afraid.' [T0054: 034]

b. mapayniy**aw** juu ki7asqat'a7an
mapay-ni-y-**aw** juu ki-7asqat'a-7an
love-DAT-IMPFV-**1PL.SUB** ART 1POS-child-PL.POS
'We (INCL) love our children.' [T0059: 033]

c. juu luwch **k**jun**aw**
juu luw+ch **k**-jun-**aw**
ART snake+ALD **1SUB**-call(IMPFV)-**1PL.SUB**
'We (EXCL) call it 'snake'.' [T0009: 012]

Herzog (1974) gives *ic*-, where <c> represents /k/, as the first person prefix (p. 45). However, only the eldest of my consultants used *7ik*-, and he did so only in elicited speech at the beginning of a phrase when the addition of *k*- alone would have caused an dispreferred consonant cluster[70] *and* only after I had asked him to repeat himself.

However, despite the fact that this consultant consistently used *7ik*- during elicitation, I do not have a single occurrence of him or anyone else using it in naturally occurring speech. I do not know if this omission represents a gap in the data (i.e., I simply did not happen to record anyone making such an emphatic reference) or if it means that the *7ik*- allomorph of the first person prefix does not occur in discourse. However, I think that it is clear that *7ik*- is used only by the older speakers and only for emphasis.

Furthermore, it is quite common for speakers to omit the first person prefix altogether when the subject is first person *singular* and when the context makes it clear that the subject is first person singular. The example in (196a) is part of a first person narration from a traditional story. Though the gloss says 'I killed it', the verb *maqniilhch* is not marked for first person and literally means 'He killed it'. If the *k*- prefix had been affixed to the verb in this example, it would have been syllabified as the coda of the preceding particle *waa*. The verb in (196b) does not bear the first person subject prefix either, but it *does* bear prefixes

[70] Please see Chapter 2, Section 2.4 on HT syllable structure.

indicating that the object is third person plural. However, the presence of the first person independent pronoun *kit'in* makes it emphatically clear that the subject is first person singular.

(196) a. puus waa maqniilhch ka7uyaawch
puus waa maqnii-li+ch ka-7u-ya7-w+ch
well FOC kill-PFV+ALD IRR-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
'Well, I killed it and we are going to eat it.' [T0059: 013]

b. juu kit'in jaantu 7alaqkiknawiiy
juu kit'in jaantu 7a-laq-kiknawii-y
ART PRN.1SG NEG PL-3PL.OJB-flatter-IMPFV
'I do not flatter them.' [T0066: 049]

Second person

A second person singular subject is indicated on the verb by means of glottalization of any stops and affricates that occur in the stem, as seen below in (197a). The glottal approximate /h/ <j> becomes a glottal stop /ʔ/ <7> when the subject is second person, shown in (197b). When the word has no glottal approximates or plain stops or affricates, there is no indicator of second person in the imperfective aspect, as seen in (197c). In these instances, the subject of the clause is ambiguous between second and third person singular given that third person singular is not overtly marked on the verb.

(197) a. **t'**ama**k'**oom**p'**u**t'**unch
tama**k**ajun-**pu**t**un+ch
stay-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD
'You want to stay.' [T0055: 065]

b. t'at'akuunin **7**un**t'**at'it
t'at'akuun-in **j**un-**t**a-t'it
witch-PL be(2SUB.IMPFV)-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
'You (PL) are witches.' [PDLMA05]

c. 7ap'alhnan
7ap'alhnan
sweep(IMPFV)
'You sweep.'
'She sweeps.' [MSW]

In the perfective aspect, second person singular is marked either by the suffix *–t'i*, shown in (198a), or it is morphologically unmarked, as seen in (198b). Please see the Section 3.1.2.2 on the Perfective Aspect for more information regarding second person marking in the perfective aspect. Note that the example in (198a) is doubly marked for a second person subject: may means of glottalization of the stop [k'], as well as by the suffix *–t'i.*

(198) a. lh**k'**aa**t'i**
lhk'aan-**t'i**
measure(2SUB.PFV)-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
'You measured it.' [TPWDB]

b. laqtz'i
laqtz'in.PFV.2SG.SUB
'You saw him.' [Q3I]

A *plural* second person subject is co-indexed by the suffix *–t'it*, as seen below in (199a). This suffix is used regardless of tense, aspect, or mood. The allomorph *–at'it* occurs after a semi-vowel or consonant, as seen in (199b) and (199c), respectively.

(199) a. jaantuch waa 7atz'alaa**t'it**
jaantu+ch waa 7atz'alaa-t'it
NEG+ALD FOC run(IMPFV)-2PL.SUB
'Don't run away!' [T0055: 081]

b. jaantu tapayniy**at'it**
jaantu tapaynin-y-**at'it**
NEG ask.forgiveness-IMPFV-2PL.SUB
'You all don't ask for forgiveness.' [T0054: 055]

c. 7ap'alhnanat'it
7ap'alhnan-**at'it**
sweep(IMPFV)-2PL.SUB
'You (PL) sweep.' [MSW]

A plural second person subject is additionally marked in the future tense by the suffix *–7i*, which occurs after the future suffix and before *–t'it,* as seen in the examples in (200a) and (200b). According to Watters (1988), both singular and plural second person subjects are co-indexed by *–p'i* in Tlachichilco Tepehua in the future tense. Furthermore, he states that this suffix occurs as *–7i* in the singular in Tlachichilco Tepehua, but that it occurs as *–p'i* in Huehuetla (p. 317). I did not find this to be the case. The HT speakers with whom I worked never used *–p'i,* and they used *–7i* only with *plural* second person subjects and never with *singular* ones. The example in (200c) shows that *–7i* does not occur when the subject is second person *singular.*

(200) a. lhi7 7at'anaa**7i**t'it
lhi7 7a-min-a7-**7i-**t'it
tomorrow IRR-come(2SUB)-FUT-**2PL.SUB.FUT**-2PL.SUB
'You (PL) will come tomorrow.' [Q3I]

b. 7alhk'aanaa**7i**t'it
7a-lhk'aan-a7-**7i-**t'it
IRR-measure-FUT-**2PL.SUB.FUT**-2PL.SUB
'You (PL) will measure it.' [TPWDB]

c. 7at'ana7 lhi7
7a-min-a7 lhi7
IRR-come(2SUB)-FUT tomorrow
'You (SG) will come tomorrow.' [Q3I]

A small set of verbs have suppletive forms—shown below in (201)—when the subject is second person singular or plural. All of these verbs belong to the semantic field of coming or going.

(201)	a.	*7an*	'he goes'	*7in*[71]	'you go'
	b.	*min*	'he comes'	*t'an*	'you come'
	c.	*chaa7an*	'he arrives here'	*ch'it'an*	'you arrive'

Third person

A lack of subject marking on the Tepehua verb indicates a singular third person subject, as shown below in (202).

(202) a.

muujuuy	juu	waati	lakap'aaqxqa
muujuu-y	juu	waati	laka-p'aaqxqa
throw-IMPFV	ART	tortilla	PREP-griddle

'She throws the tortillas on the griddle.' [TPWDB]

b.

juu	pumatam	lapanak	niilh
juu	puma-tam	lapanak	nii-li
ART	CL:human-one	person	die-PFV

'A person died.' [T0009: 001]

A *plural* third person subject is indicated by the prefix *ta-*, as seen below in the examples in (203). This same prefix is also used to co-index a plural first or second person *object* when the subject of the verb is third person (singular or plural); please see examples (216) and (217) in section 3.1.1.4 on accusative marking.

(203) a.

tanawiiych	juu	yu7unch	juu	waati
ta-nawii-y+ch	juu	yu7unch	juu	waati
3PL.SUB-make-IMPFV+ALD	ART	PRN.3PL	ART	tortilla

'They make tortillas.' [TPWDB]

[71] Jim Watters (p.c.) brought it to my attention that this form is unique to HT and that the cognate is *p'in* in other varieties of Totonac and Tepehua.

b. ka**ta**mina7
ka-**ta**-min-a7
IRR-3PL.SUB-come-FUT
'They are going to come.' / 'They will come.' [TPWDB]

3.1.1.2 Multiple Plural and Distributive Marking

The plural prefix *lak-* is used to distinguish a simple plural argument (that is, a plural argument that consists of two or three entities) from a multiple plural argument (a plural argument that consists of more than three entities); the examples in (204) through (206) demonstrate this use. The same prefix is also used to co-index a third person plural object on a transitive verb, as will be shown in Section 3.1.1.4. In all of these examples in (204), (205), and (206), the stative verb *yaa* 'standing' has a single argument that is plural; in (204) the argument is first person plural exclusive, in (205) the argument is second person plural, and in (206) the argument is third person plural. All of the (a) examples demonstrate the simple plural, which consists of two to three entities; these examples bear the nominal subject morphology that was discussed above in Section 3.1.1.1. The (b) examples demonstrate the multiple plural, which consists of more than three entities; all of these examples bear the same nominal subject morphology seen in the (a) examples, as well as the plural prefix *lak-*.

(204) a. xakyaaw juu lakatii
xa-k-yaa-w juu laka-tii
PAST-1SUB-standing(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB ART PREP-road
'We (EXCL, 2-3) were standing in the road.'

b. xak**lak**yaaw juu lakatii
xa-k-**lak**-yaa-w juu laka-tii
PAST-1SUB-**PL**-standing(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB ART PREP-road
'We (EXCL, >3) were standing in the road.' [Qlak1]

(205) a. 7ixyaat'it juu lakatii
7ix-yaa-t'it juu laka-tii
PAST-standing(IMPFV)-2PL.SUB ART PREP-road
'You all (2-3) were standing in the road.'

b. x**lak**yaat'it juu lakatii
x-**lak**-yaa-t'it juu laka-tii
PAST-**PL**-standing(IMPFV)-2PL.SUB ART PREP-road
'You all (>3) were standing in the road.' [Qlak1]

(206) a. xtayaanalh juu lakatii
x-ta-yaa-nalh juu laka-tii
PAST-3PL.SUB-standing(IMPFV)-3PL.STV ART PREP-road
'They (2-3) were standing in the road.'

b. xta**lak**yaanalh juu lakatii
x-ta-**lak**-yaa-nalh juu laka-tii
PAST-3PL.SUB-**PL**-standing(IMPFV)-3PL.STV ART PREP-road
'They (>3) were standing in the road.' [Qlak1]

Multiple plurality is not obligatorily marked on the HT verb, as can be seen from the examples in (207), which come from the same narrative. In all the examples, the noun referent of the third person plural argument of each of the verbs is a large group of thieves. While the intransitive verbs in (207a) and (207c) are both marked for multiple plurality, neither the intransitive nor the transitive verbs in (207b) or (207d) are marked for multiple plurality, even though the third person plural argument is the same noun referent for all of them.

(207) a. waa naach nii ta**lak**lhtatalhch
waa naa+ch nii ta-**lak**-lhtata-li+ch
FOC EMP+ALD COMP 3PL.SUB-**PL**-fall.asleep(VI)-PFV+ALD
'They went to sleep.' [T0055: 068]

b. y luego nii takujchalhch
y luego nii ta-kuj-chaa-li+ch
and then COMP 3PL.SUB-awaken(VI)-DIST-PFV+ALD

juu 7aqalhoonin talaqtz'inch
juu 7aqalhoona7-nin ta-laqtz'in+ch
ART thief-PL 3PL.SUB-see(VT)(IMPFV)+ALD
'And later, when the thieves woke up, they see him.' [T0055: 074]

c. waa naa naa tarr ta**lak**7atz'alay
waa naa naa tarr ta-**lak**-7atz'ala-y
FOC EMP EMP ID:run 3PL.SUB-**PL**-run(VI)-IMPFV
'They take off running.' [T0055: 077]

d. ta7alhch tamuku7ulaaqolhch
ta-7an-li+ch ta-muku7ulaa-qoju-li+ch
3PL.SUB-go(VI)-PFV+ALD 3PL.SUB-leave.behind(VT)-ALL-PFV+ALD

juu xtuumiin7an
juu x-tuumiin-7an
ART 3POS-money-PL.POS
'They went and they left all of their money.' [T0055: 079]

Another possible analysis of the examples in (207a) and (207c) is that the prefix *lak-* does not indicate multiple plurality of the verb's argument here, but that instead it indicates distributive action of the verb in which the action applies equally to all members of the plural argument. Furthermore, it seems that the argument does not need to be plural in order for the action to be distributive, as seen in the examples in (208). In both of these examples, the action of the verb applies to the entirety of the sole verbal argument.

(208) a. **lak**lhkulh juu t'aku7?
lak-lhku-li juu t'aku7
DIS-burn(VI)-PFV ART woman
'Did the woman burn (all over)?' [T0057: 067]

b. **lak**paatajuqoo
lak-paataju-qoju
DIS-fall(VI)-ALL.PFV
'It (her skin) all fell off.' [T0057: 079]

The distinction between simple and multiple plural has not been documented in any of the other members of the Totonacan language family. However, the use of a cognate morpheme to indicate distributive verbal action is widely documented within the family (e.g., Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2004), Papantla Totonac (Levy p.c.), Misantla Totonac (MacKay 1999), Coatepec Totonac (McQuown 1990)).

3.1.1.3 Indefinite Subject Marking

An indefinite subject in Huehuetla Tepehua is indicated by the suffix *–kan.*[72] Though native speakers of both HT and Spanish sometimes translate the HT indefinite subject construction into the reflexive passive construction in Spanish, it is more often the case that they translate it as the impersonal or indefinite third person plural subject 'they'. Whereas the passive construction promotes an object argument to the subject position, the indefinite subject construction in Tepehua serves to *foreground* the object and *background* the subject without changing their semantic roles, as seen below in the example in (209). In this example, the prefix *lak-* (which is underlined) co-references a third person plural object, and *–kan* (which is in bold type) co-references an indefinite subject.

[72] The same suffix is used to indicate the reflexive; however, since the reflexive is a separate operation, its use is covered in Section 3.2.1.1.

(209) jaantuch laay xlakmaaxtu**kan**ta
jaantu+ch laa-y x-lak-maaxtu-**kan**-ta
NEG+ALD can- IMPFV PAST-PL-take.out-**INS**-PF

juu laktaxtoqta naa lhuu
juu lak-taxtoqta naa lhuu
ART PL-thing EMP many
'Many things could not be taken out.' Or
'They could not take out many things.' [T0018: 005]

Unlike the passive construction in English, the indefinite subject construction in HT does *not* decrease the valency of the verb; the object retains its object status, and the subject retains its subject status. However, this construction does serve to foreground the object while backgrounding the subject, as seen below in the examples in (210). In (210a), the verb bears the indefinite subject suffix, *and* the clause has an overt object (*juu xaniin lapanák* 'the dead people'), as well as an overt subject (*juu lapanák* 'the people'). Similarly, in (210b), the verb bears the indefinite subject suffix, and the clause has an overt subject (*juu 7anu7 lapanak* 'that person'), an overt direct object (*juu lhiich'alhkat* 'a job'), and an indirect object ('me') that is co-referenced on the verb by first person *subject* inflection, which is underlined in the example.

(210) a. nii waa muujuu**ka**lhch [juu lapanák]$_{SUB}$
nii waa muujuu-**kan**-li+ch juu lapanák
COMP FOC throw-**INS**-PFV+ALD ART people

[juu xaniin lapanák]$_{OBJ}$ juu lakxkaan
juu xa-nii-n lapanák juu laka-xkaan
ART IPOS-die-DVB people ART PREP-water
'Because the people threw the dead people into the river.' [T0057: 083]

b. [juu 7anuu lapának]$_{SUB}$ xakxtaqni**ka**lhch
juu 7anuu lapanak xa-k-xtaq-ni-**kan**-li+ch
ART DADJ person PAST-1SUB-give-DAT-**INS**-PFV+ALD

[juu lhiich'alhkat]$_{OBJ}$
juu lhiich'alhkat
ART job
'That person gave me a job.' [ELIEX2: 010]

When a first or second person foregrounded object occurs with an indefinite subject, it is co-indexed on the verb by nominative—not accusative—person markers, as seen in the examples below in (211) and above in (210b).

(211) a. k'asmatnikan
k-qasmat-ni-kan
1SUBJ-hear-DAT-**INS**(IMPFV)
'They/someone hear/s me.'

b. qasmatni**kan**aw
qasmat-ni-**kan**-aw
hear-DAT-**INS**(IMPFV)-1PL.SUBJ
'They/someone hear/s us.'

c. qasmat'ni**k'an**
qasmat-ni-**kan**
hear-DAT-**INS**(IMPFV)
'They/someone hear/s you (SG).'

d. qasmat'ni**k'an**at'it
qasmat-ni-**kan**-at'it
hear-DAT-**INS**(IMPFV)-2PL.SUBJ
'They/someone hear/s you (PL).' [Qlak1]

However, when the foregrounded object in an indefinite subject construction is third person plural, it is co-indexed on the verb by a combination of two plural object markers *7a-* and *lak-*, as seen in the example in (212).[73]

[73] The plural indefinite object (PL.INO) prefix *7a-* is discussed in more detail in Section 3.1.1.5.

(212) 7alak'asmatni**kan**
7a-lak-qasmat-ni-**kan**
PL.INO-PL-hear-DAT-**INS**(IMPFV)
'They/someone hear/s them.' [Qlak1]

The indefinite subject construction is one of several places in the HT grammar in which a distinction is drawn between first and second person versus third person. Whereas the morphosyntax predominately follows a nominative-accusative pattern, there are certain points in the grammar in which first and second persons follow an accusative pattern, while third person follows an ergative pattern. This division or split in the alignment system can be modeled by the person hierarchy shown in (213).

(213) Person Hierarchy and Indefinite Subject

1st person & 2nd person >> 3rd person plural

Nominative	>>	Accusative	Marking
Accusative	>>	Ergative	Pattern

In this hierarchy, first and second person are equal to each other, and they both outrank third person plural. The pivot point between nominative and accusative person-marking (and between an accusative and an ergative pattern) occurs between the division between first and second persons on one side and third person plural on the other side. Since third person singular is not overtly marked on the verb, it is not involved in this hierarchy.

Finally, I want to justify my decision to name this construction the "indefinite subject construction", especially in light of the fact that both of the examples in (210) have a definite subject that is introduced by the article *juu*.

Perhaps 'indefinite subject' is not the best name for this morpheme; however, I have chosen to follow the example of other Totonacanists in naming it. McQuown (1990: 162) and MacKay (1999: 191) also call the cognate Totonac morpheme the 'indefinite subject'. Beck calls it the 'indefinite agent' (2003: 46) and the 'indefinite actor' (2004: 31).[74] The difference between the HT construction and the cognate construction in the Totonac languages described by MacKay and Beck is that in the Totonac languages, the indefinite subject/actor/agent really is indefinite, unspecified, non-overt, or non-referential, while in HT, the subject that corresponds to the *–kan* suffix can be definite, specified, overt, and referential, as seen above in the examples in (210). For this reason, I have analyzed this construction as backgrounding (and not demoting) the subject. However, examples such as those in (210) are rare in HT, and the vast majority of the HT examples of this construction do *not* have a definite, specified, overt, or referential subject, as is the case in the examples in (211) and (212). Thus, I follow the Totonacan tradition of calling this suffix the 'indefinite subject'.

3.1.1.4 Accusative Marking

HT accusative marking consists of first person singular and plural, second person singular and plural, and third person plural. There is no first person inclusive/exclusive distinction in the accusative, nor is there any overt marking for third person singular.

[74] Watters (1988: 203) calls this construction 'passive' in Tlachichilco Tepehua.

First Person

A first person object—regardless of its number—is indicated on the verb with the first person object prefix *kin-* (~ *ki-, kim-*). Before the dental and alveolar phonemes /t/, /t'/, /lh/, /ch/, and /ch'/, *kin-* occurs as [kin̪-] and [kin-], respectively, and before the velar phoneme /k/, it occurs as [kiŋ-], all of which are represented orthographically by *kin-*, shown below in (214a). The allomorph *kim-* occurs before /p/ and /p'/, shown below in (214b). Everywhere else, the first person object morpheme may optionally appear as the reduced form *ki-* [ki-], (214c).

(214)	a.	**kin-**lhiisk'awatz'alat'i	'You ran me off.'
		kin-takiknawii	'They flattered me.'
		kin-ch'an7ulh	'It smashed me on the foot.'
		kin-kalhawlh	'It infected me.'
	b.	**kim-**puukilhch'uch'uy	'He kisses me.'
	c.	jaantu **k'i-**7ut'i	'Don't eat me!'
		xa-**ki-**juuniy	'He would tell me.'
		ki-laqoxipaa	'He cured me.'
		ki-maqlhtaylh	'He received me.' / 'He saw me.'

First person accusative marking varies depending on the person of the subject and the *number* of the first person object. When a transitive verb has a third person subject, and the first person object is singular, all that is needed is the *kin-* prefix, as seen below in (215).

(215)	a.	**kin**t'ajunch	juunini7
		kin-t'ajun+ch	jun-ni-nV7
		1OBJ-be(IMPFV)+ALD	tell-DAT-INF
		'He was telling me . . .'	[T0066: 039]

b. xa**ki**juuniy juu kimpay
xa-**kin**-jun-ni-y juu kin-pay
PAST-**1OBJ**-tell-DAT-IMPFV ART 1POS-father
'My father told me.' [T0022: 005]

When the subject is third person and the object is first person plural, this argument configuration is co-indexed on the verb by the combination of the first person object prefix *kin-*, second person object suffix *–n,* and the prefix *ta-*, which is used to co-index three different types of verbal argument: (i) a third person plural subject (see above in section 3.1.1.1), (ii) a first person plural object with a third person (singular or plural) subject, and (iii) a second person plural object with a third person (singular or plural) subject. Thus, the verbal configuration when the subject is third person and the object is first person plural is *kin-ta-V-n* (1OBJ-3PL.SUB-V-2OBJ), as seen below in (216) and (217). These examples demonstrate that the prefix *ta-* appears in this construction *even if the third person subject is singular*, which leads to the ambiguity seen in (217a).

(216) kimpay7an juu **kinta**lhiist'akta**n**
kin-pay-7an juu **kin-ta**-lhiist'ak-ta-**n**
1POS-father-PL.POS REL **1OBJ-3PL.SUB**-care.for-PF-**2OBJ**
'Our Father who has taken care of us.' [T0063:084]

(217) a. **kinta**lhiist'ak'a**n**
kin-ta-lhiist'ak-7a-**n**
1OBJ-3PL.SUB-care.for-IMPFV-**2OBJ**
'He takes care of us.'
'They take care of us.'

b. juu t'aku7 **kinta**lhiist'ak'a**n**
juu t'aku7 **kin-ta**-lhiist'ak-7a-**n**
ART woman **1OBJ-3PL.SUB**-care.for-IMPFV-**2OBJ**
'The woman takes care of us.'

c. juu yu7unch **kinta**lhiist'ak'a**n**
juu yu7unch **kin-ta**-lhiist'ak-7a-**n**
ART PRN.3PL **1OBJ-3PL.SUB**-care.for-IMPFV-**2OBJ**
'They take care of us.' [Q3I]

When a first person singular object occurs with a second person singular subject, the person marking is straight-forward. The first person singular object is co-indexed by the prefix *kin-*, and the second person singular subject is indicated by the glottalization of stops and affricates in the stem and (in the perfective aspect) by the suffix *–t'i*, as seen in the example in (218).

(218) **ki**qaqlht'ey7uu**t'i**
ki-qaqlhteyjuu-**t'i**
1OBJ-help-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
'You (SG) helped me.' [Q3I]

A first person plural object combined with a second person singular subject is indicated on the verb by the combination of the first person object prefix *kin-*, the reciprocal prefix *laa-*, and the first person plural subject suffix *–w*, as seen below in example (219); however, the usual process of glottalization of stops and affricates that is used to indicate a second person subject does not occur in this context (i.e., when both arguments are speech act participants *and* when one or both of these SAP arguments is/are plural). This same combination of prefixes is used in two other contexts: (i) a first person plural object with a second person plural subject, and (ii) a first person singular object with a second person plural subject. Just as the process of glottalization does not occur to indicate a second person subject, nor does the second person plural subject suffix *–t'it* occur.

Thus, a three-way ambiguity—shown below in the glosses of (219a)—results from this person configuration of *kin-laa-V-w* (1SUB-RCP-V-1PL.SUB).[75]

(219) a. **kilaa**lhiist'ak'a**w**
ki-laa-lhiist'ak-7a-**w**
1OBJ-RCP-care.for-IMPFV-**1PL.SUB**
'You (SG) take care of us.'
'You (PL) take care of us.'
'You (PL) take care of me.'

b. juu 7ixint'i **kilaa**lhiist'ak'a**w**
juu 7ixint'i **ki-laa**-lhiist'ak-7a-**w**
ART PRN.2SG **1OBJ-RCP**-care.for-IMPFV-**1PL.SUB**
'You (SG) take care of us.'

c. juu 7uxijnan **kilaa**lhiist'ak'a**w**
juu 7uxijnan **ki-laa**-lhiist'ak-7a-**w**
ART PRN.2PL **1OBJ-RCP**-care.for-IMPFV-**1PL.SUB**
'You (PL) take care of us.'
'You (PL) take care of me.' [Q3I]

Second Person

A singular second person object is marked on the verb by the suffix *–n*, as seen below in (220); the allomorph *–an* occurs after a consonant or semi-vowel, as seen in (221a) and (221b), respectively.

(220) ka7uyaa**n** juu Siiliiyaa
ka-7u-ya7-**n** juu Siiliiyaa
IRR-eat-FUT-**2OBJ** ART Cecilia
'Cecilia is going to eat you (SG).' [T0058: 031]

(221) a. jaantu xaklaqtz'inputun**an**
jaantu xa-k-laqtz'in-putun-**an**
NEG PAST-1SUB-see-DESID(IMPFV)-**2OBJ**
'I did not want to see you (SG).'

[75] See also Section 3.1.1.7 on speech act participant marking.

b. k'aqlhteyjuuy**an**
k-7aqlhteyjuu-y-**an**
1SUB-help-IMPFV-**2OBJ**
'I help you (SG).' [Q3I]

Second person accusative marking, like first person accusative marking, varies depending on the person of the subject and the number of the object. The combination of a third person singular subject and a second person singular object is shown above in (220). When the subject is third person, a *plural* second person object is indicated by the suffix *–n*, plus the prefix *ta-*, which is used to co-index (i) a third person plural subject (see above in section 3.1.1.1), (ii) a first person plural object with a third person (singular or plural) subject, and (iii) a second person plural object with a third person (singular or plural) subject. Examples that have a plural second person object are shown below in (222).

(222) a. juu Siiliiyaa kata7uyaan
juu Siiliiyaa ka-**ta**-7u-ya7-**n**
ART Cecilia IRR-**3PL.SUB**-eat-FUT-**2OBJ**
'Cecilia is going to eat you (PL).' [Q3I]

b. juu minati7an naa **ta**maapaayniy**an**
juu mi-nati-7an naa **ta**-maapaayni-y-**an**
ART 2POS-mother-PL.POS EMP **3PL.SUB**-love-IMPFV-**2OBJ**
'Your (PL) mother loves you (PL).' [Q3I]

Note that when the verb is marked with the prefix *ta-* and the suffix *–n*, there is a three-way ambiguity—shown in (223)—resulting from the multiple uses of the prefix *ta-*.

(223) **ta**lhiist'ak'a**n**
ta-lhiist'ak-7a-**n**
3PL.SUB-care.for-**IMPFV-2OBJ**
'They take care of you (SG).'
'They take care of you (PL).'
'He takes care of you (PL).' [Q3I]

Though the person-marking on the verb is straight-forward when the subject is first person, the object is second person, *and* both arguments are singular—as seen above in the examples in (b)—ambiguities arise when one or both of the speech act participants (first and second persons) is plural, as seen below in (224). In this example, the first person prefix *k-* occurs with the reciprocal prefix *laa-* and the first person plural subject suffix *–(a)w*. Please see Section 3.1.1.7 for more information on speech act participant marking.

(224) naa **klaa**maapaayniy**aw**
naa **k-laa**-maapaayni-y-**aw**
EMP **1SUB-RCP**-love-IMPFV-**1PL.SUB**
'I love you (PL).'
'We love you (PL).'
'We love you (SG).'[76] [Q3I]

Third Person

Just as a lack of subject marking on the Tepehua verb indicates a third person singular subject, a lack of object marking on a transitive verb signals a third person singular patient or object argument, as seen below in (225), where the verb *laqtzaman* 'fill' is completely unmarked for person.

[76] There is yet another (fourth) gloss for example (224): the purely reciprocal interpretation 'We love each other'.

(225) maa laqtzamalhch juu x kuweetaa
maa laqtzaman-li+ch juu x-kuweetaa
RPT fill(VT)-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-bucket
'He filled his bucket.' [T0058:023]

A third person plural patient object is indicated on the verb by the plural prefix *lak-*, as seen in the examples in (226). In (226a), the direct object nominal *7antiiwaa* is marked for plurality (also by *lak-*), while in (226b) the direct object nominal *chaqa7* is not.

(226) a. juu lak7antiiwaa x**lak**saay
juu lak-7antiiwaa x-**lak**-saa-y
ART PL-old.one PAST-**PL**-play-IMPFV

juu liijuuntoo kintata7an Riik'ii
juu liijuuntoo kin-tata-7an Riik'ii
ART deceased 1POS-old.man-PL.POS Enrique
'The deceased 'old man' Enrique played the old ones [songs].'
[T0066: 077-078]

b. **lak**lhii7alhch juu chaqa7
lak-lhii7an-li+ch juu chaqa7
PL-take-PFV+ALD ART house
'It [the river] carried away the houses.' [T0057: 067]

It is important to note that only *human* third person plural objects are obligatorily co-indexed on the verb, as seen in (227). When the third person plural object is non-human and animate (228) or inanimate (229), it is *optionally* co-indexed on the verb.

(227) a. juu Xiiwan tup **lak**ch'int'aa juu tz'alan
juu Xiiwan tup **lak**-ch'int'aa juu tz'al-an
ART John ID:kick **PL**-kick(PFV) ART boy-PL
'John kicked the boys.'

b. ** juu Xiiwan tup ch'int'aa juu tz'alan
Target: 'John kicked the boys.' [Q3I]

(228) (**lak**)ch'apamaalh juu chiila7 xasqat'an
(**lak**-)ch'apa=maa-li juu chiila7 x-7asqat'a-n
(**PL**-)touch=lying-PFV ART chicken 3POS-child-PL
'The hen covered her chicks.' [TPWDB]

(229) (**lak**)puulhkulh juu 7ixstapu juu t'aku7
(**lak-**)puu-lhku-li juu 7ix-stapu juu t'aku7
(**PL**-)INST-burn-PFV ART 3POS-bean ART woman
'The woman burned the beans.' [ELIEX14: 005]

Examples containing two third person plural arguments (subject and object) are shown in (230).

(230) a. xa**talaq**p'aqx7ulaay juu xlhiisaan7an
xa-**ta-lak**-p'aqx7ulaa-y juu x-lhiisan-7an
PAST-**3PL.SUB-PL**-break(VT)-IMPFV ART 3POS-instrument-PL.POS
'They broke their musical instruments.' [T0063: 086]

b. **talak**7ulaatach juu lhuu
ta-lak-7ulaa-ta+ch juu lhuu
3PL.SUB-PL-place-PF+ALD ART much
'They put in a lot (of money).' [T0055: 054]

c. **talak**lhkaa
ta-lak-lhkaan
3PL.SUB-PL-measure(PFV)
'They measured them.' [TPWDB]

In some cases, it is not clear if the prefix *lak*- co-indexes a plural third person object or if it indicates distributive action of the verb. The glosses for both of the examples in (231) were given to me with singular direct objects—'onion' in the case of (231a) and 'tortilla' in the case of (231b); however, when I tested the glosses with *plural* direct objects—'onions' and 'tortillas'—both glosses were accepted. Thus, in these sentences, the prefix *lak*- co-indexes either distributive, repeated action of the verb or third person plural objects. Of course, even if both of these objects started out in one (singular) piece (i.e., one onion and one

tortilla), they would end up in many (plural) pieces as a result of the action of their respective verbs.

(231) a. **lak**ch'uk'u7ulaay juu 7icebolla juu laxkuchiiluu
lak-ch'uk'u=7ulaa-y juu 7ix-cebolla juu laka-x-kuchiiluu
DIS-cut=place-IMPFV ART 3POS-onion ART PREP-3POS-knife
'She cuts the onion(s) into pieces with her knife.' [ELIEX3: 011]

b. **lak**tz'akay juu wati
lak-tz'aka-y juu wati
DIS-chew-IMPFV ART tortilla
'She chews the tortilla(s).' [ELIEX3: 037]

3.1.1.5 Indefinite Object, Plural Indefinite Object, and Plural Indirect Object Marking

The indefinite object suffix in HT is *–nVn* (INO). This suffix serves three functions: (i) it backgrounds the object argument of a transitive verb; (ii) in the imperfective aspect, it produces a habitual reading of both transitive and intransitive verbs; and (iii) when combined with the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-* and attached to an ideophone,[77] it creates an intransitive verb whose meaning is related to that of the ideophone. I discuss the morphophonemics of the suffix after discussing the first two of these uses. The third use of this morphemes is covered in Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1.

I follow Levy (1999b: 329), MacKay (1999: 321), and McQuown (1990: 168) in calling this suffix the 'indefinite object' marker. Beck (2004: 64) calls the cognate suffix in Upper Necaxa Totonac a 'detransitivizer', and Watters (1988: 210) calls the Tlachichilco Tepehua cognate the 'antipassive'.

[77] For information on ideophones, please see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1.

The indefinite object suffix *–nVn* is commonly used to background an object argument, as seen in the examples in (232). In the example in (232a), the clause has both an overt object (*juu chulux* 'the coati') and an overt subject (*juu xqooy* 'the dog'). In (232b), the indefinite object suffix appears on the verb, and there is no longer an overt, specific, definite object.[78]

(232) a.

7utayaputun	juu	xqooy	juu	chulux
7utaya-putun	juu	xqooy	juu	chulux
sniff-DESID(IMPFV)	ART	dog	ART	coati

'The dog wants to track (sniff out) the coati.' [MNB13: 38]

b.

7utaya**nan**	juu	xqooy	juu	lakak'iwin
7utaya-**nVn**	juu	xqooy	juu	laka-k'iw-in
sniff-**INO**(IMPFV)	ART	dog	ART	PREP-tree-PL

'The dog tracks in the woods.' [MNB13: 38]

In the second use of the indefinite object suffix, the affixation of *–nVn* to a verb stem produces a habitual reading of the verb in the imperfective aspect; examples are shown below in (233) through (235). The transitive verb in the example in (233a) is in the perfective aspect, and the clause has an overt direct object. In the example in (233b), the clause has the same direct object, and the indefinite object suffix appears on the imperfective verb, giving it a habitual reading.

(233) a.

lhaaqamanqoolh	[juu	xtuumiin]$_{OBJ}$
lhaaqaman-qoju-li	juu	x-tuumiin
waste-ALL-PFV	ART	3POS-money

'He wasted all of his money.' [ELIEX4: 038]

[78] The unspecified vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the final vowel of the stem; the morphophonemics are discussed below.

b. lhaaqaman**an** [juu xtuumiin]$_{OBJ}$ juu 7anu7 lapanak
lhaaqaman-**nVn** juu x-tuumiin juu 7anu7 lapanak
waste-**INO**(IMPFV) ART 3POS-money ART DADJ person
'That man wastes (habitually) his money.' [ELIEX4: 037]

I did not test this construction while I was in the field to see if I could get a habitual reading of a transitive verb with a specific object.

A habitual reading is also possible when *–nVn* co-occurs with the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-* (discussed below) in the imperfective aspect, as seen below in (234).

(234) maa xta**7a**maqpa**nan** juu papaanin
maa x-ta-**7a**-maqpa-**nVn** juu papa7-nin
RPT PAST-3PL.SUB-**PL.INO**-wash.clothes(VT)-**INO**(IMPFV) ART elder-PL
'The elders washed clothes (habitually).' [T0022: 002]

The indefinite object suffix may also be added to an intransitive verb to produce a habitual reading in the imperfective aspect, as seen in example (235).

(235) lakaxixnin juu chaway maalhkiyu7
laka-xix-**nVn** juu chaway maalhkiyu7
CL:place-dry-**INO**(IMPFV) ART now month
'This month is habitually dry.' [ELIEX3: 024]

Unfortunately, I have no other HT examples of the habitual use of the indefinite object suffix. However, this usage of the cognate suffix in other Totonacan languages has been documented by Beck (2004: 64), Beck (to appear b: 14), MacKay (1999: 321), and Watters (1988: 214).

The unspecified vowel of the indefinite object suffix *–nVn* harmonizes with the final vowel of the verb stem. It occurs as *–nan* following an /a/, as seen in (232), (233b), and (234) above; it occurs as *–nin* following /i/, as seen in (235) above; and it occurs as *–nun* after a root containing /u/, as seen in (236) below.

(236) 7ap'uksnun juu makxtalh
7a-p'uks-nun juu makxtalh
PL.INO-ID:stink-**INO**(IMPFV) ART garbage
'The garbage stinks.' [TPWDB]

Plural Indefinite Object

In HT, the prefix *7a-* (PL.INO) is used to co-index an understood plural third person object on a verb stem in which the object has been backgrounded or detransitivized in some way; examples are shown in (237) and (238). In each example in (237), the transitive verb bears the indefinite object suffix *–nVn*, which backgrounds the direct object. In the example in (238a), the transitive verb has been detransitivized by means of the reciprocal prefix *laa-* (see Section 3.2.1.2), and the transitive verb in (238b) has been detransitivized by the reflexive suffix

-kan (see Section 3.2.1.1).

(237) a. waa xta**7a**saanan
waa x-ta-**7a**-saa-nVn
FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-**PL.INO**-hit/play(VT)-INO(IMPFV)
'They played [instruments].' [T0063: 004]

b. **7a**ch'anan juu lakat'uun
7a-ch'an-nVn juu laka-t'uun
PL.INO-plant(VT)-INO(IMPFV) ART PREP-ground
'He sows [seeds] in the ground.' [ELIEX1: 066]

(238) a. **7a**laasaalh juu xlakaw juu lapanak
7a-laa-saa-li juu x-lakaw juu lapanak
PL.INO-RCP-hit(VT)-PFV ART 3POS-sibling ART person
'The man fought with his brother.' [ELIEX4: 013]

b. **7a**laqxtanxwíikalh juu papaanin
7a-laqxtanxwii-kan-li juu papa7-nin
PL.INO-shave-RFL-PFV ART man-PL
'The men shaved (themselves)' [Q3I]

The prefix *7a-* is also found on many lexicalized nominals that were derived from transitive verbs, as seen in the examples in (239).

(239) a. **7a**qalhoona7
7a-qalhajun-nV7
PL.INO-steal(VT)-AGNM
'thief'

b. **7a**maanawiin
7a-maa-nawii-n
PL.INO-CAUS-do-DVB
'owner'

c. x**7a**tz'akanti
x-**7a**-tz'aka-nti
3POS-**PL.INO**-bite(VT)-NOM2
'its [a snake's] bites' [T0009: 015]

Morphological ordering indicates that the plural indefinite object prefix is more closely attached to the stem than other inflectional affixes. In (240a), the plural prefix *lak-*, which co-indexes a third person plural object, precedes the comitative prefix *t'aa-*; *lak-* and its corresponding nominal *milhpaati* 'song' are both underlined once, while *t'aa-* and its corresponding nominal *Weensis* 'Lawrence' are both underlined twice. However, in (240b), the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-* occurs on a detransitivized verb, and it *follows* the comitative prefix.

(240) a. juu ki7in klakt'aasaay
juu ki7in k-lak-t'aa-saa-y
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-PL-COM-play-IMPFV

juu milhpaati juu Weensis
juu milhpaati juu Weensis
ART song ART Lawrence
'I play the songs with Lawrence.'

b. juu ki7in kt'aa**7a**saanan juu Weensis
juu ki7in k-t'aa-**7a**-saa-nVn juu Weensis
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-COM-**PL.INO**-play-INO(IMPFV) ART Lawrence
'I play with Lawrence.' [TPWDB]

Another example of the combined indefinite object suffix *–nVn* and the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-* is shown in (241). An overt plural object (*juu kuux, juu stapuch, y juu nipxch* 'the corn, the bean(s), and the squash') is co-indexed on the verb by *lak-* in (241a), while in (241b) there is no overt object, and the verb is affixed with the indefinite object suffix *–nVn* and the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-*.

(241) a. lakch'an juu kuux, juu stapuch,
lak-ch'an juu kuux, juu stapu+ch,
PL-plant(IMPFV) ART corn, ART bean+ALD

y juu nipxch juu la7ixkuuxtu
y juu nipx+ch juu laka-7ix-kuuxtu
and ART squash+ALD ART PREP-3POS-cornfield
'He plants corn, beans, and squash in his cornfield.' [TPWDB]

b. **7a**ch'an**an** juu lakat'uun
7a-ch'an-**nVn** juu laka-t'uun
PL.INO-plant-**INO**(IMPFV) ART PREP-ground
'He plants (seeds) in the ground.' [ELIEX1: 066]

Plural Indirect Object

The prefix *7a-* is also used to co-index a plural *indirect* object. In most—but not all—of these cases, it co-occurs with the plural prefix *lak-*. In all of these examples, *7a-* precedes *lak-*, indicating that it is *not* co-indexing a plural indefinite object in these instances. Most of the cases in which *7a-* and *lak-* co-occur involve ditransitive verbs of telling—such as *jun* 'tell', *sakmin* 'ask', and *lhiijun* 'order'—that have a plural third person *indirect* object, shown below in

(242). Note that when the third person indirect object is singular, "tell" verbs are not marked with either *7a-* or *lak-*, as seen in the examples in (243).

(242) a. "ki7in ki7in!" maa **7alak**juuniych
ki7in ki7in maa **7a-lak**-jun-ni-y+ch
PRN.1SG PRN.1SG RPT **PL.INO-PL**-tell-DAT-IMPFV+ALD
'"It's me, it's me!" he says to **them**.' [T0055: 082-3]

b. maa **7alak**sakmich . . .
maa **7a-lak**-sakmin+ch
RPT **PL.INO-PL**-ask(PFV)+ALD
'He asked **them**, ". . ."' [T0055: 060]

c. waa naa **7alak**lhiijuuniy ki7in
waa naa **7a-lak**-lhiijun-ni-y ki7in
FOC EMP **PL.INO-PL**-order-DAT-IMPFV PRN.1SG
'I order (beer) for **them**.' [T0066: 056]

(243) a. ". . ." maa juuniych juu xkumwaree
". . ." maa jun-ni-y+ch juu x-kumwaree
". . ." RPT tell-DAT-IMPFV+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
' "…" his compadre tells him.' [T0055: 009]

b. maa kasakminaach juu xaapay
maa ka-sakmin-a7+ch juu xaa-pay
RPT IRR-ask-FUT+ALD ART IPOS-father
'The father will ask her, "…"' [T0059:011]

c. waa kintalhiijuunilh p'uulhnan
waa kin-ta-lhiijun-ni-li p'ulhnan
FOC 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-order-DAT-PFV first
'They ordered (beer) for me first.' [T0066: 052]

The combination of *7a-* and *lak-* also occurs in constructions that have only one object; in these constructions, the object argument is less animate than the subject argument. The animacy hierarchy shown in (244) is based on the Person Hierarchy first introduced in example (213) of Section 3.1.1.3. The animacy hierarchy is almost identical to the person hierarchy, but it further

divides third person plural into animate and inanimate. Again first and second person arguments are equal to each other, and they outrank third person animate arguments, which in turn outrank third person inanimate arguments.

(244) HT Animacy Hierarchy

1st & 2nd person >> 3rd person plural animate >> 3rd person plural inanimate

In the following example in (245a), the plural object *lapanák* 'people' is more animate than the nominal argument *chiiwx* 'rock(s)', and it is co-indexed on the verb by the combination of *7a-* and *lak-*. Since the subject *chiiwx* 'rock(s)' is inanimate, it is not obligatorily marked for plurality, and since it is less animate than the object, it is not co-indexed on the verb. When the animacy of the subject is greater than or equal to that of the object, then the plural subject is co-indexed on the verb by *ta-* and the plural object is co-indexed on the verb by *lak-*, as seen in (245b).

(245) a. juu chiiwx **7alak**maqnii juu lapanák
juu chiiwx **7a-lak**-maqnii juu lapanák
ART rock **PL.INO-PL**-kill(PFV) ART people
'The rock(s) killed the people.' [Qlak1]

b. **talak**lhkaa
ta-lak-lhkaan
3PL.SUB-PL-measure(PFV)
'They measured them [people or clothing].' [TPWDB]

The animacy hierarchy can also be used to explain the presence of both *7a-* and *lak-* on the verbs of telling shown above in (242). In these constructions, the indirect object (a plural group of people) is more animate than the direct object (which is the statement being communicated). Thus, the animacy hierarchy

is relevant not just with respect to distinguishing the subject and the object, but the indirect object as well (see also Section 3.1.1.6 on Double Object Marking).

When the animacy of the indefinite subject is unknown (or not relevant), the prefixes *7alak-* and *lak-* may be used interchangeably, as seen below in (246). Both of these examples come from the same story, and they both were uttered by the same consultant. In the story, the 'someone' who removed the protagonists from the cave is some sort of quasi-human devil or spirit whose animacy is questionable.

(246) a. **lak**tantamakxtuukalhch
lak-tan-ta-makxtuu-kan-li+ch
PL-TORSO-INCH-take.out-INS-PFV+ALD
'Someone removed them (from the cave).' [T0063: 079]

b. **7alak**tantamakxtuukalhch
7a-lak-tan-ta-makxtuu-kan-li+ch
PL.INO-PL-TORSO-INCH-take.out-INS-PFV+ALD
'Someone removed them (from the cave).' [T0063: 085]

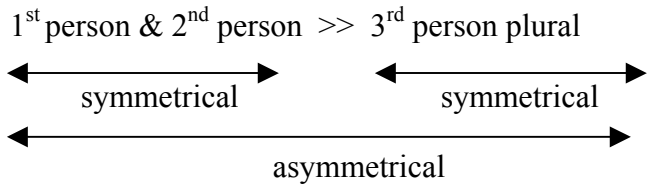
I should note that my analysis of *7a-* and *lak-* differs from that found in Watters 1988 (pp. 329-331). According to Watters, the prefix *7a-* is the default to co-index a plural third person object in HT, and the prefix *lak-* only co-occurs with *7a-* in HT. However, my analysis of HT *7a-* and *lak-* is more consistent with Watters' analysis of the cognate prefixes in Tlachichilco Tepehua, where "*lak-* marks 'third plural (syntactic) object', while *ha:-* marks 'third plural unspecified object'" (p. 331). Watters goes on to state that *ha:-* in Tlachichilco Tepehua additionally indicates "multiple action" of the verb, but my data indicate that *lak-* and not *7a-* indicates distributive or repeated action of the verb in HT.

3.1.1.6 Double Object Marking

One of the differences among the various languages in the Totonacan language family has to do with how the object arguments of a ditransitive verb are co-indexed on the verb; some Totonacan languages exhibit symmetrical object marking in which both objects are marked on the verb, while others exhibit asymmetrical object marking in which only one object is marked on the verb, and yet other languages exhibit some combination of symmetrical and asymmetrical object marking (MacKay and Trechsler 2005, 2006). HT displays both symmetrical and asymmetrical object marking, which I describe below.

HT double object marking can be modeled using the person hierarchy that was introduced above in example (213) of Section 3.1.1.3, and which is repeated below in (247).

(247) Person Hierarchy and Object Marking



In this hierarchy, the speech act participants (SAPs)—that is, first and second persons—are equal to each other, and they outrank all third person object arguments. A plural third person object outranks a singular third person object by virtue of the fact that a singular third person object is never overtly marked on the verb. When both objects are SAPs, object marking is symmetrical. When both objects are third person plural, object marking is also symmetrical. However,

when a SAP object co-occurs with a third person plural object, the object marking on the verb is asymmetrical. Specific examples follow.

The examples in (248) show that when both objects are speech act participants, the object marking is symmetrical: both first and second person object affixes appear on the verb. Note that the verb in (248a) is exactly the same as the verb in (248b) and that the example sentences are ambiguous with respect to the thematic roles of the objects: either object may be the patient and either object may be the benefactive/recipient argument.

(248) a. waatach xa**ki**maa7axtaqniy**an**ch
waatach xa-**ki**-maa7axtaq-ni-y-**an**+ch
always PAST-**1OBJ**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV-**2OBJ**+ALD

juu kinati
juu ki-nati
ART 1POS-mother
'My mother always handed **me** over to **you**.'
'My mother always handed **you** over to **me**.'

b. waatach xa**ki**maa7axtaqniy**an**ch
waatach xa-**ki**-maa7axtaq-ni-y-**an**+ch
always PAST-**1OBJ**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV-**2OBJ**+ALD

juu minati
juu mi-nati
ART 2POS-mother
'Your mother always handed **you** over to **me**.'
'Your mother always handed **me** over to **you**.' [Q3I]

The examples in (249) and (250) show that when one of the objects is a SAP and the other is a plural third person, object marking is *asymmetrical*: only the SAP is marked on the verb, regardless of its thematic role. In both (249a) and (250a), the SAP is the recipient or benefactive argument (the indirect object),

which is indicated by the valence-increasing dative suffix *–ni* (which is underlined in both examples). In both (249b) and (250b), the SAP is the patient argument (the direct object) as evidenced by the lack of the dative suffix *-ni* on either of these two verbs. Also in each of these two examples, there is an overt plural third person nominal that co-references the benefactive argument (the indirect object); however this argument is not registered on the verb.

(249) a.
juu ki7in xa**ki**maa7axtaqniych
juu ki7in xa-**ki**-maa7axtaq-ni-y+ch
ART PRN.1SG PAST-**1OBJ**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

juu 7itz'alan juu t'aku7
juu 7i-tz'al-an juu t'aku7
ART 3POS-boy-PL ART woman
'The woman (always) handed over her sons to **me**.'

b.
juu ki7in xa**ki**maa7axtaq'ach
juu ki7in xa-**ki**-maa7axtaq-7a+ch
ART PRN.1SG PAST-**1OBJ**-hand.over-IMPFV+ALD

juu kinati juu 7atzi7in
juu ki-nati juu 7atzi7-in
ART 1POS-mother ART girl- PL
'My mother handed **me** over to the girls.' [Q3I]

(250) a.
waatach xakmaa7axtaqniy**an**ch
waatach xa-k-maa7axtaq-ni-y-**an**+ch
always PAST-1SUB-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV-**2OBJ**+ALD

juu kintz'alan juu 7ixint'i
juu kin-tz'al-an juu 7ixint'i
ART 1POS-boy-PL ART PRN.2SG
'I always handed over my sons to **you**.'

b. waatach xakmaa7axtaq'a**n**ch
waatach xa-k-maa7axtaq-7a-**n**+ch
always PAST-1SUB-hand.over-IMPFV-**2OBJ**+ALD

juu 7ixint'i juu 7atzi7in
juu 7ixint'i juu 7atzi7-in
ART PRN.2SG ART girl-PL
'I handed **you** over to the girls.' [Q3I]

The examples in (251) show that when one of the objects is third person *plural* and the other is a third person *singular*, the plural object is co-indexed on the verb, regardless of its thematic role.[79] Note, however that the prefix used to co-index a plural third person object varies depending on the thematic role of the argument. In (251a), the plural third person patient argument is co-indexed on the verb by the prefix *lak-*, while in (251b), the plural third person benefactive argument is co-indexed on the verb by the prefix *7a-*, which is also used to indicate an understood plural object on a detransitivized verb (see Section 3.1.1.4). In both cases, the dative suffix *–ni* occurs on the verb, as well.

(251) a. juu ki7in xak**laq**maa7axtaqniy
juu ki7in xa-k-**lak**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
ART PRN.1SG PAST-1SUB-**PL**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV

juu **kintz'alan** juu 7atzi7
juu kin-tz'al-an juu 7atzi7
ART 1POS-boy-PL ART girl
'I used to hand over my **sons** to the girl.'

[79] Remember that a singular third person object is never co-indexed on the verb.

b. juu ki7in xak**7a**maa7axtaqniy
juu ki7in xa-k-**7a**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
ART PRN.1SG PAST-1SUB-**PL.INO**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV

juu kintz'alh juu **7atzi7in**
juu kin-tz'al juu 7atzi7-in
ART 1POS-boy ART girl-PL
'I used to hand over my son to the **girls**.' [Q3I]

Finally, when both objects are third person and plural, object marking is *symmetrical*, as seen in (252), where both third person plural objects are co-indexed on the verb. Here the patient argument is co-indexed by *lak*-, and the benefactive/recipient argument is co-indexed by *7a*-.

(252) juu ki7in xak**'alaq**maa7axtaqniy
juu ki7in xa-k-**7a-lak**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
ART PRN.1SG PAST-1SUB-**PL.INO-PL**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV

juu **kintz'alan** juu **7atzi7in**
juu kin-tz'al-an juu 7atzi7-in
ART 1POS-boy-PL ART girl-PL
'I used to hand my sons over to the girls.' [Q3I]

Despite the very neat examples shown in (251) and (252), it is important to note that these readings are potentially the result of the overt nominals. When I tested the three verbs in isolation (i.e., without overt nouns or pronouns to clarify the plurality of the objects), each verb was ambiguous with regard to the three possible readings, as seen in (253).

(253) a. xak**laq**maa7axtaqniy
xa-k-**lak**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
PAST-1SUB-**PL**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV
'I used to hand him over to them.'
'I used to hand them over to him.'
'I used to hand them over to them.'

b. xak**7a**maa7axtaqniy
xa-k-**7a**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
PAST-1SUB-**3PL.INO**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV
'I used to hand him over to them.'
'I used to hand them over to him.'
'I used to hand them over to them.'

c. xak**'alaq**maa7axtaqniy
xa-k-**7a**-**lak**-maa7axtaq-ni-y
PAST-1SUB-**PL.INO-PL**-hand.over-DAT-IMPFV
'I used to hand him over to them.'
'I used to hand them over to him.'
'I used to hand them over to them.' [Q3I]

The Spanish glosses provided by my principal consultant helped me to disambiguate the co-indexing of the third person plural arguments in the examples shown in (251) and (252) above, as well as in (254) below. For each of the examples in (254), I provided the HT clause, and my consultant approved the clause and provided a Spanish gloss. In example (254a), the prefix *lak-* co-indexes the patient argument *milhpaati* 'song(s)' on the transitive verb. In (254b) the verb is made ditransitive by the addition of the comitative prefix *t'aa-*, and the new argument *Weensis* 'Lawrence' is singular; the gloss of the patient argument is still 'songs', and this argument is still co-indexed on the verb by the prefix *lak-*. In (254c), the comitative argument is the third person plural pronoun *yu7unch*, and the gloss of the patient argument *milhpaati* is now the *singular* argument 'music', indicating that it is no longer the argument which is co-indexed by *lak-*; instead the plural comitative argument is co-indexed by *lak-*.

(254) a. juu ki7in k**lak**saay juu milhpaati
juu ki7in k-**lak**-saa-y juu milhpaati
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-**PL**-play(VT)-IMPFV ART song
'I play the **songs**.'

b. juu ki7in k**lak**t'aasaay
juu ki7in k-**lak**-t'aa-saa-y
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-**PL**-COM-play(VT)-IMPFV

juu milhpaati juu Weensis
juu milhpaati juu Weensis
ART song ART Lawrence
'I play the **songs** with Lawrence.'

c. k**lak**t'aasaay juu milhpaati juu **yu7unch**
k-**lak**-t'aa-saa-y juu milhpaati juu **yu7unch**
1SUB-**PL**-COM-play(VT)-IMPFV ART music ART **3PRN.PL**
'I play the music with **them**.' [Q3I]

3.1.1.7 Speech Act Participant Marking

The reciprocal marker *laa-*[80] is used in a non-reciprocal way when both the subject and the object of the verb are first or second person *and* either or both arguments are plural, as seen below in (255). In these instances, the prefix *laa-* indicates that both participants are speech act participants and that one or both is/are plural; it does not indicate mutual, reciprocal action. In (255a), a first person subject is acting on a second person object, and in (255b), a second person subject is acting on a first person object. The only difference in the two conjugations is in the first prefix, which is *k-* if the *subject* is first person—as in (255a)—and *ki(n)-* if the *object* is first person—as in (255b).

(255) a. **klaa**t'alhnuuyaa**w**
k-laa-t'alhnu-ya7-**w**
1SUB-RCP-jail(VT)-FUT-**1PL.SUB**
'We're going to throw you (SG) in jail!' [T0055: 038]
'We're going to throw you (PL) in jail!' [Q3I]
'I'm going to throw you (PL) in jail!' [Q3I]

[80] See section 3.2.1.2 for information on the reciprocal use of *laa-*.

b. **kilaa**t'alhnuuya**w**
ki-laa-t'alhnuu-ya7-**w**
1OBJ-RCP-jail(VT)-FUT-**1PL.SUB**
'You (SG) are going to throw us in jail!'
'You (PL) are going to throw us in jail!'
'You (PL) are going to throw me in jail!' [Q3I]

If both the subject and the object are *singular*, the reciprocal marker is not used, as seen below in (256).

(256) a. kaa laay xa**k**'ampaalhchaa**n**
kaa laa-y xa-**k**-7an-pala-chaa-**n**
BLV can-IMPFV PAST-**1SUB**-go-REP.PFV-DST-**2OBJ**
'I think I would have been able to meet you there.' [T0066: 023]

b. juu 7uxint'i **ki**7aqlht'ey7uu**t'i**
juu 7uxint'i **ki-**7aqlhteyjuu-**t'i**
ART PRN.2SG **1OBJ**-help(2SUB)**-2SG.SUB.PFV**
'You helped me.' [Q3I]

The use of the reciprocal morpheme in this non-standard reciprocal context in which SAPs are acting on each other is common to the Totonacan language family (MacKay and Trechsel 2003).

3.1.1.8 Split-intransitivity

Though the HT alignment system is predominantly an accusative (i.e., not ergative) one, there seems to be an emerging system of split intransitivity (Dixon 1994; Merlan 1985; Mithun 1991) in which the split involves only third person plural arguments, and it is determined by the animacy of the noun referent of the argument. If the third person plural argument of an intransitive verb is *animate*, as is *juu lapanák* 'the people' in (257a), it is co-indexed on the verb with the prefix *ta-*, the nominative third person plural subject marker. However, when the argument is *inanimate* like *juu 7alhik* 'the paper' in (257b), it is co-indexed on the

verb by the prefix *lak-*, which is used both to co-index multiple plurality of the argument of an intransitive verb and to co-index an accusative third person plural object.

(257) a. maa 7anch x**ta**wiilanalh juu lapanák
maa 7anch x-**ta**-wii-lanalh juu lapanák
RPT there PAST-**3PL.SUB**-seated(IMPFV)-3PL.STV ART people
'The people lived/were there.' [T0057: 006]

b. juu 7alhík **lak**tanuun juu lakapaaxtuk
juu 7alhík **lak**-tanuun juu laka-paaxtuk
ART paper **PL**-inserted(IMPFV) ART PREP-point
'The papers are on the point.'
[*In the image, a pointed instrument is stuck through the middle of the papers, like an old-fashioned paper holder.]* [MB22]

Split intransitivity in HT is not limited to stative verbs, but is also found with intransitive verbs that refer to uncontrolled events, as seen in the examples in (258). The animate noun in (258) a), *juu tz'alan* 'the boys', is co-referent with the nominative prefix *ta-*, while in (258b) the inanimate noun *juu xlakmaka7 juu k'iw* 'the tree branches' is co-referent with the prefix *lak-*.

(258) a. **ta**paatajuu juu tz'alan
ta-paatajuu juu tz'al-an
3PL.SUB-fall(VI)(PFV) ART boy-PL
'The boys fell.'

b. **lak**patajuu juu xlakmaka7 juu k'iw
lak-patajuu juu x-lak-maka7 juu k'iw
PL-fall(VI)(PFV) ART 3POS-PL-hand ART tree
'The tree branches fell.' [Qlak1]

Further examples in which a third person plural subject of an intransitive verb is co-indexed by the prefix *lak-* are shown below in (259).

(259) a. waa lakt'ikt'i 7ix**lak**juuniita juu chiiwx
waa lak-t'ikt'i 7ix-**lak**-jun-niita juu chiiwx
FOC PL-small PAST-**PL**-be-PF ART rock
'The rocks were small.' [Qlak1]

b. **lak**lhkulhch juu kistapu
lak-lhku-li+ch juu ki-stapu
PL-burn(VI)-PFV+ALD ART 1POS-bean
'My beans burned.' [TPWDB]

c. x**lak**p'uks juu paamata
x-**lak**-p'uks juu paamata
PAST-**PL**-stink(ID)(IMPFV)ART fish
'The fish (PL) stunk.' [TPWDB]

HT split intransitivity can be modeled using the animacy hierarchy that was introduced in example (244) of Section 3.1.1.5 and that is repeated below in (260). First and second persons are equal to each other, and they outrank third person animate arguments, which in turn outrank third person inanimate arguments. With respect to split intransitivity, the pivot point occurs between third person animate and inanimate; first, second, and third plural animate subjects are co-indexed on the verb by nominative morphology, while third person plural inanimates are co-indexed on the verb by the "accusative" prefix *lak-*.

(260) HT Animacy Hierarchy and Split Intransitivity

1st & 2nd person >> 3rd person plural animate >> 3rd person plural inanimate
↔ >> ↔

Above I called this pattern an "emerging" one because I believe that this is relatively new pattern in HT for various reasons. First, no other documented Totonacan language exhibits patterns of syntactic or morphosyntactic split

alignment or split intransitivity; instead they are all documented as being strictly accusative in their syntax and morphology.

Second, the pattern of split intransitivity in Huehuetla Tepehua is an elusive one because inanimate nominals are not obligatorily marked for plurality nor are inanimate arguments obligatorily co-indexed on the verb. Furthermore, though the pattern manifested itself in utterances that were spontaneously produced by my consultants, it did not always emerge from—or withstand the test of—elicited grammaticality judgments. I first found the split-intransitive pattern in sentences that were spontaneously produced by my consultants; when I tried to test the pattern during elicited grammaticality judgments, I found that in most cases, both patterns (a strictly accusative one and a split one) were acceptable. For example, my consultant had given me the example in (261a), in which the intransitive verb is marked with *lak-*. Later, I offered the example in (261b), in which the same verb is marked with *ta-*, and the example in (261c), in which the verb is marked with both *ta-* and *lak-*. My consultant accepted both examples, and he told me that all three have the same meaning.

(261) a. juu jaak **lak**chaay
juu jaak **lak**-chaa-y
ART banana **PL**-ripen(VI)-IMPFV
'The bananas ripen.' [PDLMA2005]

b. juu jaak **ta**chaay
juu jaak **ta**-chaa-y
ART banana **3PL.SUB**-ripen(VI)-IMPFV
'The bananas ripen.' [Qlak1]

c. juu jaak **talak**chaay
juu jaak **ta-lak**-chaa-y
ART banana **3PL.SUB-PL**-ripen(VI)-IMPFV
'The bananas ripen.' [Qlak1]

The same consultant told me the sentence in (262a) when describing a drawing from Melissa Bowerman's Topological Picture Series. Here the intransitive verb is marked with *lak-*. When I changed the subject to 'rocks', my consultant produced the example in (262b), with the same verb again marked with *lak-*. When I tested the sentence in (262c), in which the same verb is marked with *ta-*, he rejected it. Of course, this set of examples raises the question of why the examples in (261b) and (261c) are grammatical while the example in (262c) is not. And, if I asked the same set of questions of the same consultant on a different day, would the answers still remain the same? These are questions for which I currently do not have answers.

(262) a. **laj**kilhtay juu puumpu7
lak-kilhta-y juu puumpu7
PL-hanging(VI)-IMPFV ART clothing
'The clothing is hanging (e.g., to dry).' [MB37-1]

b. **laj**kilhtay juu chiiwx juu laktalhpa
lak-kilhta-y juu chiiwx juu lak-talhpa
PL-hanging(VI)-IMPFV ART rock ART PREP-hill
'The rocks hang from the hill.' [Qlak1]

c. ***ta**kilhtay juu chiiwx juu laktalhpa
ta-kilhta-y juu chiiwx juu lak-talhpa
3PL.SUB-hanging(VI)-IMPFV ART rock ART PREP-hill
Target: 'The rocks hang from the hill.' [Qlak1]

Third, as is pointed out in the literature on grammaticalization, polysemous morphemes may give rise to grammatical change in a language (e.g., Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003). The prefix

lak- exhibits more polysemy than any other morpheme in Huehuetla Tepehua: this prefix is used (i) to indicate multiple plurality of the subject of an intransitive verb, as seen above in section 3.1.1.2, (ii) to indicate distributive action of a verb, also seen in section 3.1.1.2, (iii) to co-index a third person plural object, as seen in section 3.1.1.4, (iv) to mark plurality on inanimate and animate nouns (see Chapter 4), and (v) to marked plurality on adjectives (see Chapter 5).

Fourth, the use of the prefix *lak-* as a verbal plural marker overlaps with the use of *7a-* as a verbal plural marker. There is evidence from Watters 1988 that in Huehuetla Tepehua, the prefix *7a-* was the default prefix to co-index a third person plural object and that the prefix *lak-* sometimes co-occurred with *7a-* and sometimes did not. In my own data, the reverse is true in that (i) *lak-* co-indexes a plural third person object, (ii) *7a-* co-indexes an understood plural object on a detransitivized verb and an indirect object, (iii) the two co-occur to co-index a plural third person indirect object and/or a plural third person direct object if it outranks the subject in animacy, and (iv) the two frequently co-occur without any overt change in the meaning. Next, the use of *lak-* as a marker of distributivity overlaps with the meanings of two HT suffixes: *-pala*, which marks repetitive action of the verb (see Section 3.2.3.7) and *–qoju*, which indicates that the action of the verb is distributed equally over all members of either the subject or object argument, depending on the transitivity of the verb (see Section 3.2.3.9).

Finally, HT is a moribund language. The children are not learning it, their parents do not use it, and their grandparents address them in Spanish and speak Tepehua only amongst themselves. Once a language falls into disuse, the rate of

grammatical and phonological change escalates. I believe that this is what is happening in HT. Given the polysemy of the morpheme *lak-*, plus the fact that HT has other morphemes that provide similar (or the same) meanings as *lak-*, it is quite possible that HT is undergoing a grammatical change that might result in an unquestionable split in its alignment system.

3.1.1.9 Summary of Person Marking Inflection

The nominative person marking affixes are summarized in Table 13, and the accusative affixes are summarized in Table 14. Note that several of the affixes have one meaning when used for nominative inflection and a slightly different meaning when used as accusative inflection; these affixes are shown in bold in the tables.

Table 13: Nominative Affixes

Nom Affix	Meaning(s)
k-	1st person singular subject, 1st person plural exclusive subject
-w	**1st person plural subject**
-t'i	2nd person singular subject in the perfective aspect with 3rd person or 1st person singular object
-t'it	2nd person plural subject with 3rd person object
-7i	2nd person plural subject in the future tense
ta-	**3rd person plural (animate) subject**
lak-	**multiple plural subject of intransitive verb, 3rd person plural (inanimate) subject**
-kan	indefinite subject

Table 14: Accusative Affixes

Acc Affix	Meaning
kin-	1st person object
-w	**1st person plural object with 2nd person subject,** **2nd person plural object with 1st person singular subject**
-n	2nd person object, 1st person plural object with 3rd person subject
laa-	SAP acting on SAP
ta-	**1st person plural object with 3rd person subject,** **2nd person plural object with 3rd person subject**
lak-	**distributive,** **3rd person patient (direct) object**
7a-	plural indefinite object, 3rd person plural benefactive (indirect) object
-nVn	indefinite object

The affixal configurations for an intransitive verb are shown in Table 15. These affixal configurations are also used on a transitive verb that has a third person singular object, which is not overtly marked on the verb.

Table 15: Affix Configurations: Intransitive Verbs & Transitive Verbs with Third Person Singular Objects[81]

Subject	Singular	Plural
first	k-V	inclusive: V-w exclusive: k-V-w
second	V' V'-t'i (perfective aspect)	V'-t'it V'-7i-t'it (future tense)
third	V	ta-V (animate) lak-V (inanimate)
indefinite	V-kan	---

The affix configurations for a transitive verb are shown in Table 16. Note that the configurations involving a third person singular object are included in this table as well as in Table 15.

Table 16: Transitive Verb Affix Configurations[82]

Persons	Affixal Configuration
1SG SUB > 3PL OBJ	k-lak-V
1PL INCL SUB > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V-w
1PL EXCL SUB > 3PL OBJ	k-lak-V-w
1SG SUB > 2SG OBJ	k-V-n
1SG SUB > 2PL OBJ	k-laa-V-w
1PL SUB > 2SG OBJ	k-laa-V-w
1PL SUB > 2PL OBJ	k-laa-V-w
1SG SUB > INO	k-V-nVn
1SG SUB > PL.INO	k-7a-V-nVn
1PL INCL SUB > INO	V-nVn-aw
1PL INCL SUB > PL INO	7a-V-nVn-aw
1PL EXCL SUB > INO	k-V-nVn-aw
1PL EXCL SUB > PL INO	k-7a-V-nVn-aw
2SG SUB > 1SG OBJ	ki-V'(-t'i)
2PL SUB > 1SG OBJ	ki-laa-V-w
2SG SUB > 1PL OBJ	ki-laa-V-w
2PL SUB > 1PL OBJ	ki-laa-V-w

[81] V stands for 'verb'.
[82] V stands for 'verb'.

2SG SUB > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V'
2PL SUB > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V'(-7i)-t'it
2SG SUB > INO	V'-nVn(-t'i)
2SG SUB > PL INO	7a-V'-nVn(-t'i)
2PL SUB > INO	V'-nVn(-7i)-t'it
2PL SUB > PL INO	7a-V'-nVn(-7i)-t'it
3SG SUB > 1SG OBJ	kin-V
3SG/PL SUB > 1PL OBJ	kin-ta-V-n
3SG SUB > 2SG OBJ	V-n
3SG/PL SUB > 2PL OBJ	ta-V-n
3SG SUB > 3SG OBJ	V
3SG SUB > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V
3PL SUB > 3PL OBJ	ta-lak-V
3SG SUB > INO	V-nVn
3SG SUB > PL INO	7a-V-nVn
3PL SUB > INO	ta-V-nVn
3PL SUB > PL INO	ta-7a-V-nVn
INS > 1SG OBJ	k-V-kan
INS > 1PL OBJ	V-kan-aw
INS > 2SG OBJ	V'-kan(-t'i)
INS > 2PL OBJ	V'-kan(-7i)-t'it
INS > 3SG OBJ	V-kan
INS > 3PL OBJ	(7a-)lak-V-kan

The HT system of person and number inflection allows for a remarkable about of ambiguity. At times, it seems that instead of clarifying or disambiguating the roles of verbal arguments, the inflectional system serves to confuse and ambiguate them. Normally, in such a situation, we would expect discourse pragmatics to disambiguate the argumental roles, and this is true of HT, in which the roles of the arguments are made clear by the discourse context of the utterances.

3.1.2 Tense, Aspect, and Mood

HT verbs may be inflected for tense (Section 3.1.2.1), aspect (Section 3.1.2.2), and/or mood (Section 3.1.2.3).

3.1.2.1 Tense

There are three tenses in HT: present, past, and future. All verb stems have inherent present tense, in that the present tense is not marked on the verb. Only the past and future tenses are discussed further here.

Past Tense Prefix *x-* (*xa-* ~ *7ix-*)

In HT, past tense is marked on the verb by the prefix *x-* and its allomorphs *xa-* and *7ix-,* shown below in example (263).

(263) a.

maa	jaantuch	**x**lakaxk'in
maa	jaantu+ch	**x-**lakaxk'in
RPT	NEG+ALD	**PAST**-love(IMPFV)

'She didn't love it anymore.' [T0003: 031]

b.

xakjuntaw	vecinos
xa-k-jun-ta-w	vecinos
PAST-1SUB-be-PF-1PL.SUB	neighbors

'We were neighbors.' [T0022: 046]

c.

naa	kan	juu	lhiiway	**7ix**juuniita	juu	kutanch
naa	kan	juu	lhiiway	**7ix**-jun-niita	juu	kutanch
very	delicious	ART	meat	**PAST**-be-PF	ART	yesterday

'Yesterday the meat was delicious.' [ELIEX2: 038]

Of the three past tense allomorphs (*x-*, *xa-*, and *7ix-*), only *xa-* occurs before the first person subject prefix *k-* (shown in (263b)) and the first person object prefix *kin-*. In all other environments, the three allomorphs are in free variation, with *x-* occurring the most frequently, and *7ix-* occurring the least frequently. Usually, though not always, *xa-* and *7ix-* occur in environments in

which the presence of *x-* would create a consonant cluster that is difficult to produce or discern (e.g., before /s/, /lh/, /x/, /ch/, or /tz/).

The past tense prefix co-occurs with the imperfective, perfective, and perfect aspect markers. When the past tense occurs with the imperfective aspect, as in (264a), the implication is that the action of the verb was ongoing or habitual at some reference point in the past. When the past tense occurs with the perfect aspect, as in (264b), the implication is that the state indicated by the verb had already been entered into or accomplished at some past reference point.

(264) a.

kaa	**x**7u**y**ch	juu	yuuch	juu	lhiiway
kaa	**x**-7u-**y**+ch	juu	yuuch	juu	lhiiway
BLV	**PAST**-eat-**IMPFV**+ALD	ART	PRN.3SG	ART	meat

'I think that he was eating the meat.' [T0020: 039]

b.

xnii**ta**ch	juu	maqtili7
x-nii-**ta**+ch	juu	maqtili7
PAST-die-**PF**+ALD	ART	beast

'The beast was dead.' [T0020: 023]

The combination of the past tense and the perfective aspect produces an irrealis meaning similar to the Spanish past subjunctive, as seen below in (265).[83]

(265)

chach	**x**mi**lh**	juu	kinati7an
cha-ch	**x**-min-li	juu	kin-nati-7an
DST-ALD	**PAST**-come-**PFV**	ART	1POS-mother-PL.POS

'If only our mother would have come.' [T0066: 015]

Future tense suffix *–ya7 ~ -a7*

The future tense suffix *–ya7* has one allomorph *–a7.* The allomorph *–ya7* occurs after a vowel, shown in (266a), and the allomorph *–a7* occurs after a consonant, as seen in (266b) and (266c).[84]

[83] Please see Section 3.1.2.3 for more discussion of the irrealis mood.

(266) a. katat'alhnuu**yaa**ch
ka-ta-t'alhnuu-**ya7**+ch
IRR-3PL.SUB-jail-**FUT**+ALD
'They will put him in jail.' [T0055: 030]

b. maa ka7an**aa**ch laqtz'ini7 juu xnati
maa ka-7an-**a7**+ch laqtz'in-nV7 juu x-nati
RPT IRR-go-**FUT**+ALD see-INF ART 3POS-mother
'It [the millipede] goes to see its mother.' [T003: 010]

c. kchaqx**a7** laqatam xmaqpu
k-chaqx-**a7** laqa-tam x-maqpu
1SUB-cut.down-**FUT** CL:general-one 3POS-branch
'I will cut down one branch.' [TPWDB]

When the subject is either third person or first person plural inclusive (i.e., not marked with the first person prefix *k-*), the future tense is accomplished through the combination of the future suffix *–ya7* (~ *-a7*) and the irrealis mood prefix *ka-*, as seen in (267).

(267) a. naa k'uusch **ka**tasu**ya7**
naa k'uus+ch **ka**-tasu-**ya7**
very pretty+ALD IRR-look-**FUT**
'It is going to be pretty.' [T0069: 275]

b. **ka**laqoxi**yaa**wch lakapaaxpit
ka-laqoxi-**ya7**-w+ch laka-paaxpit
IRR-fix-**FUT**-1PL.SUB+ALD PREP-jack.plane
'We will fix it with a jack plane.' [T0069: 133]

However, when the subject is first person singular, first person plural exclusive (i.e., it is marked with *k-*), or second person (singular or plural), the irrealis prefix appears as *7a-*, as seen in (268a), (268b), and (268c), respectively.

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[84] Note that there is a phonological rule that deletes a word- or suffix-final glottal stop when it is followed by a suffix or enclitic; after the glottal stop is deleted, the preceding vowel undergoes compensatory lengthening (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.7.2 and 2.6.8).

(268) a. **7a**kpuutay7ulaayaach
7a-k-puu-tay7ulaa-ya7+ch
IRR-1SUB-INST-begin-FUT+ALD
'I'm going to begin here.' [T0069: 237]

b. waa tz'iisin **7a**kminaaw
waa tz'iisin **7a**-k-min-a7-w
FOC early **IRR**-1SUB-come-FUT-1PL.SUB
'We are going to come early.' [T0060: 241]

c. toqoxaay **7a**wayna7
toqoxaay **7a**-wajin-a7
later **IRR**-eat-FUT
'You (SG) will eat later.' [Q3I]

Furthermore, when the subject is first person singular, first person plural exclusive, or second person, the *7a-* allomorph frequently is omitted altogether, as seen in (269a), (269b), and (269c), respectively. One consultant told me that omission of the *7a-* prefix is the fast way of speaking, and that it is more correct to pronounce the prefix.

(269) a. wachu7 k7anchoqo**ya7**
wachu7 k-7an-choqo-**ya7**
also 1SUB-go-AGAIN-**FUT**
'I'm going to go again, too.' [T0055: 099]

b. klaat'alhnuu**yaa**wch
k-laa-t'alhnuu-**ya7**-w+ch
1SUB-RCP-jail-**FUT**-1PL.SUB+ALD
'We are going to put you in jail.' [T0055: 0038]

c. waa lhk'a7ii**ya7** juu 7anii
waa lhkan-7ii-**ya7** juu 7anii
FOC measure(2SUB)-bring-**FUT** ART here
'Are you (SG) going to measure it from here?' [T0069: 304]

Additionally, when the *object* is first person, the irrealis prefix does not occur,[85] as seen in (270).

(270) nii k'i7u**ya7** ka7uyaan juu Siiliiyaa
nii kin-7u-**ya7** ka-7u-ya7-n juu Cecilia
COMP 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-**FUT** IRR-eat-FUT-2OBJ ART Cecilia
'If you eat me, Cecilia is going to eat you.' [T0058: 031]

A plural second person subject is always doubly marked for future tense by the suffix *–7i* that occurs after the future suffix *–ya7* (~ *-a7*) and before the second person plural subject suffix *–t'it*, as seen below in (271).

(271) a. 7inaa**7i**t'it juu lakxkaan
7an-a7-**7i**-t'it juu lakxkaan
go(2SUB)-FUT-**2.PL.SUB.FUT**-2PL.SUB ART river
'You all will go to the river.' [Q3I]

b. toqoxaay 7awaynaa**7i**t'it
toqoxaay 7a-wajin-a7-**7i**-t'it
later IRR-eat-FUT-**2PL.SUB.FUT**-2PL.SUB
'You all will eat later.' [Q3I]

The negative future is accomplished by means of the combination of the irrealis prefix *ka-*, the negative future prefix *ti-*, and the perfective aspect, as seen below in (272b). I have found no other construction in which the negative future prefix *ti-* occurs.

(272) a. kachina7 juu lhi7 juu Xiiwan
ka-chin-a7 juu lhi7 juu Xiiwan
IRR-arrive.here-FUT ART tomorrow ART Juan
'Juan will arrive here tomorrow.' [Q3I]

[85] According to Watters (1988), the irrealis prefix *ka-* and the first person object prefix *kin-* have the same morphological order and may not co-occur (p. 265).

b. jaantu ka**ti**chilh juu lhi7 juu Xiiwan
jaantu ka-**ti**-chin-li juu lhi7 juu Xiiwan
NEG IRR-**NEG.FUT**-arrive.here-PFV ART tomorrow ART Juan
'Juan **will not** arrive here tomorrow.' [Q3I]

3.1.2.2 Aspect

There are three inflectional aspects in HT: the imperfective aspect, the perfective aspect, and the perfect aspect.

Imperfective Aspect

According to Smith (1997), "the unmarked imperfective spans an interval that is internal to the situation" (p. 73). In HT, the imperfective aspect is used in a verbal predication that is unbounded, ongoing, incomplete, or habitual. The predication may refer to an event or a state.

The imperfective aspect suffix *–y* has one allomorph, *-7a*. The *–y* allomorph occurs after a vowel-final stem as seen in (273a); the *-7a* allomorph occurs after a stop-final stem, shown in (273b) and (273c). Continuant-final stems are not overtly marked for imperfective aspect, as seen in (273d), where the stem ends in a nasal consonant, and in (273e), where the stem ends in a non-nasal continuant consonant.

(273) a. puus jaantuch tu7u7 xt'ala**y**
puus jaantu+ch tu7u7 x-t'ala-**y**
well NEG+ALD something PAST-do-**IMPFV**
'Well, he didn't do anything.' [T0054: 002]

b. ktasp'it**'a**
k-tasp'it-**7a**
1SUB-return- **IMPFV**
'I am returning.' [MSW]

c. **x**tapaastak**'a**ch juu kimpay7an
x-tapaastak-**7a**+ch juu kin-pay-7an
PAST-remember-**IMPFV** +ALD ART 1POS-father-PL.POS
'They remembered Our Father.' [T0063: 082]

d. lakak'aatanch xtalhii7anch
laka-k'aatan+ch x-ta-lhii7an+ch
PREP-festival+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-take-IMPFV+ALD
'They took her to the festivals.' [T0063: 023]

e. porque tuuka7 xta7aqpaax
porque tuu+ka7 x-ta-7aq-paax
because NEG+JST PAST-3PL.SUB-bathe(IMPFV)
'because they still did not baptize.' [T0059: 004]

Imperfective aspect may occur with or without the past tense prefix, as seen below in (274).

(274) a. juu doktornin jaantu tamispaa**y**
juu doctor-nin jaantu ta-mispaa-**y**
ART doctor-PL NEG 3PL.SUB-know-**IMPFV**

juu xlak'uch'un7an
juu x-lak-k'uch'u-n-7an
ART 3POS-PL-cure-DVB-PL.POS
'The doctors don't know their cures.' [T0009: 014]

b. maa **7ix**taxtuy juu laktalhpa
maa **x**-taxtu-y juu laka-talhpa
RPT **PAST**-go.out-IMPFV ART PREP-hill
'It [an animal] would go out in the hills.' [T0020: 004]

Perfective Aspect

According to Smith (1997), "sentences with a perfective viewpoint present a situation as a whole. The span of the perfective includes the initial and final endoints of the situation: it is closed informationally" (p. 66). Furthermore, stative situations do not appear in the perfective viewpoint. In HT, only verbs that

refer to an event (and not a state) may be inflected for imperfective aspect, and these events are temporally bounded within an initial and a final endpoint.

The perfective aspect in Huehuetla Tepehua is morphologically marked by the suffix *–li* and its allomorph *–lh.*[86] More importantly, however, perfective aspect is indicated phonologically by a stressed penultimate syllable, and I will return to this point below. The allomorph *–lh* is phonologically derived from the allomorph *–li* by means of neutralization.[87] The allomorph *–li* surfaces only when (i) it is followed by the temporal clitic *+ch, and* (ii) it follows a consonant or semi-vowel (*-li* never follows a vowel). Examples are shown in (275).

(275) a. kuj**lich**
kuj-**li+ch**
wake.up-**PFV+ALD**
'He already woke up.' [ELIEX2: 072]

b. ch'it**lich** juu 7alaxux juu Xiiwan
ch'it-**li+ch** juu 7alaxux juu Xiiwan
squeeze-**PFV+ALD** ART orange ART John
'John squeezed the orange.' [ELIEX1: 103]

c. ta7aqpax**lich**
ta-7aqpax-**li+ch**
3PL.SUB-baptize-**PFV+ALD**
'They were baptized.' [T0050: 023]

d. maa taqalhaputay**lich**
maa ta-qalhaputay-**li+ch**
RPT 3PL.SUB-intercept-**PFV+ALD**
'They intercepted it.' [T0020: 018]

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[86] The suffix *–li* is cognate with the perfective aspect marker in most of the other Totonacan languages; see for example, Beck 2003; MacKay 1999; Watters 1988.
[87] Please see Chapter 2, section 2.7.6.2.

The allomorph *–lh* always occurs in the one environment in which *–li* does not: after a stem-final vowel, as seen in the examples in (276).

(276) a. jaantu7as xtaqni**lh** juu tuumiin
jaantu+7as xtaq-ni-**li** juu tuumiin
NEG+TAGQ give-DAT-**PFV** ART money
'Didn't he give her the money?' [T0054: 015]

b. tzuku**lh** maa laqaxqotnu7
tzuku-**li** maa laqaxqot-nV7
begin-**PFV** RPT unload-INF
'He began to unload it.' [T0055: 095]

c. maa laqtz'i**lh** juu lapanak
maa laqtz'in-**li** juu lapanak
RPT see.PFV-**PFV** ART person
'He saw the person.' [T0022: 028]

However, *-li* and *–lh* are *not* in complementary distribution because they both occur after consonants and semi-vowels. Examples of *–li* are shown above in (275), and examples in which *–lh* follows a consonant or semi-vowel are shown below in (277).

(277) a. taspit**lh**
taspit-**li**
return-**PFV**
'He returned.' [T0022: 031]

b. chachakx**lh** juu k'iw juu lapanak
chachakx-**li** juu k'iw juu lapanak
puncture-**PFV** ART tree ART person
'The man tapped the tree.' [ELIEX1: 006]

c. lhiitamaw**lh** laqatam xlaqpuutanuti
lhii-tamaju-**li** laqa-tam x-laqpuutanuti
APPL-buy-**PFV** CL-one 3POS-mask
'He bought himself a mask.' [T0055: 048]

d. kalhtay**lh** juu lhasakminin
kalhtay-**li** juu lhasakmin-in
respond-**PFV** ART question-PL
'He responded to the questions.' [ELIEX2: 032]

Furthermore, both *–li* and *-lh* may be followed by the temporal clitic *+ch*, as seen above in (275) and below in (278).

(278) a. 7atz'ala**lhch** y tanuucha**lhch** juu laktalhpa
7atz'ala-**li+ch** y tanuu-chaa-**li+ch** juu lak-talhpa
run-**PFV+ALD** and enter-DST-**PFV+ALD** ART PREP-hill
'It ran and went into the cave.' [T0020: 020]

b. ta7a**lhch**
ta-7an-**li+ch**
3PL.SUB-go-**PFV+ALD**
'They left.' [T0055: 079]

To complicate matters further, the overt perfective aspect marker *-lh* may optionally be omitted from a polysyllabic word when it follows a stem-final vowel and precedes a word boundary, as seen in the examples in (279) where the (a) example is marked with the perfective aspect suffix, while the (b) example is not.[88] This omission seems to be age-graded in that the younger the speaker is, the more likely he or she is to omit the overt perfect aspect marker *–li ~ -lh.*

(279) a. waa **maaqeswaalhch** juu 7atzi7
waa maaqeswaa-li+ch juu 7atzi7
FOC scare-PFV+ALD ART girl
'He scared the girl.' [T0054: 003]

b. maa **maaqeswaa** juu pumatam papa7
maa maaqeswaa juu puma-tam papa7
RPT scare(PFV) ART CL.HUM-one gentleman
'It scared an old man.' [T0022: 054]

[88] Please see Chapter 2, section 2.7.6.3.

However, loss of the perfective aspect marker does not correlate with a loss of distinction between the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect (which is the unmarked aspect for a continuant-final stem) for two reasons: first, though continuant-final stems are unmarked in the imperfective aspect, they are marked in the perfective aspect, as seen below in the examples in (280).

(280) a. **qex** juu xpuumpu7 juu kiinati
qex juu x-puumpu7 juu kin-nati
rip(**IMPFV**) ART 3POS-cloth ART 1POS-mother
'My mother rips the cloth.'

b. waa **qexlh** juu xpuumpu7
waa qex-li juu x-puumpu7
FOC rip-**PFV** ART 3POS-clothing
'His clothing ripped.' [TPWDB]

Second, the two aspects differ with respect to primary stress assignment in polysyllabic words. In the perfective aspect, the primary stress rule[89] ensures that the primary stress always falls on the penultimate syllable of polysyllabic verbs with third person (singular or plural) or first or second person singular subjects. Similarly, the primary stress rule ensures that primary stress falls on the final syllable of these verbs in the imperfective aspect, as seen in (281). In the imperfective example in (a), the final syllable of the verb *xtamaqníiy* 'they would kill it' receives primary stress because the word ends in a sonorant consonant [j]. In the perfective example in (b), the penultimate syllable of the verb *talaamáqnii* 'they killed each other' receives primary stress because the word does not end in a sonorant consonant.

[89] Please see Chapter 2, section 2.5 for more information on stress in HT.

(281) a. **xtamaqníiy** xta7uych
x-ta-maqnii-**y** x-ta-7u-y+ch
PAST-3PL.SUB-kill-**IMPFV** PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPFV+ALD
'They would kill it and they would eat it.' [T0059: 041]

b. waa **talaamáqnii**
waa ta-laa-máqnii
FOC 3PL.SUB-RCP-kill(**PFV**)
'They killed each other.' [TPWDB]

In the perfective aspect (irregardless of tense or mood or the person of the subject), nasal-final stems undergo deletion of the stem-final nasal, as seen below in (282).[90] Frequently, this nasal-deletion is the only indication of perfective aspect, as seen in the (b) example below.

(282) a. maa **milhch** 7awilhchan nii lhiitajukalh
maa **min**-li+ch 7awilhchan nii lhiitaju-kan-li
RPT come-PFV+ALD day COMP find-INS-PFV
'The day came that they found it.' [T0020: 013]

b. waa laaych **7aklak7aw** paxnin
waa laa-y+ch 7a-k-lak-**7an**-w pax-nin
FOC can-IMPFV+ALD IRR-1SUB-PL-go.PFV-1PL.SUBJ bathe-INF
'If only we were able to go bathe.' [Q3I]

c. nii **laqtz'ínkalh** lhtuj **xaqatajíkalh**
nii laqtz'in-**kan**-li lhtuj xaqataji-**kan**-li
COMP see-INS-PFV ID:pull pull.out-INS-PFV
'When they saw her, they pulled her out (of the fire).' [T0054: 080]

Second person singular is marked in two different ways in the perfective aspect. First, the suffix *-t'i* marks second person singular subject in the perfective aspect when the root ends in a long vowel or non-nasal consonant, as seen in (283a) and (283b), respectively. The suffix *–t'i* is also used when a monosyllabic root ends in a short vowel, as seen in (283c). Note that in (283d), the stem-final

[90] Please see Chapter 2, section 2.7.6.1.

nasal consonant is deleted in the perfective aspect, leaving a stem-final long vowel to which *–t'i* is suffixed.

(283) a. k'imaaqeswaa**t'i**
kin-maa-qeswaa-**t'i**
1OBJ-CAUS-be.scared-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
'You scared me.' [T0054: 030]

b. tiis chawaych juu t'aa7o**t'i**?
tiis chaway+ch juu t'aa-qot-**t'i**
Q now+ALD REL COM-drink-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
'Who did you drink with now?' [T0066: 292]

c. jaantu k'i7u**t'i**
jaantu ki-7u-**t'i**
NEG 1OBJ-eat-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
'Don't eat me!' [T0058: 028]

d. lhk'aa**t'i**
lhk'aan-**t'i**
measure.PFV-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
'You measured it.' [TPWDB]

Second, when a polysyllabic root ends in a short vowel, there is no overt suffix that co-indexes a second person singular subject in the perfective aspect, as seen below in (284). Note that if there are plain stops or affricates in the root, they are glottalized, as seen in (284a). In (284b), the stem-final nasal consonant is deleted in the perfective aspect, leaving a stem-final short vowel, to which *–t'i* does not affix.

(284) a. **ch'**a**p'**ach juu 7anii
cha**p**a+ch juu 7anii
grab(2SUB.IMPFV) +ALD ART here
'You grab it here.' [T0069: 082]

b. laqtz'i
laqtz'in(2SUB.PFV)
'You saw him.' [Q3I]

Perfective aspect is not overtly marked when the subject is either first or second person plural. The stress rule does not distinguish imperfective and perfective aspects when the subject is first person plural because the word-final suffix *–(a)w* that marks this person/number ends in a sonorant consonant that always attracts stress to a final syllable. Nor does the stress rule distinguish the two aspects when the subject is second person plural because this word-final suffix *–t'it* ends in a non-sonorant consonat, so the syllable preceding it always receives the primary stress.

A stem-final nasal is deleted in the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples below in (285), (286), and (287). Examples with a first person plural subject are shown in (285), examples with a second person plural subject are shown in (286), and examples with a third person plural subject are shown in (287). The (a) examples are imperfective aspect and the (b) examples are perfective aspect.

(285) a. laqtz'inaw
laqtz'in-aw
see(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB
'We see him.'

b. laqtz'iw
laqtz'in-w
see(PFV)-1PL.SUB
'We saw him.' [3QI]

(286) a. laqtz'inat'it
laqtz'in-at'it
see(IMPFV)-2PL.SUB
'You (PL) see him.'

b. laqtz'ít'it
laqtz'in-t'it
see(PFV)-2PL.SUB
'You (PL) saw him.' [3QI]

(287) a. talaqtz'in
ta-laqtz'in
3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)
'They see him.'

b. talaqtz'ilh
ta-laqtz'in-li
3PL.SUB-see(PFV)-PFV
'They saw him.' [3QI]

Perfect Aspect

Perfect aspect in HT corresponds to Smith's (1997) definition: "Perfect sentences locate a situation prior to Reference Time.[91] They have a stative value, and they ascribe to the subject a property based on participation in the prior situation" (p. 186).

The perfect aspect in HT is marked on the verb by the suffix *-ta*. Examples are shown below in (288). This suffix has one allomorph *-niita*, which—according to Watters (1988)—occurs only with the verb *jun* 'be' and comes from the Totonac perfect aspect suffix *–ni:ta* (p. 57, ft. 7).

(288) a. puus kaa yuuch juu 7ixtaqni**ta**ch
puus kaa yuuch juu 7ix-xtaq-ni-**ta**+ch
well BLV PRN.3SG REL PAST-give-DAT-**PF**+ALD
'Well, I think it was he who she had given it to.' [T0054: 016]

[91] "Reference Time is the temporal standpoint of a sentence" (Smith 1997: 101).

b. juu yuuch waa xt'alalhwa7**ta**ch
juu yuuch waa x-t'alalhwa7-**ta**+ch
ART PRN.3SG FOC PAST-distribute-**PF**+ALD
'She had divided it (the money) up.' [T0054: 018]

c. maa xkiitasp'i**ta**ch x7ast'aan**ta**
maa x-kii-tasp'it-**ta**+ch x-7a-st'aa-nVn-**ta**
RPT PAST-RT-return-**PF**+ALD PAST-PL.OBJ-sell-INO-**PF**

juu pumatam xkumwarii
juu puma-tam x-kumwarii
ART CL:human-one 3POS-compadre
'One compadre had returned from selling.' [T0055: 003-4]

Perfect aspect occurs in the present (morphologically unmarked) tense, as well as the past tense, as seen below in (289). It does not occur in the future tense.

(289) a. maa nii**ta** yaa juu laka7uun
maa nii-**ta** yaa juu laka-7uun
RPT die-**PF** standing ART PREP-air
'He has died/is dead in the air.' [T0022: 010]

b. **x**nii**ta**ch juu maqtili7
x-nii-**ta**+ch juu maqtili7
PAST-die-**PF**+ALD ART wild.animal
'The wild animal had died/was dead.' [T0020: 023]

The stative verb *jun* 'be' usually occurs in the perfect aspect when describing a past state, as seen below in (290). The allomorph *–niita* appears on the (b) and (c) examples.

(290) a. xakjun**ta**w vecinos
xa-k-jun-**ta**-w vecinos
PAST-1SUB-be-**PF**-1PL.SUB neighbors
'We were neighbors.' [T0022: 046]

b.	papaach	wachu7	xjuu**niita**	
	papa7+ch	wachu7	x-jun-**niita**	
	old.man+ALD	also	PAST-be-**PF**	
	'He was already an old man.'			[T0022: 055]

c.	7ixjuu**niita**	juu	lapanak	maa	jaantu	lhuu	
	7ix-jun-**niita**	juu	lapanak	maa	jaantu	lhuu	
	PAST-be-**PF**	ART	person	RPT	NEG	many	
	'The were not many people.'						[T0057: 054]

3.1.2.3 Mood

There are essentially two grammatical mood distinctions in HT, the realis mood and the irrealis mood. The realis mood is formally and functionally unmarked. The irrealis mood is indicated by the prefix *ka-* and its one allomorph *7a-*.[92] Different modalities (such as the imperative or the conditional) are accomplished by combining the irrealis prefix with different tense and/or aspectual markers.

Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) argue that the realis/irrealis distinction "is not cross-linguistically valid" (p. 238); however Chafe (1995) and Mithun (1995) have both taken the position that the distinction between realis and irrealis is arguably valid, and that the term 'irrealis' is descriptively useful. Even though the application of the term 'irrealis' varies from language to language (or author to author), nevertheless, there are certain constructions which tend to get labeled irrealis over and over again. Chafe lists the following contexts in which a language might employ the irrealis mood: yes-no questions, negations, futures, necessities (or obligations), possibilities, imperatives, prohibitions, and conditions (p. 350, 362). According to Mithun, counterfactual and conditional structures

[92] There is one irrealis form that is not marked by either *ka-* or *7a-*; it will be dealt with below.

show very little cross-linguistic variation in their use of irrealis modality, while imperatives, futures, questions, and negations show much more cross-linguistic variation with regard to irrealis mood (p. 376). Whereas counterfactuals and conditionals cross-linguistically fall into the realm of "nonactualization", languages vary with regard to whether or not they treat imperatives, futures, questions, and negation as actualized or nonactualized (384-6).[93] Furthermore, Palmer (2001) acknowledges that "the idea that notional features of realis and irrealis are grammaticalized as the typological categories of Realis and Irrealis is a useful one" (p. 2).

In the following discussion of mood, I draw a mood distinction between realis and irrealis, and I use the term 'irrealis' for three reasons. First, there is only one particular prefix, *ka-* and its allomorph *7a-,* which is common to all but one of the contexts in which the "irrealis" mood occurs. Second, all of the contexts in which this prefix appears are included in both Chafe's (1995) and Mithun's (1995) lists of irrealis contexts, and all of the structures in which it occurs are contexts which are non-actualized in HT. Third and finally, "irrealis" is the name used most frequently for the cognate prefix in other Totonacan languages (e.g., MacKay 1999; Watters 1988).[94]

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[93] However, following Givón's (1994) explication of the irrealis, all of the above mentioned researchers—Bybee et al (1994), Chafe (1995), and Mithun (1995)—are mistaken in their association of 'realis' with 'real' and 'irrealis' with 'unreal'. He writes, "One unfortunate legacy of the logic-bound approach to modality is the definition of the contrast between realis and irrealis as a contrast between, respectively, 'real' and 'unreal events" (p. 268-9). For Givón, the difference between realis and irrealis is a cognitive difference in "subjective certainty" and a communicative difference in "socially-negotiated meaning" (p. 269).

[94] I should note that the grandfather of Totonacan linguistics, Norman McQuown, did not actually give this prefix a name in his grammar of Coatepec Totonac (1990: 156).

Realis Mood

The realis mood is morphologically unmarked; it is distinguished from the irrealis mood by the absence of the irrealis prefix. The realis mood includes such modalities as the indicative (factual, specific, or habitual action), desire (without a change in subject), ability, and strong possibility or belief. The realis mood co-occurs with present and past tenses, as well as imperfective, perfective, and perfect aspects. Not all realis events are actualized events: for example, negation of the realis modalities mentioned above is also part of the realis mood in HT; examples are shown below.

The indicative examples in (291) show the realis mood occurring with the present imperfective in (a), the past imperfective in (b), and the perfective aspect in (c).

(291) a. juu Xiiwaan saay juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan saa-y juu lhiisaan
ART Juan play-IMPFV ART guitar
'Juan plays the guitar.'

b. juu Xiiwaan 7isaay juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan 7i-saay juu lhiisaan
ART Juan PAST-play-IMPFV ART guitar
'Juan played the guitar.'

c. juu Xiiwaan saalh juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan saa-li juu lhiisaan
ART Juan play-PFV ART guitar
'Juan played the guitar.' [QMMES]

Corresponding negative indicative examples are shown below in (292).

(292) a. juu Xiiwaan jaantu saay juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan jaantu saa-y juu lhiisaan
ART Juan NEG play-IMPFV ART guitar
'Juan does not play the guitar.'

b. juu Xiiwaan jaantu 7isaay juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan jaantu 7i-saa-y juu lhiisaan
ART Juan NEG PAST-play-IMPFV ART guitar
'Juan did not play the guitar.'

c. juu Xiiwaan jaantu saalh juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan jaantu saa-li juu lhiisaan
ART Juan NEG play-PFV ART guitar
'Juan did not play the guitar.' [QMMES]

The modality of desire, when there is no change in subject, is expressed by means of the desiderative suffix (see Section 3.2.3.6) and the realis mood. Similarly, negative desire also falls under the realm of the realis mood. Examples are shown in (293).

(293) a. juu Xiiwaan saaputun juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan saa-putun juu lhiisaan
ART Juan play-DESID(IMPFV) ART guitar
'Juan wants to play the guitar.'

b. juu Xiiwaan jaantu saaputun juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan jaantu saa-putun juu lhiisaan
ART Juan NEG play-DESID(IMPFV) ART guitar
'Juan does not want to play the guitar.' [QMMES]

Ability is expressed by means of the auxiliary verb *laa* 'can' (Section 3.4.2). Both positive and negative ability are expressed by means of the realis mood, as seen below in (294).

(294) a. juu Xiiwaan laay saay juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan laa-y saay juu lhiisaan
ART Juan can-IMPFV play-IMPFV ART guitar
'Juan can (is able to, knows how to) play the guitar.'

b. juu Xiiwaan tuu laay saay juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan jaantu laa-y saay juu lhiisaan
ART Juan NEG can-IMPFV play-IMPFV ART guitar
'Juan can not (is unable to, does not know how to) play the guitar.'[QMMES]

Strong possibility also falls within the realm of the realis mood. Like ability, strong possibility is expressed by means of the auxiliary verb *laa* 'can', as seen in the examples in (295). Additionally, examples of strong possibility contain some sort of qualifying expressed such as *taxniy* 'probably' or *klhuulay* 'I think'.

(295) a. juu Xiiwaan taxniy laay saaputun juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan taxniy laa-y saa-putun juu lhiisaan
ART Juan probably can-IMPFV play-DESID(IMPFV) ART guitar
'Juan probably wants to be able to play the guitar.' [QMMES]

b. taxniy klhuulay juu Xiiwaan
taxniy k-lhuula-y juu Xiiwaan
probably 1SUB-think-IMPFV ART Juan

nii laay saay juu lhiisan
nii laa-y saa-y juu lhiisan
COMP can-IMPFV play-IMPFV ART guitar
'I think that Juan can play the guitar.' [QMMES]

c. taxniy klhuulay juu Xiiwaan
taxniy k-lhuula-y juu Xiiwaan
probably 1SUB-think-IMPFV ART Juan

nii tuu laay saay juu lhiisan
nii jaantu laa-y saa-y juu lhiisan
COMP NEG can-IMPFV play-IMPFV ART guitar
'I think that Juan can not play the guitar.' [QMMES]

Irrealis Mood

In all modalities but one, the irrealis mood is morphologically marked by the prefix *ka-* or its allomorph *7a-*. According to Watters (1988), in Huehuetla

Tepehua, the irrealis prefix *ka-* is used when the subject is third person or first person plural inclusive, and the allomorph *7a-* is used when the subject is first person singular, first person plural exclusive, and second person (p. 273). I, too, found that the allomorph *7a-* can be used when the subject is first person singular, first person plural exclusive, or second person; however it is frequently the case that no irrealis prefix at all occurs with these persons. My consultant, don Nicolás, told me that it is more correct to include the *7a-* prefix, but that it is usually omitted in fast speech. In fact, I found that it almost never occurs in naturally occurring speech, but that it is always accepted when presented during elicitation.

Irrealis modalities include the future tense (both positive and negative) and obligation, imperative and hortative commands, permission, the optative (wishes), the conditional, and the dubitative (doubt or uncertainty on the part of the speaker). The irrealis prefix does *not* occur on the verb when any of these modalities occur in the past; the past tense prefix *x-* occurs on the verb instead.

The irrealis mood maker *ka-* combines with the future suffix *–ya7* (~ *-a7*) to form the future tense (see the subsection on Future Tense in Section 3.1.2.1). Though the future tense is not necessarily a modality, obligation is, and it happens that the future tense and obligatory mood are the same in HT. Positive examples are shown in (296).

(296) a.

juu	Xiiwaan	**ka**saa**ya7**	juu	lhiisaan
juu	Xiiwaan	**ka**-saa-**ya7**	juu	lhiisaan
ART	Juan	**IRR**-play-**FUT**	ART	guitar

'Juan will play the guitar.'
'Juan must play the guitar.'

b. juu Xiiwaan **ka**min**a7**
juu Xiiwaan **ka**-min-**a7**
ART Juan **IRR**-come-**FUT**
'Juan will come.'
'Juan must come.'

c. juu Xiiwaan laay katapasaya7 juu lakxkaan
juu Xiiwaan laay **ka**-tapasa-**ya7** juu lakxkaan
ART Juan can **IRR**-pass-**FUT** ART river
'Juan is going to be able to cross the river.'
'Juan must be able to cross the river.' [QMMES]

The negative future/obligation is not morphologically marked by the future suffix; instead it bears the perfective aspect suffix *–lh*. Additionally, it requires the irrealis prefix *ka-* and the negative future prefix, *ti-*. Examples are shown in (297).

(297) a. juu Xiiwaan jaantu **kati**saa**lh** juu lhiisaan
juu Xiiwaan jaantu **ka-ti**-saa-**li** juu lhiisaan
ART Juan NEG **IRR-NEG.FUT**-play-**PFV** ART guitar
'Juan is not going to (will not) play the guitar.' [QMMES]

b. porque nii kata7uya7
porque nii ka-ta-7u-ya7
because COMP IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-FUT

jaantuch **kati**tataxtu**lh**
jaantu+ch **ka-ti**-ta-taxtu-**li**
NEG+ALD **IRR-NEG.FUT**-3PL.SUB-leave-**PFV**
'Because if they ate it, they would not be able to leave.'
[T0063: 066-067]

c. juu Xiiwaan tuu laay **kati**tapasa**lh**
juu Xiiwaan jaantu laa-y **ka-ti**-tapasa-**li**
ART Juan NEG can-IMPFV **IRR-NEG.FUT**-pass-**PFV**

juu lakxkaan
juu lakxkaan
ART river
'Juan is not going to be able to cross the river.' [QMMES]

The imperative, hortative, permissive, optative, conditional, potential, and dubitative modalities are all morphologically marked in the same way: they are prefixed with the irrealis marker *ka-* and suffixed with the perfective aspect marker *–lh*. If they occur in the past tense, the irrealis prefix is replaced by the past tense prefix *x-*. Even though there is no grammatical difference in these modalities, there is a slight semantic difference. Examples of each modality follow.

As stated above, the imperative mood is formed by the combination of the irrealis prefix and the perfective suffix. The irrealis prefix occurs as *7a-* in the imperative (i.e., a second person command). The prefix is omitted frequently in regular speech, though (i) forms that bear the prefix are always accepted during elicitation, and (ii) these irrealis forms are considered to be more correct. Examples of second person singular commands are shown in (298), and examples of second person plural commands are shown in (299). Note that any stops or affricates in the stem are glottalized.

(298) a. maap'uup'uu**t'i**
maa-puupuu-**t'i**
CAUS-boil(2SUB)-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
'Boil it!' [TPWDB]

b. seq 7ulaa**t'i** juu 7asqat'a
seq 7ulaa-**t'i** juu 7asqat'a
quiet put-**2SG.SUB.PFV** ART child
'Calm down the child!' [TPWDB]

c. **7a**saa**t'i** chiniich
7a-saa-**t'i** chinii+ch
IRR-play.instrument-**2SG.SUB.PFV** like.this+ALD
'Play it like this.' [T0066: 224]

d. **7a**só7o
7a-so7o
IRR-be.quick(**2SG.SUB.PFV**)[95]
'Be quick!' [Q3I]

There is no overt aspect marking when the subject is second person plural. If there are stops or affricates in the stem, they are glottalized. As with the second person singular commands, the irrealis prefix is optionally omitted from the second person plural commands, as seen in the following examples.

(299) a. maamiixii**t'it** juu jip
maa-miixii(PFV)-**t'it** juu jip
CAUS-go.out-**2PL.SUB** ART fire
'Put out the fire, you all!' [TPWDB]

b. maat'alhk'u**t'it** juu jip
maa-talhku-**t'it** juu jip
CAUS-stir(2SUB.PFV)-**2PL.SUB** ART fire
'You all stir the fire!' [TPWDB]

c. **7a**so7o**t'it**
7a-so7o-**t'it**
IRR-be.quick(PFV)-**2PL.SUB**
'Be quick, you all!' [Q3I]

Unfortunately, I have only one example of a first person hortative command, shown below in (300). The hortative is morphologically marked by the irrealis prefix and the perfective aspect suffix. In this example, perfective aspect is indicated by deletion of the stem-final nasal. Given the fact that the prefix *ka-* occurs on the verb, this is an example of the first person *inclusive* since the irrealis allomorph *7a-* occurs with first person prefix *k-* [ʔak-] to form the *exclusive*.

[95] When the stem ends in a short vowel, the second person perfective prefix *-t'i* does not occur (see the subsection on Second Person in Section 3.1.1.1 and the subsection on Perfective Aspect in Section 3.1.2.2).

(300) **ka**7awch qotnin
ka-7an-w+ch qot-nin
IRR-go(**PFV**)-1PL.SUB+ALD drink-INF
'Let's (INCL) go drink.' [T0066: 089]

A third person command appears in a subordinate clause, as seen in the examples in (301).

(301) a. lhiinajunkalh nii **ka**taymaa
lhiinajun-kan-li nii **ka**-taymaa
command-INS-PFV COMP **IRR**-follow(**PFV**)
'They commanded him to follow (them).'

b. juunikalh nii jaantu **ka**laknaaw**lh**
jun-ni-kan-li nii jaantu **ka**-lak-najun-**li**
tell-DAT-INS-PFV COMP NEG **IRR**-PL-say-**PFV**
'They told him not to talk.' [QMMES]

Permission (or the permissive modality) is indicated by means of the auxiliary verb *laa* 'can' plus a main verb that bears the irrealis prefix and the perfective aspect suffix, as seen in the examples below in (302).

(302) a. laay **ka**mi**lh** juu Xiiwaan
laa-y **ka**-min-**li** juu Xiiwaan
can-IMPFV **IRR**-come-**PFV** ART Juan
'Juan may come.' (permission)

b. juu 7ixnati juu Xiiwaan najun
juu 7ix-nati juu Xiiwaan najun
ART 3POS-mother ART Juan say(IMPFV)

nii laay **ka**mi**lh** juu Xiiwaan
nii laa-y **ka**-min-**li** juu Xiiwaan
COMP can-IMPFV **IRR**-come-**PFV** ART Juan
'Juan's mother says that he may come.' (permission) [QMMES]

Negative permission is additionally marked with the negative future prefix *ti-*, as seen below in (303).

(303) tuulaay ka**ti**lakchiwinpalaw
tuu+laa-y ka-**ti**-lak-chiwin-pala-w
NEG-can-IMPFV IRR-**NEG.FUT**-PL-talk(IMPFV)-REP-1PL.SUB
'We (INCL) may not talk.' [T0066: 139]

The optative mood is used to express wishes or desires; the verb is marked by the irrealis prefix and the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples in (304). The past optative is formed by means of the past tense plus the perfective aspect, as seen in the example in (305).

(304) a. juu Xiiwaan **ka**nawii
juu Xiiwaan **ka**-nawii
ART Juan **IRR**-do(VT)(**PFV**)
'If only Juan would do it.' [QMMES]

b. waa lakask'ín nii
waa lakask'in nii
FOC wish/want(IMPFV) COMP

katz'i7i**lh** juu 7ixtz'alh juu Xiwaanaa
ka-tz'í7in-**li** juu 7ix-tz'al juu Xiwaanaa
IRR-laugh(PFV)-**PFV** ART 1POS-son ART Juana
'Juana wants her son to laugh.' [ELIEX3: 019]

c. jaantu klakask'in nii **7a**miilhp'a**t'i**
jaantu k-lakask'in nii **7a**-miilhpa-**t'i**
NEG 1SUB-want(IMPF) COMP **IRR**-sing(2SUB)-**2SG.SUB.PFV**
'I don't want you to sing.' [QMMES]

(305) juu Xiiwaan **7ix**náwii
juu Xiiwaan **7ix**-nawii
ART Juan **PAST**-do(VT)(**PFV**)
'If only Juan would have done it.' [QMMES]

Conditional modality, too, is marked by the irrealis prefix and the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples in (306).

(306) a. porque nii maa **ka**tamáqnii maa 7aks
porque nii maa **ka**-ta-maqnii maa 7aks
because COMP RPT **IRR**-3PL.SUB-kill(**PFV**) RPT same

naa naa 7awilhcha maa **ka**nii**lh** juu 7anch t'aku7
naa naa 7awilhcha maa **ka**-nii-**li** juu 7anch t'aku7
EMP EMP day RPT **IRR**-die-**PFV** ART there woman
'Because if they kill it, that very same day the woman would die there.' [T0003: 18-20]

b. maas **ka**mi**lh** juu Xiiwaan
maas **ka**-min-**li** juu Xiiwaan
although **IRR**-come-**PFV** ART Juan

juu ki7in 7aktamokoona7
juu ki7in 7a-k-tamakajun-a7
ART PRN.1SG IRR-1SUB-remain-FUT
'Even if Juan were to come, I will stay.' [QMMES]

c. nii **ka**mi**lh** kaa laay **7a**ktamakaw**lh**
nii **ka**-min-**li** kaa laa-y **7a**-k-tamakajun-**li**
COMP **IRR**-come-**PFV** BLV can-IMPFV **IRR**-1SUB-remain-**PFV**
'If he were to come, I think that I could stay.' [QMMES]

Like the past optative, the past conditional is expressed by means of the past tense plus the perfective aspect. Furthermore, the evidential particle *kaa*, which I gloss as BLV or 'belief', occurs in all of the examples of past conditional clauses in my database. Examples are shown in (307).

(307) a. nii **xa**kmaamaa juu tuumin
nii **xa**-k-maamaa juu tuumin
COMP **PAST**-1SUB-have(**PFV**) ART money

kaa laay **xa**ktamaw**lh**
kaa laa-y **xa**-k-tamaw-**li**
BLV can-IMPFV **PAST**-1SUB-buy-**PFV**
'If I had had the money, I think that I would have bought it.'

b. nii **7ix**mi**lh** kaa laaych
nii **7ix**-min-**li** kaa laa-y+ch
COMP **PAST**-come-**PFV** BLV can-IMPFV +ALD

xaktamakaw**lh**
xa-k-tamakajun-**li**
PAST-1SUB-remain-**PFV**
'If he were to have come, I think I would have stayed.' [QMMES]

Potential modality is similarly indicated by the irrealis prefix and the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples in (308) below.

(308) a. juu Xiiwaan laay **ka**náwii
juu Xiiwaan laa-y **ka**-nawii
ART Juan can-IMPFV **IRR**-do(VT)(**PFV**)
'Juan could do it.' [QMMES]

b. nii waa naa laay **7a**knawiipaa
nii waa naa laa-y **7a-**k-nawii-paa
COMP FOC EMP can-IMPFV **IRR**-1SUB-do-REP.**PFV**

ritmo guaracha
ritmo guaracha
rhythm guaracha
'I could do it in the guaracha rhythm.' [T0066: 062]

The dubitative modality is grammatically marked using the same pattern that was seen above for the imperative, the optative, the conditional, and the potential modalities: the irrealis prefix and perfective aspect. The use of the dubitative modality reflects doubt or uncertainty on the part of the speaker about the veracity of the information. Examples are shown in (309).

(309) a. juu Xiiwaan jaantu klhuulay
juu Xiiwaan jaantu k-lhuula-y
ART Juan NEG 1SUB-think-IMPFV

nii laay **ka**saa**lh** juu lhiisaan
nii laa-y **ka**-saa-**li** juu lhiisaan
COMP can-IMPFV **IRR**-play-**PFV** ART guitar
'I don't know if (think that) Juan can play the guitar.'

b. jaantu k'atzay nii **ka**maamaa juu tuumin
jaantu k'atza-y nii **ka**-maamaa juu tuumin
NEG know-IMPFV COMP **IRR**-have(**PFV**) ART money
'I don't know (he doesn't know) if she has the money.' [QMMES]

The dubitative modality differs from the other irrealis modalities in one major way: it is optionally used based on the speaker's attitude toward the information being conveyed, as demonstrated by the examples in (310) and (311). In the example in (310a), the speaker is not sure if the person in question will come, and he uses the dubitative modality. In the example in (310b), the speaker is more confident that the person in question will come, which is reflected by his use of the future tense.

(310) a. kaa laay **ka**mi**lh**
kaa laa-y **ka**-min-**li**
BLV can-IMPFV **IRR**-come-**PFV**
'I think he might be able to come.' [QMMES]

b. kaa laay kamina7
kaa laa-y ka-min-a7
BLV can-IMPFV IRR-come-FUT
'I think he will be able to come.' [QMMES]

The examples in (311) are elicited examples based on Spanish subjunctive examples from Givón (1994: 296, ex. 70). In (311a), the Spanish prompt used the indicative mood, and the resulting Tepehua sentence is in the realis mood. In

(311b), the Spanish prompt used the subjunctive mood, and the resulting Tepehua sentence is in the irrealis mood. This does *not* mean that the Spanish subjunctive always corresponds to the Tepehua irrealis; instead these examples show that a choice of mood is available to the Tepehua speaker.

(311) katast'aaya7 juu puukapen
ka-ta-st'aa-ya7 juu puukapen
IRR-3PL.SUB-sell-FUT ART coffee.farm
'Venderán la finca de café . . .
'They will sell the coffee farm . . .

a. maas kaa jaantuch lakaskin juu xaatata7
maas kaa jaantu+ch lakaskin juu xaa-tata7
although BLV NEG+ALD want(**IMPFV**) ART IPOS-grandfather
aunque el abuelo se opone.'
even though the grandfather opposes it.'

b. maas kaa jaantuch **ka**lakaski**lh** juu xaatata7
maas kaa jaantu+ch **ka**-lakaskin-**li** juu xaa-tata7
although BLV NEG+ALD **IRR**-want-**PFV** ART IPOS-grandfather
aunque el abuelo se oponga.'
even if the grandfather were to oppose it.' [QMMES]

3.2 DERIVATION

Derivational operations in HT include operations that change the valency of the verb stem (Section 3.2.1) and verb compounding (Section 3.2.2).

3.2.1 Valency-Changing Affixes

Valency-changing derivational affixes either decrease or increase the valency of the verb. Valency-decreasing affixes in HT are the reflexive (3.2.1.1), and the reciprocal (3.2.1.2). Valency-increasing affixes in HT are the dative (3.2.1.3), the causative (3.2.1.4), the instrumental (3.2.1.5), the comitative (3.2.1.6), the applicative (3.2.1.7), and the body part prefixes (3.2.1.8).

3.2.1.1 Reflexive -kan

The reflexive suffix *–kan* is homophonous with the indefinite subject suffix *–kan*. However, the reflexive suffix decreases the valency of the verb, as seen below in (312). Both (312a) and (312b) have separate agent and patient arguments; however, the reflexive suffix *–kan* in the clause in (312c), indicates that the agent and the patient arguments have the same referent.

(312) a. kakalhkaayaawch
ka-ka-lhkaa-ya7-w+ch
IRR-TIP-measure-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
'We (INCL) are going to measure it.' [T0069: 308]

b. klaklhkaayaw
k-lak-lhkaa-y-aw
1SUB-PL-measure-IMPFV-1PL.SUB
'We (EXCL) measure them.' [TPWDB]

c. klakalhkaa**kan**
k-laka-lhkaa-**kan**
1SUB-BODY-measure-**RFL**(IMPFV)
'I take my measurements.' [TPWDB]

First and second person arguments of the reflexive verb are co-indexed on the verb stem with nominative morphology, as seen below in (313), while third person plural arguments are co-indexed with accusative morphology, as seen below in (314). This is the same pattern that is found with the indefinite suffix marker.[96] In (313a) the verb stem is affixed with the first person subject prefix, the first person plural subject suffix, and the reflexive suffix. The verb in (313b) is affixed with the second person plural subject suffix, and the stop consonants are glottalized to indicate a second person subject. In (314a) the verb is affixed with

[96] This is also the split between first and second person nominative marking versus third person absolutive marking to which I refer in footnote **Error! Bookmark not defined.**.

the reflexive suffix, but no person marking since the agent is third person singular. When the agent of the reflexive verb is third person plural, it is co-indexed on the reflexive verb stem by the plural indefinite *object* prefix *7a-*, as seen in (314b), and *not* by the third plural *subject* prefix *ta-*, as seen in (314c).

(313) a. **k**laqxtanxwii**ka**w
k-laqxtan-xwii-**kan**-aw
1SUB-CHEEK-shave-**RFL**(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB
'We shave ourselves.'

b. laqxt'anxwii**k'a**t'it
laqxtan-xwii-**kan**-t'it
CHEEK-shave-**RFL**(IMPFV)-2PL.SUB
'You all shave yourselves.' [Qlak1]

(314) a. laqxtanxwii**ka**lhch juu lapanak
laqxtan-xwii-**kan**-li+ch juu lapanak
CHEEK-shave-**RFL**-PFV+ALD ART man
'The man shaved.' [ELIEX4: 004]

b. **7a**laqxtanxwíí**ka**lh juu papanin
7a-laqxtan-xwii-**kan**-li juu papa-nin
PL.INO-CHEEK-shave-**RFL**-PFV ART man-PL
'The men shaved themselves.'

c. ****ta**laqxtanxwíikalh juu papanin
ta-laqxtan-xwii-kan-li juu papa-nin
3PL.SUB-CHEEK-shave-**RFL**-PFV ART man-PL
Target: 'The men shaved themselves.' [Q3D]

The split in person marking between nominative and accusative morphology can be modeled using the person hierarchy that was presented in example (213) of Section 3.1.1.3, which is repeated below in (315)

(315) Person Hierarchy and the Reflexive

1st person & 2nd person >> 3rd person plural

Nominative >> Accusative

3.2.1.2 Reciprocal laa-

The presence of the reciprocal prefix *laa-* indicates that two or more semantic participants are acting on each other. The addition of *laa-* to a transitive verb *decreases* the verb's valency by one argument, as seen below. The example in (316a), shows that the verb *lhiitaju* 'to meet, find' is normally a monotransitive verb with a patient object. In (316b), the same verb is prefixed with the reciprocal prefix, indicating that the subject and the object are acting on each other. In the following examples, the reciprocal prefix is in bold type, and the subject markers are underlined.

(316) a. xatalhiitajuych juu xp'isaqa7an
xa-ta-lhiitaju-y+ch juu 7ix-p'isaqa-7an
PAST-3PL.SUB-meet(VT)-IMPFV+ALD ART 3POS-little.sibling-PL
'They meet their little sister.' [T0063: 047]

b. maa soq talaalhiitajuu juu 7akumwarii
maa soq ta-**laa**-lhiitajuu juu 7akumwarii
RPT straight 3PL.SUB-**RCP**-meet(PFV) ART friend
'The friends met each other.' [T0055: 002]

The single argument of a reciprocal stem is always co-indexed on the verb by a plural subject prefix, as seen above in (316b) and below in (317).

(317) a. **laa**lhiist'ak'aw
laa-lhiist'ak-7a-w
RCP-care.for-IMPFV-1PL.SUBJ
'We take care of each other.' [TPWDB]

b. waa tanajunch kintata7
waa ta-najun+ch kin-tata7
FOC 3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD 1POS-elder

nii xta**laa**kilhun
nii x-ta-**laa**-kilhun
COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-**RCP**-chat(IMPFV)
'My elders would say, when they were chatting with each other, . . .'
[T0022: 020-021]

The reciprocal prefix frequently co-occurs with the comitative *t'aa-*; see Section 3.2.1.6 for details and examples.

The reciprocal prefix is used in a non-reciprocal manner when first and second person (speech act participant) arguments are acting on each other; see Section 3.1.1.6.

3.2.1.3 Dative -ni

The dative suffix *-ni* increases the valency of the verb by adding a benefactive (or malefactive) object argument. In all of the examples in this section, the dative suffix *-ni* is shown in bold type, the patient argument (be it an overt nominal, an affix, or both) is underlined twice, and the benefactive argument is underlined once.

Below, the transitive verb root *lhiist'ak* 'take care of', 'guard' appears in (318a) with a single patient object argument *sasqat'a* 'child'. In (318b), the same verb root is affixed with the dative suffix *–ni*, and in addition to the patient argument *sasqat'a* 'child', there is also an additional benefactive object argument *t'aku7* 'woman'.

(318) a. lhiist'ak'a juu sasqat'a
lhiist'ak-7a juu s-7asqat'a
care.for-IMPFV ART 3POS-child
'[She] takes care of the child.'

b. lhiist'ak**ni**y juu sasqat'a juu t'aku7
lhiist'ak-**ni**-y juu s-7asqat'a juu t'aku7
care.for-**DAT**-IMPFV ART 3POS-child ART woman
'[She] takes care of the child for the woman.' [TPWDB]

The examples shown below in (319) and (320) all involve a transitive verb root that is made into a ditransitive verb stem by the addition of *–ni*.

(319) a. waa maach'ixtaq**ni**kalhch juu tuumiin
waa maach'ixtaq-**ni**-kan-li+ch juu tuumiin
FOC loan-**DAT**-INS-PFV+ALD ART money

juu liijuuntoo Teewan Atarraya
juu liijuuntoo Teewan Atarraya
ART deceased Stephen Net
'They lent the money to the deceased Stephen Net.' [T0054: 019]

b. tam maqali7 kamaach'ixtaq**ni**nch juu tuumiin
tam maqali7 ka-maach'ixtaq-**ni**-n+ch juu tuumiin
ART.IN rich.person IRR-loan-**DAT**(PFV)-2OBJ+ALD ART money
'A rich person could lend you the money.' [T0054: 024]

(320) a. waa kintalhiijuu**ni**lh p'ulhnan
waa kin-ta-lhiijun-**ni**-li p'ulhnan
FOC 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-order-**DAT**-PFV first
'They ordered [a drink] for me first.' [T0066: 052]

b. 7astan waa naa 7alaklhiijuu**ni**y kit'in
7astan waa naa 7alak-lhiijun-**ni**-y kit'in
afterwards FOC EMP PL-order-**DAT**-IMPFV PRN.1SG
'Afterwards, *I* order [a drink] for them.' [T0066: 056]

In the examples below in (321), the dative suffix *-ni* is added to an intransitive verb root to derive a new verb stem. Again, the added benefactive/malefactive argument is underlined.

(321) a. qox xa7aniyan
qox xa-7an-**ni**-ya-n
well PAST-go-**DAT**-IMPFV-2OBJ
'It went well for you.' [T0055: 098]

b. xpaatajuniy juu lajqay juu xakanit juu lapanák
x-paataju-**ni**-y juu lajqay juu xa-7akanit juu lapanák
PAST-fall-**DAT**-IMPFV ART huge ART IPOS-flesh ART people
'Huge chunks of flesh fell from the people.' [T0057: 011]

c. juu 7anuuch xkupu7 chiwi**ni**lh
juu 7anuu+ch xkupu7 chiwin-**ni**-li
ART DADJ+ALD crawdad speak-**DAT**-PFV
'That crawdad spoke to him.' [T0058: 026-027]

Please see section 3.1.1.6 on Double Object marking for more examples of the dative suffix.

In certain examples the addition of the dative suffix *-ni*, encodes the affectedness of the possessor of the patient object. In the examples in (322), the possessor of the patient argument is the benefactive/malefactive verbal argument. This is a type of external possession in which the possessor of a verbal argument also acts as an argument of the same verb. More examples of external possession in HT are found in Section 3.2.1.8 on body part prefixes.

(322) a. kixkaniy juu kilakatunaa
kin-xka-**ni**-y juu kin-lakatunaa
1OBJ-hurt-**DAT**-IMPFV ART 1POS-body
'My body hurts (me).' [ELIEX3: 021]

b. lhii7anilhch juu **7i**spiiriituu
lhii7an-**ni**-li+ch juu **x-**spiiriituu
take-**DAT**-PFV+ALD ART **3POS**-spirit
'It [the devil] took his spirit from him.' [T0054: 012]

3.2.1.4 Causative maa-

The causative prefix *maa-* increases the valency of the verb by adding a new agent argument, which is co-indexed by subject marking on the verb. The understood subject (either agent or patient) of the root verb is co-indexed by object marking on the verb stem. In the example in (323), the causative subject is second person, while the causative object (which is the argument that would be co-indexed by subject marking in a non-causative clause) is first person.

(323) k'i**maa**qeswaat'i
ki-**maa**-qeswaa-t'i
1OBJ(2SUB)-**CAUS**-be.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV
'You made me scared!'
'You scared me!' [T0054: 030]

The causative prefix *maa-* may appear on both intransitive and transitive verbs. Examples of causative forms of intransitive verb roots are shown in (324) and (325); the causative form of a transitive root is shown in (326); and the causative form of a posture verb root is shown in (327).

(324) a. 7atz'alaalh juu Piitalu7
7atz'alaa-li juu Piitalu7
run-PFV ART Pedro
'Pedro ran.' [TPWDB]

b. ta**maa**7atz'alaaych juu xkupu7
ta-**maa**-7atz'alaa-y+ch juu xkupu7
3PL.SUB-**CAUS**-run-IMPFV+ALD ART crawdad
'They ran off the crawdad.' [T0058: 066]

(325) a. juu Maalhtiin tz'anqaa juu lakak'iwin
juu Maalhtiin tz'anqaa juu laka-k'iw-in
ART Martin get.lost(PFV) ART PREP-wood-PL
'Martin got lost in the woods.' [MNB13: 40]

b. juu Maalhtiin **maa**tz'anqaa
juu Maalhtiin **maa**-tz'anqaa
ART Martin **CAUS**-get.lost(PFV)

juu xpaatz'oq juu lakak'iwin
juu x-paatz'oq juu laka-k'iw-in
ART 3POS-pencil ART PREP-wood-PL
'Martin lost his pencil in the woods.' [MNB13: 41]

(326) a. k'uk'ay juu xk'iw juu kinana7
k'uk'a-y juu x-k'iw juu kin-nana7
carry-IMPFV ART 3POS-wood ART 1POS-grandmother
'My grandmother carries her wood.' [MNB13: 14]

b. juu Xiiwaan **maa**k'uk'ay
juu Xiiwaan **maa**-k'uk'a-y
ART Juan **CAUS**-carry-IMPFV

juu xk'iw juu xmaak'uk'a7
juu x-k'iw juu x-maak'uk'a7
ART 3POS-wood ART 3POS-pack.animal
'Juan carries wood with his pack animal.'
'Juan makes his pack animal carry the wood.' [MNB13: 13]

(327) a. maalh juu lapanak
maalh juu lapanak
lying(IMPFV) ART person
'The person is lying down.' [TPWDB]

b. 7aqxt'uych ka**maa**maayaaw
7aqx-t'uy+ch ka-**maa**-maa-ya7-w
CL:flat-two+ALD IRR-**CAUS**-lying-FUT-1PL.SUB
'We're going to put down two [boards].' [T0069: 064]

In the causative construction in which the added subject argument is indefinite (and, thus, is marked with *–kan*), there is a split in the person marking of the demoted subject; first and second person demoted subjects are co-indexed with *subject* marking—shown in (328), while third person demoted subjects are co-indexed with *object* marking—shown in (329). The first and second person

examples in (328) are doubly marked for subject: they are all marked with the indefinite subject suffix *–kan* (in bold type), as well as with first or second person subject marking (underlined twice). In (328a), the verb root *nawii* 'do' has a singular object *faena* 'labor', which is underlined once. In (328b) and (328c), the same verb root has a plural object, which is co-indexed on the verb stem by the plural prefix *lak-* (also underlined once).

(328) a. xak**maa**nawiinikan faena
xa-k-**maa**-nawii-ni-kan faena
PAST-1SUB-**CAUS**-do-DAT-INS(IMPFV) labor
'They made me do labor.'
'I was made to do labor.'

b. xak**maa**laknawiinikan juu laklhiich'alhkat
xa-k-**maa**-lak-nawii-ni-kan juu lak-lhiich'alhkat
PAST-1SUB-**CAUS**-PL-do-DAT-INS(IMPFV) ART PL-job
'They made me do the jobs.'
'I was made to do the jobs.'

c. juu 7uxint'i x**maa**lak'nawiinik'an
juu 7uxint'i x-**maa**-lak-nawii-ni-kan
ART PRN.2SG PAST-**CAUS**-PL-do-DAT-INS(IMPFV)

juu laklhiich'alhkat
juu lak-lhiich'alhkat
ART PL-job
'They made you do the jobs.'
'You were made to do the jobs.' [Q3D]

The third person demoted subject examples in (329) are singly marked for subject by the indefinite subject suffix *–kan*, while the demoted third person plural "subject" is co-indexed with third person plural *object* marking (underlined twice) in (329b) and (329c). Example (329d) shows that the third person plural subject marker *ta-* is ungrammatical in this indefinite subject causative

construction. However, note that the third person plural marker *ta-* may co-occur with the causative prefix in other causative constructions, as seen above in example (324b).

(329) a. **maa**laknawiinikan
maa-lak-nawii-ni-kan
CAUS-PL-do-DAT-INS(IMPFV)

juu Xiiwaan juu laklhiich'alhkat
juu Xiiwaan juu lak-lhiich'alhkat
ART Juan ART PL-job
'They made Juan do the jobs.'
'Juan was made to do the jobs.'

b. 7alak**maa**nawiinikan
7alak-**maa**-nawii-ni-kan
PLINO.PL-**CAUS**-do-DAT-INS(IMPFV)

juu lapanák juu lhiich'alhkat
juu lapanák juu lhiich'alhkat
ART people ART job
'They made the people do the job.'
'The people were made to do the job.'

c. 7alak**maa**laknawiinikan
7alak-**maa**-lak-nawii-ni-kan
PLINO.PL-**CAUS**-PL-do-DAT-INS(IMPFV)

juu lapanák juu laklhiich'alhkat
juu lapanák juu lak-lhiich' alhkat
ART people ART PL-job
'They made the people do the jobs.'
'The people were made to do the jobs.'

d. ** xta**maa**nawiinikan faena
x-ta-**maa**-nawii-ni-kan faena
PAST-3PL.SUB-**CAUS**-do-DAT-INS(IMPFV) labor
Target: 'They made them do labor.'
Target: 'They were made to do the labor.' [Q3D]

Note that in all of the above examples in which the root verb has a plural object—that is, examples (328b), (328c), (329a), and (329c), the object marker is closer to the root than the causative suffix *maa-* is; the causative suffix intervenes between "subject" and object marking.

The causative prefix can be used to form negative expressions that mean 'not to let someone do something' or 'to make someone not do something', as seen in (330).

(330) maa jaantu **maa**paasaa wachu7
maa jaantu **maa**-paasaa wachu7
RPT NEG **CAUS**-pass.by(PFV) also

juu liijuuntuu don Pedro Islas
juu liijuuntuu don Pedro Islas
ART deceased don Pedro Islas
'He did not let the deceased don Pedro Islas pass by either.'[T0022: 041]

There are many examples of lexemes that are frozen forms containing the causative prefix. In many of these lexicalized forms, the causative prefix is *maq-*, as seen below in (331) and (332), though *maa-* also occurs, as seen below in (333).

(331) a. sqoliy juu lapának
sqoli-y juu lapának
whistle-IMPFV ART person
'The person whistles.' [TPWDB]

b. xak**maqsqoli**yka7
xa-k-**maqsqoli**-y+ka7
PAST-1SUB-**play**-IMPFV+JST
'I still played (an instrument).' [T0054: 052]

(332) a. niilhch juu lapának
nii-li+ch juu lapának
die-PFV+ALD ART person
'The person died.' [TPWDB]

b. 7ak**maqnii**ya7 juu p'aax juu chaway
7a-k-**maqnii**-ya7 juu p'aax juu chaway
IRR-1SUB-**kill**-FUT ART pig ART today
'I am going to slaughter the pig today.' [TPWDB]

(333) a. puus maa jaantuch 7alh
puus maa jaantu 7an-li
well RPT NEG go(PFV)-PFV
'Well, he didn't go.' [T0022: 030]

b. maa waa ta**maa7a**lhch
maa waa ta-**maa7an**-li+ch
RPT FOC 3PL.SUB-**throw.away**(PFV)-PFV+ALD
'They threw it away.' [T0020: 036]

3.2.1.5 Instrumental puu-

The verbal prefix *puu-* adds an instrumental argument to a clause. In the example below in (334a), the root verb *7ii* 'bring' is transitive, and there are two overt nominals in the clause—an agent *kinati* 'my mother' and a patient *tz'aw* 'quelite' (a type of greens). In (334b), the instrumental prefix *puu-* is affixed to the same root verb, creating a ditransitive stem, and the clause has three overt nominals—an agent *Xiiwaan* 'Juan', a patient *xtaxtoqta* 'stuff', and an instrument *paatii* 'boat'.

(334) a. 7iiy juu tz'aw juu kinati
7ii-y juu tz'aw juu kin-nati
bring-IMPFV ART quelite ART 1POS-mother
'My mother brings the quelite.' [MNB13: 18]

b. **puu**7iiy juu xtaxtoqta juu Xiiwaan juu paatii
puu-7ii-y juu x-taxtoqta juu Xiiwaan juu paatii
INST-bring-IMPFV ART 3POS-thing ART Juan ART boat
'Juan brings his stuff by boat.' [MNB13: 19]

For any clause containing an instrumental argument which is co-indexed on the verb stem by the prefix *puu-*, there is a corresponding clause in which the verb is not affixed with *puu-* and the instrumental argument appears as an oblique object of a prepositional phrase. Examples are shown in (335), (336), and (337). The (a) examples show the instrumental verb stem, and the (b) examples show the corresponding prepositional phrase.

(335) a. juu Susan **puu**7aqalhoonalh juu paat'alan
juu Susan **puu**-7a-qalhaju-nVn-li juu paat'alan
ART Susan **INST**-PL.INO-steal-INO-PFV ART pistol
'Susan stole with a pistol.'

b. juu Susan 7aqalhoonalh juu lakapaat'alan
juu Susan 7a-qalhaju-nVn-li juu laka-paat'alan
ART Susan PL.INO-steal-INO-PFV ART PREP-pistol
'Susan stole with a pistol.'

(336) a. **puu7**alht'ilitnin juu 7alhik juu 7uun
puu-7alht'ilitnin juu 7alhik juu 7uun
INST-fly(IMPFV) ART paper ART air
'The paper flies in the air.'

b. 7alht'ilitnin juu 7alhik juu **laka**7uun
7alht'ilitnin juu 7alhik juu **laka-**7uun
fly(IMPFV) ART paper ART PREP-air
'The paper flies with the air.' [MNB13: 8]

(337) a. **puu**lakxixlh juu puumpu7 juu 7uun
puu-lak-xix-li juu puumpu7 juu 7uun
INST-PL-dry-PFV ART clothing ART air
'The clothing dried in the air.'

b. lakxix juu puumpu7 juu laka7uun
lak-xix juu puumpu7 juu laka-7uun
PL-dry(IMPFV) ART clothing ART PREP-air
'The clothing dried in the air.' [MNB13: 9]

3.2.1.6 Comitative t'aa-

The comitative prefix *t'aa-* (COM) increases the valency of verb by adding an *animate* comitative object argument to the verb's argument frame;[97] the subject/agent performs the action of verb with someone else, as seen below in (338). In this example, the third person singular comitative argument appears as an overt nominal *papa7* 'old man'.

(338) xak**t'aa**wiilhpaa juu papa7
xa-k-**t'aa**-wiilh-pala juu papa7
PAST-1SUB-**COM**-sitting-REP.PFV ART old.man
'I was sitting with the old man.' [T0066: 025]

The person and number of the comitative argument are co-indexed on the verb with accusative morphology, as seen below in (339). In this example, the distributive prefix *7alak-* (underlined) co-indexes a third person plural object on the comitative verb stem.

(339) maa 7alak**t'aa**toolay
maa 7alak-**t'aa**-toola-y
RPT DIS-**COM**-stay-IMPFV
'He stays with them.' [T0055: 067]

However, given that third person plural objects are not obligatorily co-indexed on the verb stem in HT, a third person plural comitative object might or might not be co-indexed on the verb, as seen below in the examples in (340), where all

[97] An *inanimate* comitative argument is co-indexed by the applicative *lhii-*; see the next section, Section 3.2.1.7.

comitative arguments (both overt nominals and prefixes) are underlined. In these examples, the verb is affixed with the indefinite object suffix *–nVn*, which suppresses the direct object.[98] The third person comitative object in (340a) is singular and, thus, not co-indexed on the verb stem. The plural third person comitative argument *pumat'uy lapanak* 'two people' in (340b) is co-indexed on the verb by the plural prefix *lak-*; however, the same plural comitative argument in (340c) is not co-indexed on the verb.

(340) a. juu ki7in k**t'aa**7asaanan juu Weensis
juu ki7in k-**t'aa**-7a-saa-nVn juu Weensis
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-**COM**-PL.INO-play-INO(IMPFV) ART Lawrence
'I play [music] with Lawrence.'

b. juu ki7in klak**t'aa**7asaanan
juu ki7in k-lak-**t'aa**-7a-saa-nan
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-PL-**COM**-PL.INO-play-INO(IMPFV)

pumat'uy lapanak
puma-t'uy lapanak
CLS-two person
'I play [music] with two people.'

c. juu ki7in k**t'aa**7asaanan
juu ki7in k-**t'aa**-7a-saa-nVn
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-**COM**-PL.INO-play-INO(IMPFV)

pumat'uy lapanak
puma-t'uy lapanak
CLS-two person
'I play [music] with two people.' [Q3D]

When the comitative verb stem is transitive, only one object is co-indexed on the verb, as seen below in (341). The transitive, non-comitative verb stem in (341a) has a first person object (underlined), which is co-indexed on the verb by

[98] In these examples, I have included the direct object *[music]* in the glosses for clarity.

kin-. The transitive comitative verb stem in (341b) has two objects—a first person singular patient argument and a third person plural comitative object, but only the first person patient object is co-indexed on the verb.

(341) a. kimaapaayniy [juu kinati]$_{SUB}$
kin-maapaayni-y juu kin-nati
1OBJ-love-IMPFV ART 1POS-mother
'My mother loves me.'

b. kin**t'aa**maapaayniy [juu kinati]$_{SUB}$
kin-**t'aa**-maapaayni-y juu kin-nati
1OBJ-**COM**-love-IMPFV ART 1POS-mother

[juu ki7amachaqa7 juu kintz'alh]$_{COM\ OBJ}$
juu kin-7amachaqa7 juu kin-tz'alh
ART 1POS-wife ART 1POS-son
'My mother, along with my wife and my son, loves me.' [Q3D]

The comitative prefix *t'aa-* may co-occur with the reciprocal prefix *laa-*,[99] as seen below in the examples in (342). This combination of morphemes also occurs in Sierra Totonac, but it is not known to occur in any other Totonacan language (MacKay and Trechsel 2003).[100] In (342b) the plural comitative argument *xqooyun* 'dogs' is co-indexed on the verb by the plural prefix *lak-* (underlined twice).

(342) a. **t'aa**laataylaj7an juu xqooy juu maqtili7
t'aa-laa-taylaj7an juu xqooy juu maqtili7
COM-RCP-attack(IMPFV) ART dog ART wild.animal
'The dog and the wild animal attack each other.' [TPWDB]

[99] See Section 3.2.1.2 for more information on the reciprocal prefix.
[100] According to Watters (1988), this combination of prefixes is not productive in Tlachichilco Tepehua, though there is a lexicalized form meaning 'enemy' in which these prefixes co-occur: t'a:-la:-xkay (COM-REC-hate) (p. 444).

b. juu maqtili7 lak**t'aa**laataylaj7alh
juu maqtili7 lak-**t'aa**-laa-taylaj7an-li
ART wild.animal PL-**COM**-RCP-attack-PFV

juu laqat'uy xqooyun
juu laqa-t'uy xqooy-un
ART CLS-two dog-PL
'The wild animal and the two dogs attacked each other.' [Q3D]

3.2.1.7 Applicative lhii-

The applicative prefix *lhii-* (APPL) adds an additional argument to the clause. I have chosen the rather generic name of 'applicative' for this prefix because the additional argument that it licenses may play several different roles.[101] First, there are examples in which *lhii-* co-indexes an inanimate comitative argument;[102] these examples are shown below in (343) and (344). Next there are examples in which *lhii-* co-indexes a patient; these examples are shown below in (345). Finally, there are examples in which *lhii-* co-indexes the argument that provides the motivation for the action of the verb; these examples are shown below in (346).

In all of the examples below in (343) and (344), *lhii-* co-indexes an inanimate comitative argument. Both examples in (343) also have an overt nominal that corresponds to the applicative *lhii-*, and this overt nominal happens to be *kapen* 'coffee' in both examples. In (344), the (a) example shows applicative *lhii-* prefixed to the verb, as well as an overt corresponding nominal *7asaqsi7*

[101] Watters calls the Tlachichilco cognate prefix *lhii-* the 'directional' (1988: 157). McQuown (1990: 185), MacKay (1999: 273), and Beck (2004: 60) all call the Totonac cognate prefix *lii-* the 'instrumental'.
[102] An *animate* comitative argument is co-indexed on the verb by the comitative prefix *t'aa-*; see Section 3.2.1.6.

‘sugar’. The (b) example shows the corresponding clause in which the applicative argument *7asaqsi7* occurs as an oblique object of a prepositional phrase *laka7asa7si7* ‘with sugar’.

(343) a. **lhii**ch'ampaxaa juu kapen
lhii-ch'an-paxaa juu kapen
APPL-FOOT-bathe(PFV) ART coffee

juu Miikii juu xtzi7
juu Miikii juu x-7atzi7
ART Miguel ART 3POS-girl
‘Miguel (accidentally) bathed his daughter’s foot with coffee.’ [MNB13: 2]

b. **lhii**kikchalh juu xkapen juu 7atzi7
lhii-kik-cha-li juu x-kapen juu 7atzi7
APPL-MOUTH-burn-PFV ART 3POS-coffee ART girl
‘The girl burned her lip with the coffee.’ [ELIEX4: 051]

(344) a. **lhii**yajuy juu 7asaqsi7 juu xkaan juu Fidela
lhii-yaju-y juu 7asaqsi7 juu xkaan juu Fidela
APPL-mix-IMPFV ART sugar ART water ART Fidela
‘Fidela mixes the water with sugar.’ [MNB13: 5]

b. yajuy juu xkaan juu Fidela juu laka7asa7si7
yaju-y juu xkaan juu Fidela juu laka-7asa7si7
mix-IMPFV ART water ART Fidela ART PREP-sugar
‘Fidela mixes the water with sugar.’ [MNB13: 5]

The examples shown below in (345) all have an applicative argument that corresponds to the patient of the action of the verb occurs. In the case of example (a), the intransitive verb root *7atz'ala* ‘run’ is transitivized by the addition of the applicative *lhii-*. In the (b) example, the (lack of third person) morphology does not make it clear that there is an additional applicative object (that is, an applicative object in addition to the direct object *laqpuutanuuta* ‘mask’), but the gloss does. What is especially interesting about these directional applicative

examples is that the language has other, more specific, morphemes that could have been used instead: the causative in the case of the (a) example and the reflexive in the case of the (b) example; however, the speakers chose to use the applicative morpheme.

(345) a. taas kin**lhii**sk'awatz'alat'i
taas kin-**lhii**-skaw-7atz'ala-t'i
since 1OBJ-**APPL**-rabbit-run-2SG.SUB.PFV
'Since you ran me off like a rabbit, . . .' [T0054: 029]

b. lhiitamawlh laqatam xlaqpuutanuuta
lhii-tamaju-li laqa-tam x-laqpuutanuuta
APPL-buy-PFV CL:general-one 3POS-mask
'He bought himself one mask.' [T0055: 048]

Finally, there are examples in which the argument that is co-indexed by applicative *lhii-* is actually the motivation for the action of the verb, as seen in the examples below in (346).

(346) a. puus yuuch lhiijunkan Huehuetla
puus yuuch **lhii**-jun-kan Huehuetla
well PRN.3SG **APPL**-call-INS(IMPFV) Huehuetla
'Well, that is why they called it Huehuetla.' [T0057: 040]

b. yuuch maa lhiitalhawaych juu qayxkaan
yuuch maa **lhii**-talhawa-y+ch juu qayxkaan
PRN.3SG RPT **APPL**-flood-IMPFV+ALD ART river
'That is why the river floods.' [T0057: 085]

c. lhiitz'i7inawlhch
lhii-tz'i7in-aw-li+ch
APPL-laugh-1PL.SUB-PFV+ALD
'We laugh because of it.' [T0066: 115]

There are many lexicalized examples of verb stems affixed with *lhii-*, three of which are shown below in (347).

(347) a. **lhii**maqniiy
lhii-maqnii-y
APPL-kill-IMPFV
'She poisons him.'
LIT: 'She kills him with X.' [TPWDB]

b. k**lhii**7anta kimpuumpu7
k-**lhii-**7an-ta kin-puumpu7
1SUB-**APPL**-go-PF 1POS-clothing
'I'm wearing my clothing.'
LIT: 'I have gone with my clothes.' [TPWDB]

c. **lhii**milh juu 7ixkuux juu lapának
lhii-min-li juu 7ix-kuux juu lapának
APPL-come-PFV ART 3POS-corn ART person
'The man brought his corn.'
LIT: 'The man came with his corn.' [TPWDB]

There are some examples of compound verbs in which the applicative prefix *lhii-* intervenes between the two verb roots; all such examples have either *tzuku* 'begin' or *t'ajun* 'go around X-ing'[103] as the second verb in the compound, as seen below in (348) and (349), respectively. It is clear that these are indeed compound verbs because the entire two-verb stem is enclosed by person- and TAM-marking prefixes and suffixes.

(348) a. puxkoo**lhii**tzukukalh
puxkaju=**lhii-**tzuku-kan-li
search.for=**APPL**-BEGIN-INS-PFV
'They began to search for it.' [T0020: 012]

b. nii xatalaqxaqa**lhii**tzukuych juu 7anch
nii xa-ta-laqxaqa=**lhii-**tzuku-y+ch juu 7anch
COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-drag=**APPL**-BEGIN-IMPFV+ALD ART there
'When they began to drag her around there, . . .' [T0063: 058]

[103] Please see Sections 3.2.3.4 and 3.2.3.5 for more information on the ambulative *–t'ajun* and 'begin' *–tzuku*, respectively.

(349) a. 7anch juu xtalaqxaqa**lhii**t'ajunch
7anch juu x-ta-laqxaqa=**lhii**-t'ajun+ch
there REL PAST-3PL.SUB-drag=**APPL**-AMB(IMPFV)+ALD
'There where they went around dragging her.' [T0063: 056]

b. maa waa talaqxaqa**lhii**t'ajun juu Maliyaa
maa waa ta-laqxaqa=**lhii**-t'ajun juu Maliyaa
RPT FOC 3PL.SUB-drag=**APPL**-AMB(IMPFV) ART María
'They just went around dragging María.' [T0063: 071]

3.2.1.8 Body Part Prefixes

Huehuetla Tepehua has a set of lexical prefixes (Mithun 1997), the majority of which are reduced forms of nouns that refer to body parts or to metaphorical extensions of body parts. These body part prefixes (hereafter, BPPs) may be affixed to verbs, nouns, and adjectives.[104] In HT, a body part may occur in a noun phrase separate from the verb, as in (350a) or it may occur as a verbal prefix, as in (350b). In all of the following examples, BPPs are shown in bold type, while corresponding body part nominals are underlined.

(350) a. ch'aqay juu x<u>maka7</u>
ch'aqa-y juu x-<u>maka7</u>
wash-IMPFV ART 3POS-<u>hand</u>
'She washes her hands.'

b. **mak**ch'aqalh
mak-ch'aqa-li
HAND-wash-PFV
'She washed her hands.' [TPWDB]

The BPP and the verb form a stem which is then inflected for person, tense, aspect, and mood, as seen below in (351).

[104] Please see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.8 for information on BPPs affixed to nouns, and see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.3 for information on BPPs affixed to adjectives.

(351) a. waa k**mak**xakay
waa k-**mak**-xaka-y
FOC 1SUB-**HAND**-clean-IMPFV
'I clean my hands.' [TPWDB]

b. waa xak**mak**xakay
waa xa-k-**mak**-xaka-y
FOC PAST-1SUB-**HAND**-clean-IMPFV
'I used to clean my hands.' [TPWDB]

c. naa xak**piixtu**xkapalata
naa xa-k-**piixtu**-xka-pala-ta
EMP PAST-1SUB-**NECK**-hurt-REP-PF
'My neck hurt.' [T0054: 043]

A verb affixed with a BPP and a corresponding body part nominal may co-occur in the same clause; however, there are restrictions on the argument status of the full nominal when this happens. If the BPP corresponds *exactly* to the body part nominal (e.g., *mak-* and *maka7* 'hand'), then the overt nominal occurs as an oblique object of the preposition, as seen below in (352). In this construction, both the BPP and the nominal body part represent the whole, and neither represents the part in a part-whole relationship. The example in (353) demonstrates that the full nominal may not occur as a verbal argument.

(352) a. puu**kik**ch'aqay juu la7ix<u>kilh</u>
puu-**kik**-ch'aqa-y juu laka-7ix-<u>kilh</u>
INSIDE-**MOUTH**-wash-IMPFV ART PREP-3POS-<u>mouth</u>
'She washes out her mouth.' [ELIEX1: 084]

b. waa **kinka**p'it'ikan juu lakín<u>lhixín</u>
waa k-**kinka**-p'it'i-kan juu laka-kin-<u>lhiixín</u>
FOC 1SUB-**NOSE**-rub-RFL(IMPFV) ART PREP-1POS-<u>nose</u>
'I rub my nose.' [TPWDB]

c. **laqpuu**taqanqay juu laxlaqchulh
laqpuu-taqanqa-y juu laka-x-laqchulh
EYE-sick-IMPFV ART PREP-3POS-eye
'He has an illness in his eyes.' [ELIEX3: 071]

(353) waa **lakpuu**xakay ** [juu xlaqchulh]
waa **lakpuu**-xaka-y [juu x-laqchulh]
FOC **EYE**-clean-IMPFV [ART 3POS-eye]
'S/he cleans his/her eyes.' [TPWDB]

Similarly, if the nominal body part represents the part and the BPP represents the whole in a part-whole relationship, then the overt nominal must appear as an oblique object of the preposition, as seen below in (354). In this example, the overt nominal *tz'anqesiit* 'toenail' is a part of the whole BPP *ch'an* 'foot'. This type of construction in which the BPP is the whole and the nominal is the part in a part-whole relationship rarely occurs.

(354) juu Susan **ch'an**maniy juu lastz'an7esiit
juu Susan **ch'an**-mani-y juu laka-x-tz'anqesiit
ART Susan **FOOT**-paint-IMPFV ART PREP-3POS-toenail
'Susan paints her toenails.' [MNB13: 68]

However, if the BPP is a part of a larger whole, then the nominal that represents the whole is an argument of the verb stem, as seen below in (355). In this construction, the BPP represents a part, and the full nominal represents the whole in a part-whole relationship. For example, in (a), the BPP *laqapuu-* 'surface' is a part of the larger whole *miixaa* 'table'. In (b), *kik-* 'mouth' indicates the blade part of the whole knife *paalakch'uk'un*. In (c) the BPP *kilhtu-* 'edge' is a part of the whole *skumilh* 'pot'.

(355) a. **laqapuu**ch'aqalhch juu miixaa juu t'aku7
laqapuu-ch'aqa-li+ch juu miixaa juu t'aku7
SURFACE-wash-PFV+ALD ART table ART woman
'The woman washed the table.' [ELIEX3: 057]

b. nii laaych kach'uk'ulh juu paalakch'uk'un
nii laa-y+ch ka-ch'uk'u-li juu paalakch'uk'un
COMP can-IMPFV+ALD IRR-cut-PFV ART knife

kamaa**kik**xtuuch waa tzaa
ka-maa-**kik**-xtuu+ch waa tzaa
IRR-CAUS-**MOUTH**-be.sharp(PFV)+ALD FOC frequently
'He must sharpen the knife frequently so that it will cut.'
[MNB13: 50]

c. **kilhtu**saamaay juu 7iskumilh juu laxmaka7
kilhtu-saamaa-y juu 7ix-skumilh juu laka-x-maka7
EDGE-smooth-IMPFV ART 3POS-pot ART PREP-3POS-hand
'She smoothes the edge of her pot with her hand.' [MNB13: 44]

The addition of a BPP can increase the valency of the verb by one object argument if the BPP is a part of the whole nominal. Below in (356a), the verb is not affixed with a BPP, and *pututunti* 'ball' appears as the oblique object of the preposition. In (356b), the verb is prefixed with *laka-* 'body', and *pututunti* occurs as an object argument of the verb; the BPP *laka-* represents a part of the whole ball.

(356) a. lamuk'ay juu 7uulii juu laxpututunti
lamuk'a-y juu 7uulii juu lakax-pututunti
stick-IMPFV ART rubber ART PREP-3POS-ball
'He sticks the rubber on his ball.'

b. **laka**lamuk'ay juu 7uulii juu xpututunti
laka-lamuk'a-y juu 7uulii juu x-pututunti
BODY-stick-IMPFV ART rubber ART 3POS-ball
'He sticks the rubber on (the body of) his ball.' [MNB13: 97]

In the example in (357a), the intransitive stative verb *tanuun*[105] requires the prepositional phrase *juu lakapaaloqoy* 'in the cage' to indicate the location of the

[105] Please see section 3.3.2 on Posture and Location Verbs.

subject *skaw* 'rabbit'. However, in (357b), the BPP *puu-* 'insides' is affixed to the verb, and *paaloqoy* 'cage' is a verbal object argument, rather than an oblique object of the preposition. In this example, the BPP *puu-* 'insides' is a part of the whole cage.

(357) a.

juu	skaw	tanuun	juu	lakapaaloqoy
juu	skaw	tanuun	juu	laka-paaloqoy
ART	rabbit	inserted	ART	PREP-cage

'The rabbit is in the cage.' [MB54-2]

b.

juu	skaw	**puu**tanuun	juu	paaloqoy
juu	skaw	**puu**-tanuun	juu	paaloqoy
ART	rabbit	**INSIDES**-inserted	ART	cage

'The rabbit is inside the cage.' [MB54-3]

In the above example (357b), the 'rabbit' *skaw* is the patient/subject of the clause, and the 'cage' *paaloqoy* is a verbal argument by virtue of external possession,[106] that is, it is an argument because (i) it is the possessor of the BPP that is affixed to the verb and (ii) it is the whole of which the BPP is a part. There are many such examples in which the possessor of the part that is co-indexed by the BPP is promoted to a verbal argument, some of which are shown in (358) and (359). In the example in (358a), the noun *lapanak* 'person' is a clausal argument because it is the external possessor of the BPP *kilh-* 'mouth'; in (358b) *lapanák* 'people' is a clausal argument because it is the external possessor of the BPP *laka-* 'body'; and in (358c) *lapanak* 'person' is a clausal argument because it is the external possessor of the BPP *mak-* 'hand'.

[106] External possession constructions are those constructions in which (i) a possessor of a possessed nominal (the possessum) is a core argument of the clause, not simply a dependent of the possessum, and (ii) the possessor is not included in the argument frame of the lexical verb root. External Possession has also been referred to as possessor raising and possessor ascension (Payne and Barshi 1999).

(358) a. **kílh**tanuun juu 7ix7ukx7uti juu lapanak
kílh-tanuun juu 7ix-7ukx7uti juu lapanak
MOUTH-inserted(IMPFV) ART 3POS-cigarette ART person
'The cigarette is in the person's mouth.' [MB39]

b. maa waa **laka**p'uch'ilh juu lapanák
maa waa **laka**-p'uch'i-li juu lapanak
RPT FOC **BODY**-rot-PFV ART people
'The people's **bodies** rotted.' [T0057: 010]

c. pumatam lapanak **mak**chilikx7uta
puma-tam lapanak **mak**-chilikx7u-ta
CL:human-one person **HAND**-go.numb-PF
'One person's hand went to sleep.' [ELIEX1: 033]

If the possessor of the body part that is co-indexed on the verb is first person, than it is co-indexed on the verb by subject (and not object) marking, as seen below in (359).[107]

(359) k**laka**k'uunlh juu chaway
k-**laka**-k'uun-li juu chaway
1SUB-**BODY**-swell-PFV ART today
'I swelled up today.' [ELIEX3: 012]

In many instances, however, the BPP does not actually change the valency of the verb; instead, it is in a part-whole relationship with an existing argument. In the following examples in (360), the BPP is in a part-whole relationship with the agent/subject; in these examples, the BPPs are shown in bold type and the agent/subjects are underlined. In (360a) the BPP *7aq-* 'head' is a part of the whole, which is a first person agent/subject. In (360b), the BPP *7aqx-* 'shoulder'

[107] I presume that the same would be true for a second person possessor, too, given the person-marking hierarchy in (247) in which SAP objects outrank third person objects with respect to double object marking on the verb. Also, see Chapter 6, Section 6.1 on Predicate Nominals and Section 6.3 on Predicate Adjectives, where a split in person-marking is discussed.

is a part of the whole, which is an unmarked, third person agent/subject. In (360c), the BPP *katu-* 'ear' is a part of the third person agent/subject *lapának* 'person'.

(360) a. k**'ak**lht'unk'utach juu kimaleta[108]
k-**7aq**-lht'unk'u-ta+ch juu kin-maleta
1SUB-**HEAD**-carry-PF+ALD ART 1POS-suitcase
'I carried my suitcase on my **head**.' [T0054: 040]

b. maamak'utulhch maa
maa-mak'utu-li+ch maa
CAUS-unload-PFV+ALD RPT

7aqxqoqatach juu xburruu
7aqx-qoqa-ta+ch juu x-burruu
SHOULDER-carry-PF+ALD ART 3POS-donkey
'He unloaded the donkey and threw it [the load] on his **shoulder**.'
[T0055: 019]

c. **katu**7iilh juu lapanak juu 7ix7aay
katu-7ii-li juu lapanak juu 7ix-7aay
EAR-bring-PFV ART person ART 3POS-hair
'The man pulled a hair out of his **ear**.' [ELIEX2: 050]

In the examples in (361), the BPPs are in a part-whole relationship with the patient/object of the clause. In these examples, the BPPs are shown in bold type and the patient/objects are underlined. In (a), the BPP *katu-* 'ear' is a part of the object *waakax* 'cow'; in (b) the BPP *laqxtan-* 'jaw' is a part of the first person object; in (c) the BPP *tan-* 'torso' is part of the plural third person object, which is co-indexed on the verb by the plural prefix *lak-*; and in (d), the BPPs *ka-* 'tip' and *tii-* 'butt' are a part of the unmarked third person singular object.

(361) a. **katu**ch'ilhch juu lapanak juu xwaakax
katu-ch'i-li+ch juu lapanak juu x-waakax
EAR-tie-PFV+ALD ART person ART 3POS-cow
'The person tied his bull by the **horns**.' [ELIEX2: 084]

[108] The /q/ in the prefix *7aq-* harmonizes with the velar stop in the verb to produce [7ak-].

b. lootz kilaqxtansaa
lootz ki-**laqxtan**-saa
pow 1OBJ-**JAW**-hit(PFV)
'Pow! He hit me in the **jaw**.' [ELIEX4: 020]

c. 7aksch juu xalak**tan**tamakxtukan
7aks+ch juu xa-lak-**tan**-tamakxtu-kan
when+ALD ART PAST-PL-**TORSO**-take.out-INS(IMPFV)
'That is when someone took them outside.' [T0063: 078]

d. kakatiilasoqnik'ayaaw
ka-**ka-tii**-lasoqnik'a-ya7-w
IRR-**TIP-BUTT**-straighten-FUT-1PL.SUB
'We are going to straighten it [a board] on the **top** and **bottom**.'
[T0069: 115]

Note that in the examples above in (360) and (361), all of the BPPs are glossed with prepositional phrases in the English free translations.

The BPPs may co-occur with other valency-increasing morphology, as seen in the examples in (362); in these examples, both the valency-increasing prefixes and the corresponding nominal arguments are underlined, while the BPPs are in bold type. Below in (a), the applicative prefix *lhii-* promotes the nominal *kapen* 'coffee' to the status of object argument. In (b), the causative prefix *maa-* adds licenses the addition of the agent nominal *Tziiku7* 'Frank'.

(362) a. lhii**kik**chalh juu xkapen juu 7atzi7
lhii-**kik**-cha-li juu x-kapen juu 7atzi7
APPL-**MOUTH**-burn-PFV ART 3POS-coffee ART girl
'The girl burned her lip with/on the coffee.' [ELIEX4: 051]

b. maa**puu7aqx**t'i7uuy juu lht'aqalak'iw
maa-**puu-7aqx**-t'i7uu-y juu lht'aqala-k'iw
CAUS-**INSIDES-FLAT**-assemble-IMPFV ART board-wood

juu Tziiku7
juu Francisco
ART Frank
'Frank joins the boards.' [MNB13: 96]

A complete list of the BPPs appears below in Table 17.

Table 17: Huehuetla Tepehua Body Parts

Reduced Noun	**Full Noun**	**Gloss**
7aq- ~ 7ak- ~ lakapaa-	7aqtzulh	head
7aqx- ~ 7akx- ~ 'aqxp'in-	7aqxp'un	shoulder, upper back, flat surface
7aqxspuu	XXX	face (combo of *7aqx*- and *puu*-)
ch'an- ~ tz'an-	ch'aja7	foot, leg, paw
kapii	kapiiya7	hard-palate
katu-	7aqaxqolh	ear
kik- ~ kilhtu- ~ qelh-	kilh	mouth, edge
kinka- ~ ka-	kinkati7	tip, point
kinka- ~ kanka- ~ kanqa	lhiixin	nose
laka- ~ lak- ~ laqa- ~ laq-	lakatunaj	body
lakpuu- ~ laq(a)puu- ~ laq- ~ lak-	7ukxpu7	face
lakpuu- ~ laq(a)puu- ~ laq- ~ lak-	laqchulh	eye
laqxtii	7aay	hair, on top of
mak- ~ maq-	maka7	hand, arm
maqaxtu-	maqaxtu7	elbow
muuntz'a- ~ muunti	muuntz'an	forehead
muusa-	muusan	groin
paka-	pakapu7	armpit
piix- ~ piixtu-	piixtu7	neck
puu-	XXX	insides
qaq- ~ kaq- ~ laq(a)xtan	laqxtan	cheek
qaq- ~ kaq-	kaalhtz'an	jaw
qaatu- ~ 7aatu-	qaatu7	thigh
staa-	puulakan	back
tamp'us-	tamp'uktz'ulh	belly button, navel
tan-	tampuu	stomach
tan-	tankilhak	chest

tasa-	tatzalat	tooth
tii-	tiimus	lower back, buttocks, and hips
tzoqot-	tzoqot	knee

3.2.2 Compound Verbs

Two root verbs may be juxtaposed to form a compound verb, as seen in the examples below in (363) and (364). The most common compound verb involves a verb of motion (e.g., arrive, come, go, bring, take) as the second verb in the compound, as seen in the examples in (363); however, other action oriented verbs may occur, as seen in the examples in (364).

(363) a. milhpacha7alhch juu Xiiwaan
milhpa=chaa7an-li+ch juu Xiiwaan
sing=arrive.there-PFV+ALD ART John
'John arrived there singing.' [ELIEX1: 028]

b. milhpachilhch kutanch juu Xiiwaan
milhpa=chin-li+ch kutanch juu Xiiwaan
sing=arrive.here-PFV+ALD yesterday ART John
'Yesterday, John arrived here singing.' [ELIEX1: 036]

c. juu 7anuuch lapanak juu maa xaqalhii7an
juu 7anu7+ch lapanak juu maa **xaqa=lhii7an**
ART that+ALD person REL RPT **pull=take**(IMPFV)
'that person who takes her.' [T0063: 036-037]

d. ch'aqx7iiya7 juu lapanak juu k'iw
ch'aqx=7ii-ya7 juu lapanak juu k'iw
chop=bring-FUT ART person ART tree
'The man will chop down the tree.' [ELIEX1: 087]

(364) a. juu 7axpitni7 lakch'uk'u7ulaa juu k'iw
juu 7aspitni7 lak-**ch'uk'u=7ulaa**-y juu k'iw
ART carpenter DIS-**split=put**-IMPFV ART wood
'The carpenter cuts the wood into pieces.' [MNB13: 45]

b. jaantu waa ch'uk'uqalhtajukan
jaantu waa **ch'uk'u=qalhtaju**-kan
NEG FOC **split=lower**-INS(IMPFV)
'It can't be split downwards.' / 'No se corta para abajo.' [T0069: 145]

c. kaa 7akch'uk'up'uxnilhch p'ulhnan
kaa 7a-k-**ch'uk'u=p'ux**-ni-li+ch p'ulhnan
BLV IRR-1SUB-**split=cut**-DAT-PFV+ALD first
'I think that I have to cut it first.' [T0069: 196]

d. laksak7uy juu xkuux juu chiila7
lak-**sak=7u**-y juu x-kuux juu chiila7
PL-**lift=eat**-IMPFV ART 3POS-corn ART chicken
'The chicken picks up its corn and eats it.' [TPWDB]

3.2.3 Aspectual Derivational Affixes

In HT the aspectual derivational affixes include the inchoative (3.2.3.1), the imminent (3.2.3.2), the roundtrip (3.2.3.3), the ambulative (3.2.3.4), a second type of inchoative that I call 'begin' (3.2.3.5), the desiderative (3.2.3.6), two types of repetitive action affixes that I call 'repetition' (3.2.3.7) and 'again' (3.2.3.8), an affix that indicates a complete set that I call 'all' (3.2.3.9), and the distal and the proximal (3.2.3.10).

3.2.3.1 Inchoative ta-

The inchoative prefix *ta-* indicates that the subject of the clause is entering into a state or beginning an action. It may occur on both transitive and intransitive verbs, and it occurs in all tenses, aspects, and moods, as seen in the examples below in (365).

(365) a. maa naa x**ta**maaqantalhanantach
maa naa x-**ta**-maaqantalhanan-ta+ch
RPT EMP PAST-**INCH**-frighten-PF+ALD
'she had been frightened' [T0003: 031]

b. ka**ta**lakpaxayaaw
ka-**ta**-lak-paxay-a7-w
IRR-**INCH**-DIS(?)-move-FUT-1PL.SUB
'We (INCL) are going to move.' [T0057: 013]

c. waa **ta**t'eqelh juu mimprensa
waa **ta**-t'eqe-li juu min-prensa
FOC **INCH**-break-PFV ART 2POS-vise
'Your vise broke?' [T0069: 123]

d. nii ka**ta**rresgalalhch
nii ka-**ta**-arresgala-li+ch
COMP IRR-**INCH**-risk-PFV+ALD
'if she will risk it.' [T0069: 432]

According to Watters (1988), in Tlachichilco Tepehua, only stative verbs (and verbs of destruction) "may serve as the base for the inchoative prefix ta-" (p. 42). Though the majority of textual examples involving the inchoative prefix do occur on stative verbs in Huehuetla Tepehua as well, this prefix appears on the non-stative verb in (365b) above. However, according to Watters (p.c.), in Tlachichilco Tepehua, the root *paxay* is a stative verb meaning 'X is different, changed'. Further semantic testing needs to be done on this HT verb to confirm if it is or is not a stative.

When the inchoative prefix *ta-* precedes a body part prefix, as seen below in the examples in (366b) and (366c), it is acting as a fully productive morpheme. When it follows a body part prefix, as seen below in the examples in (367), the inchoative prefix and the verb root form a lexicalized frozen form that is no longer productive. In (367), *tanuu* 'insert' is a lexicalized stem, whereas *tajuu* 'insert' in (366), is a productive stem composed of *ta-* and the verb *jun* 'to be',

between which a lexical prefix may intervene. In all of these examples, the inchoative *ta-* is in bold type and the BPPs are underlined.

(366) a. **ta**juulhch juu lapanak juu lakxkaan
ta-jun-li+ch juu lapanak juu lak-xkaan
INCH-be-PFV+ALD ART person ART PREP-water
'The man got into the water.'

b. **ta**tiijuulhch juu t'aku7 lakaxkaan
ta-tii-jun-li+ch juu t'aku7 laka-xkaan
INCH-BUTT-be-PFV+ALD ART woman PREP-water
'The woman sat down in the water.'

c. **ta**kaqjuulhch juu 7asqat'a lakaxaaluu
ta-qaq-jun-li+ch juu 7asqat'a laka-xaaluu
INCH-MOUTH-be-PFV+ALD ART child PREP-pitcher
'The child stuck his mouth in a pitcher.' [TPWDB]

(367) a. katutanuuputun juu 7ix7atusliyuti juu t'aku7
katu-tanuu-putun juu 7ix-atusliyuti juu t'aku7
ear-insert-DESID(IMPFV) ART 3POS-earring ART woman
'The woman wants to put in her earrings.'

b. piixtanuulhch juu 7ixmilhpu7uti juu t'aku7
piix-tanuu-li+ch juu 7ix-milhpu7uti juu t'aku7
neck-insert-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-necklace ART woman
'The woman put on her necklace.' [TPWDB]

The inchoative prefix precedes other derivational prefixes, such as the causative prefix *maa-*, shown below in (368).

(368) lhiikilhch juu lapanak juu qayxkaan
lhiiki-li+ch juu lapanak juu qayxkaan
dam-PFV+ALD ART person ART river

juu **ta**maaxixikan
juu **ta**-maa-xixi-kan
REL **INCH**-CAUS-dry(VT)-RFL(IMPFV)
'The man dammed the river to dry it up.' [ELIEX4: 042]

3.2.3.2 Imminent **ti-**

The imminent prefix *ti-* is homophonous with the negative future prefix (see Section 3.1.2.3 on Mood), but the two prefixes have very different meanings. The imminent prefix indicates that the subject argument is about to perform the action of the verb. This prefix is relatively rare; examples are shown in (369).

(369) a. k**ti**7anchoqoych
k-**ti**-7an-choqo-y+ch
1SUB-**IMM**-go-AGAIN-IMPFV+ALD
'I'm about to leave again.' [T0066: 282]

b. chaa k**ti**7iiy
chaa k-**ti**-7ii-y
over.there 1SUB-**IMM**-bring-IMPFV
'I'm about to go over there to get it.' [T0069: 373]

3.2.3.3 Roundtrip **kii-**

The roundtrip prefix *kii-* indicates that the subject of the clause went somewhere else to perform the action of the verb and returned again. The cognate prefix in other Totonacan languages has been called the "regressive" (McQuown 1990: 184), the "intentional (MacKay 1999: 327), "return" (Watters 1988: 248), and "roundtrip" (Beck 2004: 77). As there is no consensus in the literature, I follow Beck because "roundtrip" is both descriptively accurate and easy to abbreviate as RT. Given that the notion of going and returning implies completion of the action, the roundtrip prefix occurs only in the past tense imperfective aspect, the perfect aspect, and the perfective aspect, as seen in the examples below in (370).

(370) a. tanch xa**k'ii**laay jii kumwarii
tanch xa-**kii**-laa-y jii kumwarii
where PAST-**RT(2SUB)**-can-IMPFV VOC compadre
'Where did you go, Friend?' [T0055: 006]

b. juu tuumiin juu xta**kii**7alhajutach
juu tuumiin juu x-ta-**kii**-qalhaju-ta+ch
ART money REL PAST-3PL.SUB-**RT**-steal-PF+ALD
'the money that they had (gone and) stolen' [T0055: 055]

c. kinta**kii**puuxkoopaa juu tz'iisi
kin-ta-**kii**-puuxkaju-pala juu tz'iisi
1OBJ-3PL.SUB-**RT**-search.find-REP.PFV ART last.night
'They went looking for me again last night.' [T0066: 017]

3.2.3.4 Ambulative -t'ajun

The verb *t'ajun* is used in three different ways in HT: (i) it can be used as a main verb; (ii) it forms the ambulative by occurring as the second element of a verb-verb compound; and (iii) it forms the periphrastic progressive aspect. This last occurrence is covered in Section 3.4.1.2 on the Progressive Aspect.

As a main verb, *t'ajun* means 'be', 'live', or 'exist', as seen below in the example in (371).

(371) juu papaanin juu kaa waa lakak'iwin xta**t'ajun**
juu papa7-nin juu kaa waa lakak'iwin x-ta-**t'ajun**
ART man-PL REL BLV FOC woods PAST-3PL.SUB-**live**(IMPFV)
'The men who lived in the woods.' [T0022: 002-003]

The verb *t'ajun* can occur as the second verb of a verb-verb compound, producing an ambulative reading of the first verb: 'go around X-ing', as seen in the examples in (372).

(372) a. maa x7alhtana**t'ajun** juu laxtaanqaa
maa x-7alhtanan-**t'ajun** juu laka-x-taanqaa
RPT PAST-walk-**AMB**(IMPFV) ART PREP-3POS-bottom

juu lakilakakapenan
juu laka-kin-lakakapen-an
ART PREP-1POS-coffee.field-PL
'He went around walking below my coffee fields.' [T0022: 029]

b. talhiimukun**t'ajun**
ta-lhii-mukun-**t'ajun**
3PL.SUB-APPL-take.along-**AMB**(IMPFV)
'They go around carrying her along.' [T0063: 017]

c. tiix laqxtuch juu lhiit'aqap'a**t'a7un**
tiix laqxtu+ch juu lhii-t'aqap'a-**t'ajun**
why alone+ALD REL APPL-get.drunk-**AMB(2SUB)**(IMPFV)
'Why do you go around getting drunk?' [T0066: 091]

I have chosen to analyze the ambulative *t'ajun* as a verb-verb compound (rather than as a derivational suffix) because in the ambulative construction, the verbal applicative prefix *lhii-* may intervene between the two verbs, as if it were prefixed to the second verb *t'ajun*, as seen below in (373).

(373) 7anch juu xtalaqxaqa<u>lhii</u>**t'ajun**ch
7anch juu x-ta-laka-xaqa-<u>lhii</u>-**t'ajun**+ch
there REL PAST-3PL.SUB-BODY-pull-<u>APPL</u>-**AMB**(IMPFV)+ALD
'It was there that they went around pulling her.' [T0063: 056]

3.2.3.5 Begin -tzuku

Like the verb *t'ajun*, the verb *tzuku* occurs alone as a main verb, as part of a verb-verb compound, and as part of a periphrastic construction. Interestingly, the verb-verb compound formed with *tzuku* and the periphrastic construction formed with *tzuku* both have the same meaning, which is one of inchoative aspect.

However, I label this verb as 'begin' so as not to confuse it with the inchoative prefix *ta-*. The periphrastic use of *tzuku* is discussed in Section 3.4.1.3.

When *tzuku* occurs alone as a main verb, it means 'to be born', as seen in the example below in (374).

(374) **tzuku**lh juu 7asqat'a
tzuku-li juu 7asqat'a
be.born-PFV ART child
'The child was born.' [TPWDB]

When *tzuku* occurs as the second verb in a verb-verb compound, the construction means 'begin to X', as seen in the examples below in (375). This is clearly a compound construction because the person and TAM marking enclose both verbs in (375b). Also, note that the applicative prefix *lhii-* intervenes between the two verbs in this same example.

(375) a. 7uksun**tzuku**lh laqaxix
7uksun=**tzuku**-li laka-xix
walk=**begin**-PFV PREP-dry
'It began to walk along in the dried [riverbed].' [T0058: 039]

b. xatalaqxaqalhii**tzuku**choqoych
xa-ta-laka-xaqa=lhii-**tzuku**-choqo-y+ch
PAST-3PL.SUB-BODY-pull=APPL-**begin**-again-IMPFV+ALD
'They began to pull her again.' [T0066: 028]

3.2.3.6 Desiderative -putun

The desiderative suffix *-putun* is affixed to the stem of the verb, producing the meaning 'want to X'. The desiderative stem is inflected for person and TAM, as seen in the examples below in (376). The suffix *–putun* does not occur alone as a main verb.

(376) a. wachuuch waa ktamakoom**putun** 7ani7
wachuu+ch waa k-tamakajun-**putun** 7ani7
also+ALD FOC 1SUB-stay-**DESID**(IMPFV) here
'I want to stay here, too.' [T0055: 063]

b. jaantu xaklaqtz'in**putun**an
jaantu xa-k-laqtz'in-**putun**-an
NEG PAST-1SUB-see-**DESID**(IMPFV)-2OBJ
'I did not want to see you.' [TPWDB]

c. maa naa lhuu jaantuch xtamin**putun**
maa naa lhuu jaantu+ch x-ta-min-**putun**
RPT very many NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-come-**DESID**(IMPFV)
'Many [people] did not want to come.' [T0057: 027]

In the perfective aspect, the final /n/ in *–putun* is deleted before the *–lh* perfective suffix, as seen below in example (377).

(377) a. juu 7u**putu**lhch kaa 7ulhch
juu 7u-**putun**-li+ch kaa 7u-li+ch
REL eat-**DESID**-PFV+ALD BLV eat-PFV+ALD
'Whoever wanted to eat it, he ate it, I think.' [T0020: 034]

b. naa k'u**putu**lh
naa k-7u-**putun**-li
FOC 1SUB-eat-**DESID**-PFV
'I wanted to eat it.' [Q3D]

In the perfective aspect, when the subject is second person singular, *-putun* is reduced to *–p'u*, as seen below in (378).

(378) naa 7u**p'u**t'i
naa 7u-**putun**-t'i
EMP eat-**DESID**(PFV.2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV
'You wanted to eat it.' [Q3D]

3.2.3.7 Repetitive -pala

The repetitive suffix *–pala* may be affixed to a verb root or stem, and it indicates repeated or repetitive action of the verb. It frequently is translated as

'again'; however it implies that the action of the verb is repeated frequently, either repetitively or on various occasions or regular intervals. The suffix *–pala* has two allomorphes, *–paa* and *-palh*. The full form *–pala* occurs in the imperfective and perfect aspects and the future tense, shown below in (379), and the two allomorphes *–paa* and *-palh* occur in the perfective aspect, shown in (381) and (382), respectively.

(379) a. nii yuuch jaantu lhiimim**pala**y juu 7ani7
nii yuuch jaantu lhii-min-**pala**-y juu 7ani7
COMP PRN.3SG NEG APPL-come-**REP**-IMPFV ART here
'That is why I never come here.'
('That is why I repeatedly do not come here.') [T0054: 033]

b. nii kaa waa p'atz'ik xqot'**pala**ta
nii kaa waa p'atz'ik x-qot'-**pala**-ta
COMP BLV FOC a.little PAST-drink-**REP**-PF
'I think that you were a little drunk.'
(Implying that addressee was frequently drunk) [T0054: 032]

c. kasaa**pala**aw juu 7anuu laqatam juu San Bartolo
ka-saa-**pala**-a7-w juu 7anuu laqa-tam juu San Bartolo
IRR-play-**REP**-FUT-1PL.SUB ART DADJ CL-one ART San Bartolo
'We are going to play this one from San Bartolo.' [T0066: 116]
(These are musicians practicing, so they will play the piece repeatedly)

The suffix *–pala* may co-occur with other aspectual derivational suffixes, as seen below in (380). When this occurs, *-pala* is the next-to-last suffix on the stem to which the person and TAM markers are affixed; the only suffixes that may follow it are the distal and proximal ones, an example of which is shown below in the example in (382a).

(380) a. juu 7asqat'a kalin<u>choqo</u>**pala**7
juu 7asqat'a ka-7alin-<u>choqo</u>-**pala**-a7
ART child IRR-there.is-<u>AGAIN</u>-**REP**-FUT
'There will be more children.' [T0059: 014]

b. wachu7 naa xtipastakt'oon**pala**y tachuu 7ani7
wachu7 naa x-ti-pastak-t'ajun-**pala**-y tachuu 7ani7
also EMP PAST-IMM-think-AMB-**REP**-IMPFV like DADJ
'He (repeatedly) went around thinking like this, too.' [T0069: 041]

c. 7amputum**pala**y wachu7 juu Susan
7an-putun-**pala**-y wachu7 juu Susan
go-DESID-**REP**-IMPFV also ART Susan
'Susan wants to go, too.' [T0069: 429]

The reduced form *–paa*, shown in the examples in (381) occurs only word-finally and only in the perfective aspect. It is derived phonologically and analogically from *–pala*. The word-final short vowel is deleted, the /l/ nuetralizes to /ɬ/, which is then deleted by analogy with perfective lateral deletion (see chapter 2, sections 2.6.1.2, 2.6.2, and 2.7.6, respectively). The dilemna here is why this happens at all. Since this suffix *precedes* the aspectual suffixes (as seen above, we would expect for the perfective marker *–li* to occur after *–pala*, which would prevent *–pala* from undergoing final short-vowel deletion, which would bleed the other two rules. However, the perfective suffix—for reasons that I am unable to determine—does not co-occur with *–pala*.

(381) a. kilaqoxi**paa** juu doctor
kin-laqoxi-**pala** juu doctor
1OBJ-fix-**REP**.PFV ART doctor
'The doctor cured me.'
(Implying that it took several doctor visits to be cured.) [T0054: 044]

b. waa k'atzay nii maa 7am**paa** Pachuca
waa k-k'atza-y nii maa 7an-**pala** Pachuca
FOC 1SUB-know-IMPFV COMP RPT go-**REP**.PFV Pachuca
'I know that he went to Pachuca again.' [T0069: 202]

The intermediate form *–palh* also occurs only in the perfective aspect, where perfective *–li* and *–pala* do not co-occur. I have only two examples of this allomorph, which are shown below in (382). In the (a) example, *-palh* is followed by the distal suffix *–chaa*, and in the (b) example it is followed by the temporal clitic *+ch.* There is a dilemna with respect to this form, too: why is the final /a/ of *–pala* deleted when it is not word final?[109]

(382) a. kt'aaween**palh**chaa
k-t'aa-wajin-**pala**-chaa
1SUB-COM-eat-**REP.**PFV-DST
'We ate there again.' [T0069: 242]

a. milh 7awilhchan nii kaa
min-li 7awilhcha nii kaa
come-PFV day COMP BLV

lhii7am**palh**ch juu maa p'aax
lhii7an-**pala**+ch juu maa p'aax
take-**REP**.PFV+ALD ART RPT pig
'The day came when it carried off a pig again.' [T0020: 016]

Watters (1988) quotes a personal communication from Dorothy Herzog regarding the use of *–pala* in Huehuetla Tepehua to indicate "an unexpected turn of events" (p. 242). Such examples of this use of *–pala* are rare in my own data, though they do occur. Examples are shown below in (383).

(383) a. waa nii**paa** juu xnatich juu 7atzi7
waa nii-**pala** juu x-nati+ch juu 7atzi7
FOC die-**REP.**PFV ART 3POS-mother+ALD ART girl
'The girl's mother died (unexpectedly).' [T0054: 004]

[109] The deletion of the final /a/ in *–pala* triggers liquid neutralization.

b. maa toqlh 7an**paa** juu lakajip
maa toqlh 7an-**pala** juu laka-jip
RPT ID:burning go-**REP.**PFV ART PREP-fire
'She (unexpectedly) jumped into the fire.' [T0054: 074]

The cognate suffix has several different names in the Totonacan literature, including 'repetitive' (Aschmann and Wonderly 1952: 134; Beck 2004: 73), 'again' (Watters 1988: 240), and 'reiterative' (McQuown 1990: 183).

3.2.3.8 Again -choqo

The suffix *–choqo* may be affixed to a verb stem to produce the meaning 'do the action (or achieve the state) of the verb again' or 're-do the action (or re-achieve the state) of the verb'. The new stem is then inflected for person and TAM. HT examples are shown in (384).

(384) a. maa min**choqo**lhch juu lakatii
maa min-**choqo**-li+ch juu laka-tii
RPT come-**AGAIN**-PFV+ALD ART PREP-road
'He returned (came again) by the road.' [T0055: 049]

b. wachu7 k'an**choqo**ya7
wachu7 k-7an-**choqo**-ya7
also 1SUB-go-**AGAIN**-FUT
'I'm going to go again, too.' [T0055: 099]

The suffix *–choqo* may co-occur with other aspectual derivational suffixes, as seen below in (385). In (385a), *-choqo* precedes the distal suffix *-chaa*. In (385b), *-choqo* precedes the repetitive suffix *–pala.*

(385) a. nii maa taspit**choqo**chaa
nii maa taspit-**choqo**-chaa
COMP RPT return-**AGAIN**-DST.PFV
'When he returned there again, . . .' [T0055: 045]

b. 7entons maa pastak**choqo**pala<u>k</u>alh
7entons maa pastak-**choqo**-<u>pala</u>-kan-li
then RPT think-**AGAIN**-<u>REP</u>-INS-PFV
'Then they rethought it again.' [T0057: 021]

Watters (1988) calls the cognate suffix in Tlachichilco Tepehua the 'repetition' suffix, and he says that it "is apparently a Tepehua innovation" (1988: 235).

The meaning of the suffix *–choqo* is very similar to that of the suffix *–pala*.[110] However, while *–choqo* indicates that an action or state is repeated once, *-pala* indicates that the action is frequently or iteratively repeated. In fact, the two morphemes frequently co-occur, as seen above in (385b).

3.2.3.9 All -qoju

The suffix *-qoju* adds the meaning of 'all' or 'completely' to a clause. When it occurs on an intransitive verb, its presence indicates either that all members of a plural subject participated in the action of the verb, as seen in example (386a), or that the action of the verb was entirely completed, as seen in example (386b). When *–qoju* occurs on a transitive verb, it indicates that all members of a plural object were affected by the action of the verb, as seen in example (387). The full form *–qoju* occurs only in the imperfective aspect, shown in (388), while the reduced allomorph *–qoo* occurs in the perfective aspect—shown in (386) and (387)—and in the future tense, shown in (389). Given its denotation of completion, this suffix tends to occur most frequently with the perfective aspect, though it does occur with other tenses and aspects, as well. This

[110] Note that my names for the suffixes *–choqo* and *–pala* are the opposite of those used for the cognate Tlachichilco Tepehua suffixes found in Watters 1988.

suffix tends to surface as *–qoo* because an intervocalic /h/ is deleted when the following vowel is unstressed (as it is in the perfective aspect), and the resulting diphthong /au/ is pronounced [oː].[111]

(386) a. juu tatamokoonchalhch 7anch
juu ta-tamakajun-chaa-li+ch 7anch
REL 3PL.SUB-remain-DST-PFV+ALD there

maa taniiqoo
maa ta-nii-**qoju**
RPT 3PL.SUB-die-**ALL**.PFV
'The ones who stayed there, they all died.' [T0057: 031]

b. lakpaataju**qoo**
lak-paataju-**qoju**
DIS-fall.off-**ALL**.PFV
'It [her skin] fell completely off.' [T0057: 079]

(387) lhaaqaman**qoo**lh juu xtuumiin
laaqaman-**qoju**-li juu x-tuumiin
waste-**ALL**-PFV ART 3POS-money
'He wasted all of his money.' [ELIEX4: 038]

(388) juu xqatii naa naa xlaktanoo**qoju**y
juu xqatii naa naa x-lak-tanuu-**qoju**-y
ART creek EMP EMP PAST-PL-enter-**ALL**-IMPFV

juu lakalakchaqa7 naa naa juu lapanák
juu laka-lak-chaqa7 naa naa juu lapanák
ART PREP-PL-house EMP EMP ART people
'The creek would flood all of the houses of the people.' [T0057: 069]

(389) porque nii jaantu kanii**qoo**yaaw
porque nii jaantu ka-nii-**qoju**-ya7-w
because COMP NEG IRR-die-**ALL**-FUT-1PL.SUB
'Because if not, we're all going to die.' [T0057: 014]

[111] Please see Chapter 2, section 2.6.9 for the /h/-deletion rule.

The cognate of this suffix has a variety of names in the Totonacan literature, including 'terminative' (McQuown 1990: 183), 'completive' (Watters 1988: 226; MacKay 1999: 335), and 'all, completely' (Beck 2004: 74).

3.2.3.10 Distal -chaa and Proximal -chii

Distal (distant from speaker, 'there') and proximal (close to speaker, 'here') location may be indicated on the verb by the suffixes *–chaa* and *–chii,* respectively.[112] The distal *–chaa* historically comes from the verb *chaa7an* 'arrive there'. While the root verb *chaa7an* indicates motion away from the speaker or some reference point already established in the discourse, the suffix *–chaa* refers to a location distant from the speaker. Similarly, the proximal *–chii* historically comes from the verb *chin* 'arrive here'. The verb *chin* indicates motion towards the speaker or some reference point already established in the discourse, while the suffix *–chii* indicates a location close to the speaker.

There is conflicting data in HT regarding the morphological order of these suffixes. Some of HT examples indicate that *–chaa* and *–chii* <u>follow</u> the aspectual markers, as seen below in the examples in (390). Other examples indicate that *–chaa* and *–chii* <u>precede</u> the perfective aspectual suffix, shown below in (391). In yet other examples, it is not possible to determine morpheme order because perfective aspect is not overtly marked, as seen below in (392).[113]

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[112] Interestingly, distal *–chaa* occurs more frequently in my data than proximal *–chii* does.

[113] Jim Watters has suggested to me that the distal and proximal suffixes follow the perfect aspect marker (*–ta*), the imperfective aspect marker (*-y* ~ *-'a*), and the future tense marker (*-ya7* ~ *-a7*). Though I would tend to agree with him, I do not have the necessary data to back this analysis up. The example in (390a) has the morpheme *–palh*, which is an allomorph of *–pala* REP that occurs only in the perfective aspect. However, this morpheme is not an aspect marker, and it is most likely the case that this example reflects the order of the distal suffix *–chaa* with respect to the repetitive marker *–pala* and not with respect to perfective aspect.

(390) a. kt'aaweenpalh**chaa**
k-t'aa-wajin-pala-**chaa**
1SUB-COM-eat-REP.PFV-**DST**
'We ate there again.' [T0069: 242]

b. maamaata**chaa**7as
maa-maa-ta-**chaa**+7as
CAUS-lying-PF-**DST**+TAGQ
'He has it over there, right?' [T0069: 406]

(391) a. tanuu**chaa**lhch juu lakatalhpa
tanuu-**chaa**-li+ch juu laka-talhpa
enter-**DST**-PFV+ALD ART PREP-hill
'It went into the cave.' [T0020: 020]

b. pero 7aksnii maa tanuu**chii**lh juu comunismo
pero 7aksnii maa tanuu-**chii**-li juu comunismo
but then RPT enter-**PRX**-PFV ART communism
'But then communism came here.' [T0057: 060]

c. juu pumatam lapanak kilaa**chii**lh
juu puma-tam lapanak ki-laa-**chii**-li
ART CL:human-one person RT-can-**PRX**-PFV

7ani7 maa lakaMiikiixkaan
7ani7 maa laka-Miikii-xkaan
here RPT PREP-Miguel-water
'One person came here along Miguel's Water.' [T0058: 015-016]

d. juu lapanak juu 7ixajaa**chii**lh
juu lapanak juu 7ix-xajaan-**chii**-li
ART person REL PAST-exit-**PRX**-PFV
'the person who came out of there' [T0057: 060]

(392) a. juu kmukooni**chaa** juu Kosee
juu k-muku-ni-**chaa** juu Kosee
ART 1SUB-leave-DAT-**DST**(PFV?) ART José
'I left it with José.' [T0069: 402]

b. nii maa taspitchoqo**chaa**
nii maa taspit-choqo-**chaa**
COMP RPT return-AGAIN-**DST**(PFV?)
'When he returned there, . . .' [T0055: 045]

There is one example in the database in which the verb *chin* 'arrive here' is suffixed with the distal suffix *–chaa*; this example is shown in (393). There are no examples in the database in which the verb *chaa7an* 'arrive there' is suffixed with the proximal suffix *–chii.*[114]

(393) nii maa tachin**chaa**
nii maa ta-chin-**chaa**
COMP RPT 3PL.SUB-arrive.there-**DST**(PFV?)
'when they arrived there . . .' [T0022: 013]

3.3 Existentials, Posture and Location Verbs, and the Copula

This section is a sort of catch-all for topics that did not quite fit anywhere else in this chapter. Included here are the existential verbs (Section 3.3.1), the posture and location verbs (Section 3.3.2), and the copula (Section 3.3.3).

3.3.1 Existentials

There are two existential copulas in Tepehua. The first, *7alin,* is equivalent to 'there is' or 'there are' in English or 'hay' in Spanish; examples are shown in (394). The second existential, *t'ajun,* is used to convey existence ('exist', 'be') and location (both temporary 'be' and more permanent 'live'); examples appear in (395).

(394) a. pero **7alin** juu xa-k'uch'u
but **there.is**(IMPFV) ART IPOS-cure
'There is a cure.' [T0009: 004]

[114] This is also the situation in Tlachichilco Tepehua (Jim Watters p.c.)

b. waa **7alin** talhpa
FOC **there.is**(IMPFV) hill
'There is a hill . . .' [T0022: 051]

c. **7ali**lh laqatam 7awilhchan
7alin-li laqa-tam 7a-wilhchan
there.is-PFV CL:general-one CL:another-day
'There was one day . . .' [T0055: 001]

d. nii talaklhtatalhch
nii ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
COMP 3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD

nii naa waa x**7alin**ch juu xqen
nii naa waa x-**7alin**+ch juu xqen
COMP EMP FOC PAST-**there.is**(IMPFV)+ALD ART fly

naach maa waa kaw x**7alin** juu xqen
naa+ch maa waa kaw x-**7alin** juu xqen
EMP+ALD RPT FOC noise PAST-**there.is**(IMPFV) ART fly
'When they fell asleep, there were a lot of flies, and the flies made a lot of noise.' [T0055: 069-71]

e. juu 7asqat'a k**alin**choqopala7
juu 7asqat'a ka-**7alin**-choqo-pala-a7
ART child IRR-**there.is**-AGAIN-REP-FUT
'There will be another child again.' [T0059: 014]

(395) a. maa x**t'oon**palay juu maqtili7
maa x-**t'ajun**-pala-y juu maqtili7
RPT PAST-**be**-REP-IMPFV ART wild.animal

juu waa niinch laqachaqan tawii xkaan
juu waa niin+ch laqachaqan tawii xkaan
REL FOC near+ALD town seated water
'There was an animal that (repeatedly) was near the town, in the water.' [T0020: 002]

b. juu papanin juu kaa waa
juu papa-nin juu kaa waa
ART old.man-PL REL BLV FOC

lakak'iwin xta**t'ajun**
laka-k'iw-in x-ta-**t'ajun**
PREP-tree-PL PAST-3PL.SUB-**be**(IMPFV)
'the old people who lived in the woods.' [T0022: 003]

c. pero maa ta**t'ajun**
pero maa ta-**t'ajun**
but RPT 3PL.SUB-**be**(IMPFV)
'But, they do exist.' [T0022: 024]

d. k'atzay juu Xiiwaan junt'aa **t'ajun** juu Kuulax
k'atza-y juu Xiiwaan junt'aa **t'ajun** juu Kuulax
know-IMPFV REL John where **be**(IMPFV) REL Nicholas
'John knows where Nicholas is.' [ELIEX2: 086]

3.3.2 Posture and Location Verbs

Huehuetla Tepehua has what Grinevald (2005) calls the four basic *posture verbs* (sit, stand, lie, hang). The four posture verbs in HT are *maa(lh)* 'lying' (in a horizontal position), *wii(lh)* 'seated' (seated, hunched, or crouched), *yaa* 'standing' (in a vertical position), and *juk'alh* 'suspended' (up in the air, or simply above something else). Though the posture verbs indicate the posture or position of a person or thing, all four of them may be glossed simply by the English verb 'be'. The HT posture verbs have inherent imperfective aspect, and they occur only in present (unmarked) and past tenses. Examples of posture verbs are shown below in (396) through (399). Just as the perfective suffix *–lh* weakens to nothing word-finally after a vowel, so too does the final /lh/ of *maalh* and *wiilh*. It is quite possible that something similar happens with *yaa*; however, no instances of *yaalh* (nor environments in which it might occur) appear in my database.

(396) *maa(lh)* 'lying'

a. **maa** juu lhk'ak
lying(IMPFV) ART ashes
'There are ashes.' [ELIEX4: 083]

b. waa jaantu kijumpaa x**maa**
waa jaantu kin-jun-pala x-**maa**
FOC NEG 1OBJ-tell-REP.PFV PAST-**lying**(IMPFV)
'He didn't tell me where it was.' [T0069: 377]

c. talaqtz'inch nii maa
ta-laqtz'in+ch nii maa
3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)+ALD COMP RPT

lakapoolhokok**maalh**ch juu 7anu7 lapanak
laqapuu-lhoqoq=**maalh**+ch juu 7anu7 lapanak
EYE-hollow=**lying**(IMPFV)+ALD ART DADJ person
'They see that hollow-eyed person lying there.' [T0055: 075-076]

(397) *wii(lh)* 'seated'

a. 7ani7 k**wii**
7ani7 k-**wii**
here 1SUB-seated(IMPFV)
'I sit/live/am here.' [ELIEX2: 079]

b. maa waa 7ix**wii**
maa waa 7ix-**wii**
RPT FOC PAST-**seated**(IMPFV)
'It was sitting down.' [T0022: 036]

c. juntaa x**wiilh**ch juu xkumwarii
juntaa x-**wiilh**+ch juu x-kumwarii
where PAST-**seated**(IMPFV)+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
'where his compadre lived.' [T0055: 090]

(398) *yaa* ‘standing’

a. nii jaantu yuuch juu 7anu7 **yaa**chaa
nii jaantu yuuch juu 7anu7 **yaa**-chaa
COMP NEG PRN.3SG REL DADJ **standing**(IMPFV)-DIST

laqatam lhii7uwint'i
laqa-tam lhii-7uwint'i
CL:general-one APPL-over.there
‘If not that one standing there, then the other one, over there.’[T0069: 328]

b. juu 7awilhchan **yaa** xpuulakan qay 7atapuutz
juu 7awilhchan **yaa** x-puulakan qay 7atapuutz
ART sun **standing**(IMPFV) 3POS-back big cloud
‘The sun is behind a big cloud.’ [TPWDB]

c. maa niita **yaa** juu laka7uun
maa nii-ta **yaa** juu laka-7uun
RPT die-PF **standing**(IMPFV) ART PREP-air
‘He was dead (vertical) in the air.’ [T0022: 010]

(399) *juk'alh* ‘suspended’, ‘up high’

a. talaklhman **juk'alh** juu maalhiyuk
ceiling **suspended**(IMPFV) ART spider
‘The spider is on the ceiling.’ [MB7-1][115]

b. kik**juk'alh** juu waayti juu kuchiiluu
kik-**juk'alh** juu waayti juu kuchiiluu
EDGE-**suspended**(IMPFV) ART food ART knife
‘The food is on the knife’s blade.’ [MB12]

c. 7alin laqatam campana juu 7ani7
7alin laqa-tam campana juu 7ani7
there.is(IMPFV) CL:general-one bell ART here

juk'alh juu lakapuujitat
juk'alh juu laka-puujitat
suspended(IMPFV) ART PREP-church
‘There is a bell here hanging in the church.’ [T0057: 045]

[115] In the drawing that generated this clause, the spider is on the ceiling, not suspended from or on a web.

The four posture verbs are somewhat irregular. The present tense conjugations of *maa(lh)* and *wii(lh)* are shown below in Table 18, and those of *yaa* and *juk'alh* are shown in Table 19.

Table 18: HT Posture Verbs, Present Tense: *maalh* and *wiilh*

	maa(lh)	**wii(lh)**
1 SG	kmaa	kwii
2 SG	maat'i	wiilht'i
3 SG	maa	wii
1 SIMPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 MULTIPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 SIMPLE PL EXCL	kmaaw	kwiilaw
1 MULTIPLE PL EXCL	klakmaaw	klakwiilaw
2 SIMPLE PL	maat'it	wiilat'it
2 MULTIPLE PL	lakmaat'it	lakwiilat'it
3 SIMPLE PL	tamaa	tawiilanalh
3 MULTIPLE PL	talakmaa	talakwiilanalh

Table 19: HT Posture Verbs, Present Tense: *yaa* and *juk'alh*

	yaa	**juk'alh**
1 SG	kyaa	kjuk'alh
2 SG	yaat'i	7uk'a
3 SG	yaa	juk'alh
1 SIMPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 MULTIPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 SIMPLE PL EXCL	kyaaw	kjuk'aw
1 MULTIPLE PL EXCL	klakyaaw	klakjuk'aw
2 SIMPLE PL	yaat'it	7uk'at'it
2 MULTIPLE PL	lakyaat'it	lak'uk'at'it
3 SIMPLE PL	tayaanalh	tajuk'alh
3 MULTIPLE PL	talakyaanalh	talakjuk'alh

The posture verbs may stand alone as main verbs, as seen in the examples above, or they may be compounded with another verb in order to add positional information to that verb, as seen in the examples below in (400) and (401). The

posture verb *maa(lh)* ‘lying’ occurs in more compounds than any of the others do, and I did not find any examples of *juk'alh* ‘suspended’ in a compound.

(400) a.
k'ay k'ay kilhuu**maa**
k'ay k'ay kilhuu=**maa**
ID:moan ID:moan complain=**lying**(IMPFV)
‘He is moaning, lying down.’

b.
k'ay k'ay kilhuu**yaa**
k'ay k'ay kilhuu=**yaa**
ID:moan ID:moan complain=**standing**(IMPFV)
‘He is moaning, standing up.’ [MNB13: 15]

c.
k'ay k'ay kilhuu**wii**
k'ay k'ay kilhuu=**wii**
ID:moan ID:moan complain=**seated**(IMPFV)
‘He is moaning, sitting down.’ [MNB13: 15]

(401) a.
maa tatzukulh lakat'alh**maa**nin
maa ta-tzuku-li laka-t'alh=**maa**-nin
RPT 3PL.SUB-begin-PFV BODY-stone=**lying**-INF
‘They began to stone it.’ [T0020: 019]

b.
ch'i**maa**lhch juu lapanak juu xtz'alh
ch'i=**maa**-li+ch juu lapanak juu x-tz'alh
tie=**lying**-PFV+ALD ART person ART 3POS-boy
‘The man already tied up his son.’ [ELIEX1: 099]

c.
7anchach tanuu**maa**chaa laktalhpa
7anch+ach tanuun=**maa**-chaa laka-talhpa
there+ALD inserted=**lying**(IMPFV)-DIST PREP-hill
‘She is stuck in the hill, there.’ [T0063: 072]

d.
muujuu**yaa** juu t'aku7 juu x7amaqpanti
muujuu-**yaa** juu t'aku7 juu x-7amaqpanti
wash-**standing**(IMPFV) ART woman ART 3POS-washing
‘The woman washes clothes.’ [MNB13: 48]

The posture verbs frequently occur with body part prefixes as seen in the examples in (396c), (399b), and (401a) above, as well as in (402) below.

(402) a. yuuch maa tii**wii** juu lakatalhpa
yuuch maa tii-**wii** juu laka-talhpa
PRN.3SG RPT BUTT-**seated**(IMPFV) ART PREP-hill
'She is still sitting in the cave.' [T0054: 065]

b. 7uks**juk'alh** juu 7aqtooloqontalhna7 juu luw
7uks-**juk'alh** juu 7aqtooloqontalhna7 juu luw
SURFACE-**suspended**(IMPFV) ART tree.trunk ART snake
'The snake is on the tree trunk.' [MB43]

When a posture verb is combined with the inchoative prefix *ta-*, the new stem means 'get into the position' or 'assume the posture', as seen below in (403). The inchoative stem may be marked for any tense or aspect.

(403) a. ta**maa**lhch lhtatayach
ta-**maa**-li+ch lhtata-ya+ch
INCH-**lying**-PFV+ALD sleep-IMPFV+ALD
'He laid down and is sleeping.' [ELIEX4: 102]

b. laqata**yaa**lhch
laqa-ta-**yaa**-li+ch
BODY-INCH-**standing**-PFV+ALD
'He stood up in front of her.' [T0054: 008]

c. ch'anta**yaa**y juu xqoop'aalh
ch'an-ta-**yaa**-y juu xqoop'aalh
FOOT-INCH-**standing**-IMPFV ART tick

juu laxch'aja7 juu lapanak
juu laka-x-ch'aja7 juu lapanak
ART PREP-3POS-foot ART person
'The tick stands up on the person's foot.' [TPWDB]

d. tata**wii**lh juu papanin
ta-ta-**wii**-li juu papa-nin
3PL.SUB-INCH-**seated**-PFV ART man-PL
'The men sat down.' [TPWLEX: tawii]

When the causative prefix *maa-* is combined with the posture verb *maa* 'lying', the meaning of the derived verb is 'lay something down', as seen in

(404a) and (404b), or 'have', as seen in (404c). The resulting causativized stem may be marked for any tense or aspect. I found no examples of the other posture verbs co-occurring with the causative prefix.

(404) a. 7aqxt'uych kamaa**maa**yaaw
7aqx-t'uy+ch ka-maa-**maa**-ya7-w
CL:flat-two+ALD IRR-CAUS-**lying**-FUT-1PL.SUB
'We're going to place two [boards].' [T0069: 064]

b. maa**maa**lh juu 7ixasqat'a juu t'aku7
maa-**maa**-li juu 7ix-asqat'a juu t'aku7
CAUS-**lying**-PFV ART 3POS-child ART woman
'The woman laid down her child.' [TPWDB]

c. xakmaa**maa**tach juu laqatam
xa-k-maa-**maa**-ta+ch juu laqa-tam
PAST-1SUB-CAUS-**lying**-PF+ALD ART CL:general-one
'I had one.' [T0069: 402]

HT has two additional stative verbs that behave syntactically like the posture verbs and that indicate location or position, *tanuun* 'inserted into (from the side or horizontally)' and *tajun* 'inserted into (from above or vertically)' or 'contained within'.[116] Examples are shown below in (405) and (406), respectively. Like the posture verbs, the location verbs have inherent imperfective aspect, and they occur only in present (unmarked) and past tenses.

[116] The location verb *tajun* is derived from *ta-jun* (INCH-be). Please see example (366) in the Inchoative section, 3.3.1.

(405) *tanuun* 'inserted horizontally'

a. laka7anii taa x**tanuun**ch
laka-7anii taa x-**tanuun**+ch
PREP-here where PAST-**inserted**(IMPFV)+ALD

7ixchaqaach juu lhakatikuruu
7ix-chaqaa+ch juu lhakatikuruu
3POS-house+ALD ART devil
'There where she was stuck in the devil's house.' [T0063: 051-2]

b. mak**tanuun** juu laxqeliiliimaka7
mak-**tanuun** juu laka-x-qeliilii=maka7
HAND-**inserted**(IMPFV) ART PREP-3POS-digit=hand

juu xmaktanuuti
juu x-mak-tanuu-ti
ART 3POS-HAND-insert-NOM
'Her ring is on her finger.' [MB10]

c. xtaampuus miixaa **tanuun** juu miistu7
x-taampuus miixaa **tanuun** juu miistu7
3POS-middle table **inserted**(IMPFV) ART cat
'The cat is under the middle of the table.' [MB31-1]

(406) *tajun* 'contained', 'inserted vertically'

a. xpuulakskuumilh **tajun** juu paamata
x-puulak-skuumilh **tajun** juu paamata
3POS-INSIDE-pot **contained**(IMPFV) ART fish
'The fish is inside the pot.' [MB32]

b. maa kulhuk paa**tajun**ch juu xpuumpu7
maa kulhuk paa-**tajun**+ch juu x-puumpu7
RPT INSIDE LOC-**contained**(IMPFV)+ALD ART 3POS-clothing
'Inside there is her clothing.' [T0020: 027]

c. juu lhii7ut **tajun** juu lakaqaax
juu lhii7ut **tajun** juu laka-qaax
ART fruit **contained**(IMPFV) ART PREP-bowl
'The fruit is in the bowl.' [MB2-1]

The conjugations of *tanuun* and *tajun* are less irregular than the conjugations of the posture verbs. The present tense forms of each verb are shown below in Table 20.

Table 20: HT Location Verbs, Present Tense: *tanuun* and *tajun*

	tanuun	**tajun**
1 SG	ktanuun	ktajun
2 SG	t'anuun	ta7un
3 SG	tanuun	tajun
1 SIMPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 MULTIPLE PL INCL	MISSING DATA	MISSING DATA
1 SIMPLE PL EXCL	ktanuumaw	ktajumaw
1 MULTIPLE PL EXCL	klaktanuumaw	klaktajumaw
2 SIMPLE PL	t'anuumat'it	t'a7umat'it
2 MULTIPLE PL	lakt'anuumat'it	lakt'a7umat'it
3 SIMPLE PL	tatanuun (animate) laktanuun (inanimate)	tatajumanalh (animate) laktajumanalh (inanimate)
3 MULTIPLE PL	talaktanuun (both)	talaktajumanalh (both)

Both *tanuun* and *tajun* have corresponding active verb forms, *tanuu-* 'enter' or 'insert' and *taju-* 'get into (water or a container)', respectively. Given that *tajun* in derived from *ta-jun* (INCH-be), it would follow that *taju-* is then derived from *tajun*; however this process of derivation (i.e., deleting an *–n* from a stative verb to create an active stem) is not a productive one, and I have found no other examples in which it is used.

The location verb *tanuun* frequently co-occurs with body part prefixes, as seen above in (405b) and below in (407).

(407) a. ch'an**tanuun** juu laxch'aja7 juu xch'antanuuti
ch'an-**tanuun** juu laka-x-ch'aja7 juu x-ch'antanuuti
FOOT-**inserted**(IMPFV) ART PREP-3POS-foot ART 3POS-shoe
'The shoe is on his foot.' [MB21]

b. juu lapanak 7aq**tanuun** juu xaqtanuuti
juu lapanak 7aq-**tanuun** juu x-7aqtanuuti
ART person head-**inserted**(IMPFV) ART 3POS-hat
'The man wears his hat.' [MB5-1]

c. kilh**tanuun** juu 7ix7ukx7uti juu lapanak
kilh-**tanuun** juu 7ix-7ukx7uti juu lapanak
mouth-**inserted**(IMPFV) ART 3POS-cigarette ART person
'The man has his cigarette in his mouth.'
'The man's cigarette is in his mouth.' [MB39]

Though I have no examples in which *tajun* 'contained' co-occurs with a body part prefix, I do, however, have examples in which *taju-* 'get into' appears with BPPs. These examples appear in Section 3.2.3.1 example (366), and they are repeated below in (408). Interestingly, in these examples, the BPP intervenes between the inchoative *ta-* and the stative verb *jun* 'be'.

(408) a. **taju**lhch juu lapanak juu lakxkaan
taju-li+ch juu lapanak juu lak-xkaan
get.into-PFV+ALD ART person ART PREP-water
'The man got into the water.'

b. **ta**tii**juu**lhch juu t'aku7 lakaxkaan
ta-tii-**jun**-li+ch juu t'aku7 laka-xkaan
INCH-BUTT-**be**-PFV+ALD ART woman PREP-water
'The woman sat down in the water.'

c. **ta**kaq**juu**lhch juu 7asqat'a lakaxaaluu
ta-qaq-**jun**-li+ch juu 7asqat'a laka-xaaluu
INCH-MOUTH-**be**-PFV+ALD ART child PREP-pitcher
'The child stuck his mouth in a pitcher.' [TPWDB]

3.3.3 Copula

In HT, present tense, imperfective aspect, singular subject predicate nominal, predicate adjectival, and predicate pronominal constructions are non-verbal constructions. However, when these constructions occur in any other tense

or aspect or have a plural subject, they require the copula *jun* 'be' to bear the tense, aspect, mood, and plural person marking morphology. A present tense paradigm is shown below in (409). In this present tense predicate nominal construction, the person-marking for first and second person singular is affixed directly to the nominal element, as seen in (a) and (b), respectively; the relevant person-marking affixes are underlined in the examples. There is no singular third person marking in Tepehua to affix to the nominal element in (c), nor is a copula used. However, a copula is present in the plural person examples in (d), (e), and (f). In all of these present (i.e., morphologically unmarked) tense examples, the copula appears in bold type.

(409) a.

juu	ki7in	kt'aku7
juu	ki7in	k-t'aku7
ART	PRN.1SG	1SUB-woman

'I am a woman.'

b.

juu	7uxint'i	t'akuu7ata
juu	7uxint'i	t'aku7-7ata
ART	PRN.2SG	woman-2SG.SUB

'You (SG) are a woman.'

c.

juu	yuuch	t'aku7
juu	yuuch	t'aku7
ART	PRN.3SG	woman

'She is a woman.'

d.

juu	kijnan	t'akuunin	**kjuntaw**
juu	kijnan	t'aku7-nin	k-**jun**-ta-w
ART	PRN.1PL	woman-PL	1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB

'We (EXCL) are women.'

e. juu 7uxijnan t'akuunin **7unt'at'it**
juu 7uxijnan t'aku7-nin **jun**-ta-t'it
ART PRN.2PL woman-PL **be(2SUB)**-PF-2PL.SUB
'You (PL) are women.'

f. juu yu7unch t'akuunin **tajuuniita**
juu yu7unch t'aku7-nin ta-**jun**-niita[117]
ART PRN.3PL woman-PL 3PL.SUB-**be**-PF
'They are women.' [PDLMA2005]

It is important to note that the second person subject suffix *–7ata* that appears on the noun in example (409b) above occurs only on predicate nominal and adjectival constructions. It is not used anywhere else in the morphosyntax (that I have found). Furthermore, neither the /k/ nor the final /t/ are glottalized in this noun, which indicates that only verbs (and not nouns or adjectives) can undergo the process of glottalization of stops and affricates that occurs when the subject is second person. When there is no nominal or adjectival element to which the suffix *–7ata* may affix, the copula is used instead, as seen below in (410).

(410) puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chunch
puus kaa 7aqtz'iyan+ch chun+ch
well BLV always+ALD like.so+ALD

juu **7uuniit'a** juu 7uxint'i
juu **jun**-niita juu 7uxint'i
REL **be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB) ART PRN.2SG
'Well, I think that you have always been like that.' [T0054: 028]

Below in example (411) is the past tense paradigm that corresponds to the present tense paradigm shown above in (409). Since a nominal element may not bear tense, aspect, or mood morphology, the copula is required for all persons and

[117] According to Watters (1988), the perfect aspect allomorph *–niita* occurs only on this verb *jun*, and it comes from the Totonac perfect suffix *–ni:ta* (p. 57, ft 7). In my own notes, the *–niita* suffix appears on the verb *jun* only in the first and second person singular and third person singular and plural forms; it does not co-occur with first or second person plural.

numbers. Note that the copula bears all person-marking morphology as well as the TAM morphology, even in the first and second person singular examples shown in (a) and (b).

(411) a.

juu	ki7in	t'aku7	**xajkuuniita**
juu	ki7in	t'aku7	xa-k-**jun**-niita
ART	PRN.1SG	woman	PAST-1SUB-**be**- PF

'I was a woman.'

b.

juu	7uxint'i	t'aku7	**7ix7uuniit'a**
juu	7uxint'i	t'aku7	7ix-**jun**-niita
ART	PRN.2SG	woman	PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)

'You (SG) were a woman.'

c.

juu	yuuch	t'aku7	**7ixjuuniita**
juu	yuuch	t'aku7	7ix-**jun**-niita
ART	PRN.3SG	woman	PAST-**be**-PF

'She was a woman.'

d.

juu	kijnan	t'akuunin	**xajkuntaw**
juu	kijnan	t'aku7-nin	xa-k-**jun**-ta-w
ART	PRN.1PL	woman-PL	PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB

'We (EXCL) were women.'

e.

juu	kijnan	t'akuunin	**7ixjuntaw**
juu	kijnan	t'aku7-nin	7ix-**jun**-ta-w
ART	PRN.1PL	woman-PL	PAST-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB

'We (INCL) were women.'

f.

juu	7uxijnan	t'akuunin	**7ix7unt'at'it**
juu	7uxijnan	t'aku7-nin	7ix-**jun**-ta-t'it
ART	PRN.2PL	woman-PL	PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB

'You (PL) were women.'

g.

juu	yu7unch	t'akuunin	**xtajuuniita**
juu	yu7unch	t'aku7-nin	x-ta-**jun**-niita
ART	PRN.3PL	woman-PL	PAST-3PL.SUB-**be**-PF

'They were women.' [PDLMA2005]

The examples above in (411) show that the copula is used to bear past tense morphology. The examples below in (412) show that it is also used to bear future tense morphology.

(412) a. oculta **kajuna7**
oculta ka-**jun**-a7
hidden IRR-**be**-FUT
'It will be hidden.' [T0069: 020]

b. naa naach soq **kajuna7** tachuu juuniitach
naa naa+ch soq ka-**jun**-a7 tachuu jun-niita+ch
EMP EMP+ALD straight IRR-**be**-FUT like.so be-PF+ALD
'It will be straight like it is.' [T0069: 310]

According to Watters (1988), *hun* (which is imperfective) means 'become', while *huniita* (which is perfect aspect) means 'be' (p. 57). Because the majority of the copular examples in my database are in the perfect aspect and clearly mean 'be', as seen in the examples above in (409) through (411), I had to elicite examples of 'become' (using the Spanish *se hizo* 'he became X' and *se hicieron* 'they became X'). This task successfully produced examples that were not in the perfect aspect and that mean 'become,' as seen in the examples in (413). The example in (413a) is in the *perfective* aspect, while the example in (413b) is in the past tense *imperfective* aspect. The aspectual contranst mirrors the chronological contrast: the process of becoming old is a long-term, on-going process, so it occurs in the imperfective aspect, while the process of becoming a mother is much more abrupt and less transitional.

(413) a. juu Xiiwaanaa **junlich** xaanati
juu Xiiwaanaa jun-li+ch xaa-nati
ART Juana be-PFV+ALD IPOS-mother
'Juana became a mother.' [BeQ]

b. juu pumakiis lapanak papaaninch
juu puma-kiis lapanak papa7-nin+ch
ART CL:human-five people old.man-PL+ALD

xtajun
x-ta-jun
PAST-3PL.SUB-be(IMPFV)
The five people became old men.' [BeQ]

There are three textual examples in my database in which the copula appears in the imperfective aspect; these examples are shown below in (414), and either gloss ('was/were' or 'became') is appropriate for the gloss.

(414) a. nii maa qaych **xjun** juu sasqat'a7an
nii maa qay+ch x-**jun** juu x-7asqat'a-7an
COMP RPT big+ALD PAST-**be**(IMPFV) ART 3POS-child-PL.POS
'When their child was/became big, . . .' [T0059: 006]

b. matiich juu xlhiich'alhkat7an **xajun**
mati7+ch juu x-lhiich'alhkat-7an xa-**jun**
nothing+ALD ART 3POS-job-PL.POS PAST-**be**(IMPFV)
'Their work became nothing.'
'There was no work.' [T0063: 029]

c. maa xta7anch 7amaqpanin
maa x-ta-7an+ch 7a-maqpa-nin
RPT PAST-3PL.SUB-go **xtajun** +ALD PL.INO-wash.clothes-INF

porque maa lapanak juu **tajun**
porque maa lapanak juu ta-**jun**
because RPT lapanak REL 3PL.SUB-**be**(IMPFV)

juu tat'asaay juu maqalipni7
juu ta-t'asaa-y juu maqalipni7
REL 3PL.SUB-call-IMPFV ART lightening
'They went to wash because they were/became human, the ones who call the lightening.' [T0022: 016]

The copula *jun* has an irregular, suppletive form *waa* when it occurs in any irrealis modality other than the future tense or the conditional mood.[118] This suppletive form is cognate with the Totonac copula *wan* 'become' (Watters p.c.). Examples in which the copula appears as *waa* in the irrealis mood appear in (415); examples in which the copula appears as *jun* in the irrealis mood appear in (416).[119]

(415) *Copula* waa*, Irrealis Mood*

a. *Optative*

klakaskin	nii	**kawaa**	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan
k-lakaskin	nii	ka-**waa**	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan
1SUB-want	COMP	IRR-**be**(IRR)	president	ART	John

'I want John to be president.' [BeQ]

b. *Negative Optative*

jaantu	talakask'in	juu	lapanak
jaantu	ta-lakask'in	juu	lapanak
NEG	3PL.SUB-want	ART	people

nii	**kawaa**	7ukxtin
nii	ka-**waa**	7ukxtin
COMP	IRR-**be**(IRR)	president

'The people do not want him to be president.' [ELIEX2: 008]

c. *Negative Future*

jaantu	7ukxtin	**katiwaa**	juu	Xiiwaan
jaantu	7ukxtin	ka-ti-**waa**	juu	Xiiwaan
NEG	president	IRR-NEG.FUT-**be**(IRR)	ART	John

'John will not be president.' [BeQ2]

[118] The relationship between the copula *jun* and the focus particle *waa* as discussed further in Chapter 8, section 8.2.2. The examples here are the same as the examples there.

[119] For more information on the irrealis mood, please see Section 3.1.2.3.

d. *Dubitative*

jaantu	k'atz'ay	nii	7ukxtin
jaantu	k-k'atz'a-y	nii	7ukxtin
NEG	1SUB-know-IMPFV	COMP	president

kawaa	juu	Xiiwaan
ka-**waa**	juu	Xiiwaan
IRR-**be**(IRR)	ART	John

'I don't know if John is/will be president.'
'I doubt that John will be president.' [BeQ2]

e. *Permission, Possibility*

kaa	laay	**kawaa**	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan
kaa	laa-y	ka-**waa**	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan
BLV	can-IMPFV	IRR-**be**(IRR)	president	ART	John

'John may be president.'
'John can be president.'
'It is possible that John is president.' [BeQ2]

(416) *Copula* jun, *Irrealis Mood*

a. *Future*

7ukxtin	kajuna7	juu	Xiiwaan
7ukxtin	ka-jun-a7	juu	Xiiwaan
president	IRR-be-FUT	ART	John

'John will be president.' [BeQ2]

b. *Conditional*

7ukxtin	kajuna7	juu	Xiiwaan	nii	kalhtajuya7
7ukxtin	ka-jun-a7	juu	Xiiwaay	nii	ka-lhtaju-ya7
president	IRR-be-FUT	ART	John	COMP	IRR-win-FUT

'John will be president if he wins.' [BeQ2]

Finally, there is one example in my database in which a aspectual derivational morpheme occurs on the copula; this example is shown below in (417). In this example, the repetitive suffix *–pala* is affixed to the root *jun*, creating a stem to which the perfect aspect suffix *–ta* is attached. In this context, the use of the repetitive suffix implies that the action/occurrence was unexpected.

(417) **jumpalata** kaa waa cosa maalampalata
jun-pala-ta kaa waa cosa maalan-pala-ta
be-REP-PF BLV FOC thing bad-REP-PF
'It was (unexpectedly) like a bad thing.' [T0054: 010]

In the following subsections, I discuss predicate pronominal (section 3.4.3.1), predicate nominal (section 3.3.3.2), and predicate adjective (section 3.3.3.3) constructions in more detail.

3.3.3.1 Predicate Nominals

As mentioned in the preceding discussion of the copula, the copular element is needed in a present tense predicate nominal construction only when the patient/subject is plural. If the patient/subject in a *present tense* predicate nominal construction is third person singular, then there is no person marking, nor is there a copula, as seen below in the examples in (418) and (419).

(418) a. **t'aku7** 'woman'

b. juu yuuch **t'aku7**
juu yuuch **t'aku7**
ART PRN.3SG **woman**
'*She* is a woman.' [PDLMA2005]

c. maa waa **t'aku7**
maa waa **t'aku7**
RPT FOC **woman**
'It [a wild beast] is a woman.' [T0020: 029]

(419) a. **lapanak** 'person'

b. juu yuuch **lapanak**
juu yuuch **lapanak**
ART PRN.3SG **person**
'*He* is a person.' [PDLMA2005]

c. maa jaantu ta7uputunpalay juu xaa7akanit
maa jaantu ta-7u-putun-pala-y juu xaa-7akanit
RPT NEG 3PL.SUB-eat-DESID-REP-IMPFV ART IPOS-flesh

nii waa **lapanak**
nii waa **lapanak**
COMP FOC **person**
'They didn't want to eat any more meat because it was human.'
[T0020: 032]

d. jaantu **lapanak**
NEG **person**
'It is not human / a person.' [T0054: 009]

If the patient/subject in a predicate nominal construction is first or second person *singular*, the person markers are affixed directly to the nominal, as seen in the examples above in (409a) and (409b) and below in (420) and (421). In the examples in (420), the first person prefix *k-* is affixed to the nouns, and in the examples in (421), the second person singular suffix *–7ata* is affixed to the nouns. None of the stops in the nouns in the examples in (421) are glottalized, which indicates that only verbs—and not nouns—undergo glottalization of the stops and affricates when the subject is second person.

(420) a. juu ki7in kt'aku7
juu ki7in k-t'aku7
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-woman
'I am a woman.'

b. juu ki7in klapának
juu ki7in k-lapának
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-person
'I am a person.' [PDLMA2005]

(421) a. juu 7uxint'i t'akuu7ata
juu 7uxint'i t'aku7-7ata
ART PRN.2SG woman-2SG.SUB
'You (SG) are a woman.'

b. juu 7uxint'i lapanak7ata
juu 7uxint'i lapanak-7ata
ART PRN.2SG person-2SG.SUB
'You (SG) are a person.' [PDLMA2005]

The above predicate nominal constructions occur in the present (unmarked) tense only. In any other tense, a copula must occur to bear the tense and aspect markers, as seen below in (422). In these examples, the copula, which appears in bold type, bears the past tense prefix and the perfect aspect suffix, as well as the first and second person affixes.

(422) a. juu ki7in t'aku7 **xájkuuniita**
juu ki7in t'aku7 xa-k-**jun**-niita
ART PRN.1SG woman PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF
'I was a woman.'

b. juu 7uxint'i t'aku7 **7ix7uuniit'a**
juu 7uxint'i t'aku7 7ix-**jun**-niita
ART PRN.2SG woman PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)
'You (SG) were a woman.'

c. juu yuuch t'aku7 **7ixjuuniita**
juu yuuch t'aku7 7ix-**jun**-niita
ART PRN.3SG woman PAST-**be**-PF
'She was a woman.' [PDLMA2005]

Plural subject arguments do not affix directly to nominals; instead they require a copula, as seen in the examples below in (423) and (424). The examples in (423) have present tense copulas, while the examples in (424) have past tense copulas. Note, also, that in all of the examples, the noun is marked for plurality; since the noun may not bear plural verbal person-marking morphology—presumably because nouns have their own set of plural markers—the copula is required in the present tense to bear the plural verbal person-marking morphemes.

(423) a. juu kijnan t'akuunin **kjuntaw**
juu kijnan t’aku7-nin k-**jun**-ta-w
ART PRN.1PL woman-PL 1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
‘We (EXCL) are women.’

b. juu kijnan t'akuunin **juntaw**
juu kijnan t’aku7-nin **jun**-ta-w
ART PRN.1PL woman-PL **be**-PF-1PL.SUB
‘We (INCL) were women.’

c. juu 7uxijnan t'akuunin **7unt'at’it**
juu 7uxijnan t’aku7-nin **jun**-ta-t’it
ART PRN.2PL woman-PL **be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
‘You (PL) are women.’

d. juu yu7unch t'akuunin **tajuniita**
juu yu7unch t’aku7-nin ta-**jun**-niita
ART PRN.3PL woman-PL 3PL.SUB-**be**-PF
‘They are women.’ [PDLMA2005]

(424) a. juu kijnan t'akuunin **xajkuntaw**
juu kijnan t’aku7-nin xa-k-**jun**-ta-w
ART PRN.1PL woman-PL PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
‘We (EXCL) were women.’

b. juu kijnan t'akuunin **7ixjuntaw**
juu kijnan t’aku7-nin 7ix-**jun**-ta-w
ART PRN.1PL woman-PL PAST-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
‘We (INCL) were women.’

c. juu 7uxijnan t'akuunin **7ix7unt'at’it**
juu 7uxijnan t’aku7-nin 7ix-**jun**-ta-t’it
ART PRN.2PL woman-PL PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
‘You (PL) were women.’

d. juu yu7unch t'akuunin **xtajuuniita**
juu yu7unch t’aku7-nin x-ta-**jun**-niita
ART PRN.3PL woman-PL PAST-3PL.SUB-**be**-PF
‘They were women.’ [PDLMA2005]

Interestingly, the first person prefix *k-* does not occur on an inalienably possessed noun, as seen below in (425a), where the copula bears the first person prefix instead. Presumably the possessive prefix and the first person prefix occupy the same morphological slot, so a copula is required to bear the person-marking. However, when the argument is second person, as seen in (425b), the second person subject suffix *does* occur on the noun since is does not occupy the same slot as the possessive prefix.

(425) a. juu ki7in xaakin **kjuuniita**
juu ki7in xaa-kin k-**jun**-niita
ART PRN.1SG IPOS-aunt 1SUB-**be**-PF
'I am an aunt.'

b. juu 7uxint'i xaakin<u>7ata</u>
juu 7uxint'i xaa-kin-<u>7ata</u>
ART PRN.2SG IPOS-aunt-<u>2SG.SUB</u>
'You (SG) are an aunt.' [PDLMA2005]

When a nonverbal predicate nominal is negated, the negative particle *jaantu* precedes the nominal, as seen below in the examples in (426). In the example in (a), *jaantu* immediately precedes the noun, while in the example in (b), it precedes the noun phrase.

(426) a. juu 7uxint'i **jaantu** lapanak7ata
juu 7uxint'i **jaantu** lapanak-7ata
ART PRN.2SG **NEG** person-2SG.SUB
'*You* are not a [good] person.' [PDLMA2005]

b. porque **jaantu** [naa naa sii maqalhqama7 laqachaqan]$_{NP}$
porque **jaantu** naa naa sii maqalhqama7 laqachaqan
because **NEG** EMP EMP pure Tepehua town
'Because this is not a pure Tepehua town.' [T0057: 035]

When two nominals are juxtaposed with each other, the copula is not required in the present tense, as shown below in (427a), but it is required in the past tense, as shown in (427b).

(427) a. maa [lapanák]$_{NP1}$ maa [lakt'ikt'i lapanák]$_{NP2}$
RPT people RPT little people
'The little people are Christians/humans/people' [T0022: 018]

b. pero waa [xch'ajaach chiila7]$_{NP1}$
pero waa x-ch'ajaa+ch chiila7
but FOC 3POS-foot+ALD chicken

xjuuniita [juu xch'aja7]$_{NP2}$
x-jun-niita juu x-ch'aja7
PAST-be-PF ART 3POS-feet
'But her feet were chicken feet.' [T0063: 054-55]

3.3.3.2 Predicate Pronominals

An HT personal pronoun may stand alone as a present tense, nonverbal predicate, as seen below in the examples in (428). In both the (a) and (b) examples, the entire clause consists of a single personal pronoun. In (428c), the clause consists of a pronoun that is modified by a relative clause[120]

(428) a. **ki7in ki7in**
PRN.1SG PRN.1SG
'It is I! It is I!' [T0055: 082]

b. yuuchach
yuuch+ach
PRN.3SG+ALD
'It is she.' [T0054: 063]

[120] See section 8.4.1.1 for more information about relative clauses

c. maa yuuch [juu laay kalhii7alh ma7at]$_{RC}$
maa yuuch juu laa-y ka-lhii-7an-li ma7at
RPT PRN.3SG REL can-IMPFV IRR-APPL-go-PFV far
'It is he who could take it far away.' [T0003: 026]

In other tenses, a copula is required to bear the tense and aspect affixes, as seen below in (429), where the example in (a) is in the perfect aspect and the example in (b) is in the future tense.

(429) a. puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chunch
puus kaa 7aqtz'iyan+ch chun+ch
well BLV always+ALD like.so+ALD

juu **7uuniit'a** juu 7uxint'i
juu **jun**-niita juu 7uxint'i
REL **be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB) ART PRN.2SG
'Well, I think *you* have always been like that.' [T0054: 028]

b. yuuchach chinich **kajuna7**
yuuch+ach chini+ch ka-**jun**-a7
PRN.3SG+ALD as.is+ALD IRR-**be**-FUT
'It will be as is.' [T0069: 059]

3.3.3.3 Predicate Adjectives

The predicate adjective construction is almost identical to the predicate nominal construction with one exception: the copula is not needed in the present tense when the subject is third person *plural*, as seen below in (430g). In the predicate *nominal* construction, the noun may not bear plural verbal morphology, which necessitates the presence of the copula in all of the plural person paradigms. However, given that the plural prefix *lak-* is the morpheme that is normally used to co-index plurality on adjectives (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.2.1), a copula is not necessary to bear this particular verbal affix. A complete present tense paradigm is shown below in (430). The singular first and second person

affixes occur directly on the adjective in (430a) and (430b), respectively. Third person singular is not marked on the adjective, and no copula is required, as seen in (430c). In the first and second person plural forms, a copula is required to bear the person-marking affixes, as seen in (430d), (430e), and (430f). Finally, in (430g), the plural prefix occurs directly on the adjective, as discussed above.

(430) a. naa jk'usi juu ki7in
naa k-k'usi juu ki7in
EMP 1SUB-pretty ART PRN.1SG
'I am very pretty.'

b. juu 7uxint'i naa k'usi7ata
juu 7uxint'i naa k'usi-7ata
ART PRN.2SG EMP pretty-2SG.SUB
'You (SG) are very pretty.'

c. naa k'usi juu 7atzi7
EMP pretty ART girl
'The girl is very pretty.'

d. juu kijnan naa lajk'usin **kjuntaw**
juu kijnan naa lak-k'usi-n[121] k-**jun**-ta-w
ART PRN.1PL EMP PL-pretty-PL 1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
'We (EXCL) are very pretty.'

e. juu kijnan naa lajk'usin **juntaw**
juu kijnan naa lak-k'usi-n **jun**-ta-w
ART PRN.1PL EMP PL-pretty-PL **be**-PF-1PL.SUB
'We (INCL) are very pretty.'

f. juu 7uxijnan naa lajk'usin **7unt'at'it**
juu 7uxijnan naa lak-k'usi-n **jun**-ta-t'it
ART PRN.2PL EMP PL-pretty-PL **be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
'You (PL) are very pretty.'

[121] The adjective *k'usi* 'pretty' is unusual in that it is marked for plural by both the distributive prefix *lak-* and the nominal plural suffix *–n*. Most adjectives do not take the *–n* suffix.

g. juu 7atzi7in naa lajk'usin
juu 7atzi7-in naa lak-k'usi-n
ART girl-PL EMP PL-pretty-PL
'The girls are pretty.' [PDLMA2005]

In the past tense, a copula is required to bear the tense and aspect affixes for all persons, as seen below in (431).

(431) a. juu ki7in naa k'usi **xajkuuniita**
juu ki7in naa k'usi xa-k-**jun**-niita
ART PRN.1SG EMP pretty PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF
'I was very pretty.'

b. juu 7uxint'i naa k'usi **7ix7uuniit'a**
juu 7uxint'i naa k'usi 7ix-**jun**-niita
ART PRN.2SG EMP pretty PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)
'You (SG) were very pretty.'

c. naa k'usi **7ixjuuniita** juu 7atzi7
naa k'usi 7ix-**jun**-niita juu 7atzi7
EMP pretty PAST-**be**-PF ART girl
'The girl was very pretty.'

d. juu kijnan naa lajk'usin **xajkuntaw**
juu kijnan naa lak-k'usi-n xa-k-**jun**-ta-w
ART PRN.1PL EMP PL-pretty-PL PAST-1SUB-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
'We (EXCL) were very pretty.'

e. juu kijnan naa lajk'usin **7ixjuntaw**
juu kijnan naa lak-k'usi-n 7ix-**jun**-ta-w
ART PRN.1PL EMP PL-pretty-PL PAST-**be**-PF-1PL.SUB
'We (INCL) were very pretty.'

f. juu 7uxijnan naa lajk'usin **7ix7unt'at'it**
juu 7uxijnan naa lak-k'usi-n 7ix-**jun**-ta-t'it
ART PRN.2PL EMP PL-pretty-PL PAST-**be(2SUB)**-PF(2SUB)-2PL.SUB
'You (PL) were very pretty.'

g. naa lajk'usin **xtajuuniita** juu 7atzi7in
naa lak-k'usi-n x-ta-**jun**-niita juu 7atzi7-in
EMP PL-pretty-PL PAST-3PL.SUB-**be**-PF ART girl-PL
'The girls were very pretty.' [PDLMA2005]

When the nonverbal predicate adjective is negated, the negative particle *jaantu* precedes the modifier, as seen below in (432).

(432) a. **jaantu** k'usi juu 7atzi7
NEG pretty ART girl
'The girl is not pretty.' [TPWDB]

b. 7ixjuuniita juu lapanak maa **jaantu** lhuu
7ix-jun-niita juu lapanak maa **jaantu** lhuu
PAST-be-PF ART people RPT **NEG** many
'The people were few.' [T0057: 054]

c. entoons **tuuka7** laqlhuu 7ixjuuniita
entoons **tuu**+ka7 laq-lhuu 7ix-jun-niita
then **NEG**+JST CL:peso-many PAST-be-PF
'Then, it still was not expensive.' [T0069: 389]

Two additional examples in which an adjective is juxtaposed with a nominal in a predicate adjective construction are shown below in (433). In these examples, the adjectives appear in bold type. In (433a), the clitic *+ka7* 'just' is attached to the adjective *lakt'ikt'i* 'little'. In (433b) the body part prefix *laq-* 'face' is affixed to the adjective *lhman* 'long', while the similar body part prefix *laqpuu-* 'face' is affixed to the noun.

(433) a. waa **lakt'ikt'ika7** juu waakax
waa **lakt'ikt'i**+ka7 juu waakax
FOC **small**+JST ART cow
'The cows are still little.' [T0020: 008]

b. maa **laqlhman** juu xlaqpuuch'awti
maa laq-**lhman** juu x-laqpuu-ch'awti
RPT FACE-long ART 3POS-face-hair
'His beard is long.' [T0022: 040]

3.4 PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS

HT periphrastic verbal constructions consist of a two-verb predicate in which the two verbs are not compounded together. Two such constructions are covered here: infinitival phrases (Section 3.4.1) and constructions involving the generic verb *laa-* 'can', 'do' (Section 3.4.2).

3.4.1 Infinitival phrases

Three different constructions utilize the infinitive in HT: the periphrastic future (Section 3.4.1.1), progressive aspect (Section 3.4.1.2), and inchoative aspect (Section 3.4.1.3). The morphophonemics of infinitives are covered here, and the specifics of these three constructions are covered in the following subsections.

The infinitival suffix *–nV7* in HT is affixed to the second verb in a two-verb periphrastic construction. The vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the last vowel of the verb stem; examples are shown in (434).

(434) a. yuuchach xlhii7antach st'aa**na7**
yuuch+ach x-lhii-7an-ta+ch st'aa-nV7
PRN.3SG+ALD PAST-APPL-go-PF+ALD sell-**INF**
'That's why he went to sell it.' [T0055: 035]

b. waa t'ajun kuj**nu7**
waa t'ajun kuj-nV7
FOC be(IMPFV) wake.up-**INF**
'He is waking up.' [ELIEX2: 070]

c. kint'ajunch juuni**ni7**
kin-t'ajun+ch jun-ni-nV7
1OBJ-be(IMPFV)+ALD tell-DAT-**INF**
'He is telling me . . .' [T0066: 039]

The first verb in the infinitival construction bears the tense, aspect, and mood marking (as seen above in (434a), as well as the subject marking, as seen in the examples below in (436). Object marking, however, may occur on either verb. Above in (434c), the first person object marker is prefixed to the first (inflected) verb in the infinitival phrase, but below in (435), it is the infinitival (second) verb that is marked for a third person plural object by the plural prefix *lak-*.

(435) chinich 7ixt'a7un laknawii**ni7**
chinich 7ix-t'ajun lak-nawii-nV7
like.this PAST-be(IMPFV.2SUB) PL-make-**INF**
'Were you making them like this?' [T0069: 209]

When the subject of the verb phrase is plural, the form *–nin* occurs instead of *–nV7* on the infinitival verb. This form appears to be related to the plural nominal suffix *-nin.*[122] In (436a), the subject is first person singular, and the infinitive bears the *–nV7* allomorph. In (436b), the subject is first person plural, and the infinitive bears the *–nin* allomorph. Examples of infinitive constructions in which the subject is third person plural are shown below in (437).

(436) a. waa laaych 7ak'alh pax**na7**
waa laa-y+ch 7a-k-7an-li pax-nV7
FOC can-IMPFV+ALD IRR-1SUB-go-PFV bathe-**INF**
'If only I could go to bathe.' [Q3I]

b. waa laaych 7aklak'aw pax**nin**
waa laa-y+ch 7a-k-lak-7an-w pax-**nin**
FOC can-IMPFV+ALD IRR-1SUB-DIS-go(PFV)-1PL.SUB bathe-**PL.INF**
'If only we all could go to bathe.' [Q3I]

[122] See Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.2 on plural suffixes on nouns.

(437) a. tatzukuchoqolhch maa 7asaa**nin**
ta-tzuku-choqo-li+ch maa 7a-saa-**nin**
3PL.SUB-begin-AGAIN-PFV+ALD RPT PL.INO-play-**PL.INF**
'They began to play [instruments] again.' [T0063: 070]

b. tatzukulhch laqlhwaq**nin**
ta-tzuku-li+ch laq-lhwaq-**nin**
3PL.SUB-begin-PFV+ALD BODY-dismember-**PL.INF**
'They began dismembering it [the corpse of a beast].' [T0020:031]

c. maa xta7anch 7amaqpa**nin**
maa x-ta-7an+ch 7amaqpa-**nin**
RPT PAST-3PL.SUB-go(IMPFV)+ALD wash.clothes-**INF**
'They were going to wash.' [T0022: 015]

d. ta7alhch 7asaa**nin**
ta-7an-li+ch 7a-saa-**nin**
3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD PL.INO-play-**INF**
'They went to play.' [T0063: 043]

In addition to object-marking affixes, other verbal morphology may occur on the infinitive. In (437b) above and in (438) below, the infinitival stems also bear body part prefixes. Above in (434c), the infinitival stem is affixed with the dative suffix.

(438) xtajuuniych nii maa waa
x-ta-jun-ni-y+ch nii maa waa
PAST-3PL.SUB-tell-DAT-IMPFV+ALD COMP RPT FOC

x7anch tanxt'ut'u**nu7** juu xqolit'i
x-7an+ch tan-xt'ut'u-nV7 juu xqolit'i
PAST-go(IMPFV)+ALD TORSO-nurse-**INF** ART millipede
'They told her that the millipede was going to nurse.' [T0003: 032]

Finally, an adverbial element may intervene between the two verbs, as seen below in the examples in (439). In (439a) the adverb *soqon* 'fast' occurs between the inflected verb and the infinitive, while in (439b) the reportative particle *maa* occurs between the two verbs.

(439) a. 7inchich soqon maqa**na7**
7an-t'i+ch soqon maqan-nV7
go(IMPFV.2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV+ALD fast throw.away-**INF**
'Go to throw it out fast!' [T0055: 037]

b. milhch maa tamoo**na7**[123] laqatam xmascara
min-li+ch maa tamaju-nV7 laqa-tam x-mascara
come-PFV+ALD RPT buy-**INF** CL:general-one 3POS-mask
'He came to buy one mask.' [T0055: 046]

3.4.1.1 Periphrastic Future

The periphrastic future consists of the verb 7an 'go' inflected for person, tense, and mood (but not aspect, because aspect is always imperfective in this construction), followed by the infinitival form of a main verb. Examples are shown in (440).

(440) a. xtajuuniych nii maa waa
x-ta-jun-ni-y+ch nii maa waa
PAST-3PL.SUB-tell-DAT-IMPFV+ALD COMP RPT FOC

[**x7anch** **tanxt'ut'unu7**] juu xqolit'i
x-7an+ch tan-xt'ut'u-nV7 juu xqolit'i
PAST-go(IMPFV)+ALD TORSO-nurse-INF ART millipede
'They told her that the millipede was going to nurse.' [T0003: 032]

b. maa [**xta7an** **7amaqpanin**]
maa x-ta-7an 7amaqpa-nin
RPT PAST-3PL.SUB-go(IMPFV) wash-INF
'They were going to wash.' [T0022: 006]

c. [**ka7awch** **qot'nin]** jii t'aqap'an
ka-7an-w+ch qot'-nin jii t'aqap'an
IRR-go(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB+ALD drink-INF VOC drunk
'We're going to drink, you drunk.' [T0066: 088]

[123] With root verbs containing the phonemic string -*aju*-, the infinitival suffix harmonizes with the /a/, not the /u/ of the root. Another example is shown in (451).

3.4.1.2 Progressive Aspect

According to Smith (1997), "Progressives focus on the internal stages of non-stative events" (p. 74). The periphrastic progressive aspect in HT focuses on an event as it is happening.

The verb *t'ajun*[124] is used periphrastically to form the progressive aspect. In this aspect, *t'ajun* is inflected for person, tense, aspect, and mood, and it occurs as the first verb in the two-verb construction; it is followed by the infinitival form of the main verb, as seen below in the examples in (441).

(441) a. [**kint'ajunch** **juunini7**]
kin-t'ajun+ch jun-ni-nV7
1OBJ-be(IMPFV)+ALD tell-DAT-INF
'He is telling me . . .' [T0066: 039]

b. maa [**xt'ajunch** **ch'apana7**] juu xkupu7
maa x-t'ajun+ch ch'apa-nV7 juu xkupu7
RPT PAST-be(IMPFV) +ALD grab-INF ART crawdad
'He was grabbing crawdads.' [T0058: 018]

c. laanij waa [**t'oonaw** **grawalanin**]
laanij waa t'ajun-aw grawala-nin
really FOC be(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB tape-INF
'That's right, we're taping.' [T0069: 041]

3.4.1.3 Inchoative Aspect

The verb *tzuku* 'begin' may combine periphrastically with a matrix verb to form the inchoative aspect, 'begin to X'. In this aspect, *tzuku* is inflected for person and TAM, and it precedes the main verb, which is marked with the infinitival suffix *–nV7* (~ *-nin*). Examples are shown below in (442). Note that

[124] See Section 3.2.3.4.

this construction has the same meaning as the BEGIN construction discussed in Section 3.2.3.5.

(442) a. maa [**tatzukulh** **lakat'alhmaanin**]
maa ta-tzuku-li laka-t'alh=maa-nin
RPT 3PL.SUB-begin-PFV BODY-stone=lying-INF
'They began to stone it.' [T0020: 019]

b. [**tzukulh** **trawajalana7**] juu lakaropa
tzuku-li trawajala-nV7 juu laka-ropa
begin-PFV work-INF ART PREP-clothing
'He began to work in clothing [i.e., to sell clothing].' [T0054: 022]

The reportative evidential clitic *maa* may intervene between the two verbs in the inchoative aspect, as seen below in the examples in (443). Furthermore, *tzuku* may be inflected with other verbal affixes, as seen in (443b), where *–choqo* 'again' is suffixed to the first verb.

(443) a. tzukulh **maa** laqaxqotnu7
tzuku-li **maa** laqaxqot-nV7
begin-PFV **RPT** unload-INF
'He began to unload it.' [T0055: 022]

b. tatzukuchoqolhch **maa** 7asaanin
ta-tzuku-choqo-li+ch **maa** 7a-saa-nin
3PL.SUB-begin-AGAIN-PFV+ALD **RPT** PL.INO-play-INF
'They began to play again.' [T0063: 070]

3.4.2 Can *laa-*

The verb *laa*-'can' may stand alone as a main verb, or it may co-occur with a matrix verb in a periphrastic construction. When *laa*- acts as the main verb, it is inflected for person, plus tense, mood, and/or aspect, and it means 'can', 'do', or 'go', as seen in the examples below in (444).

(444)a. jaantuch chun xa**laa**kan
jaantu+ch chun xa-**laa**-kan
NEG+ALD like.so PAST-**can**-INS(IMPFV)
'It was not done like that anymore.' [T0059: 021]

b. juu 7ani7 naa qox **laa**y juu kapen
juu 7ani7 naa qox **laa**-y juu kapen
ART here EMP good **can**-IMPFV ART coffee
'Around here coffee really does well.' [MNB13: 45]

c. takii**laa**qoolhch
ta-kii-**laa**-qoju-li+ch
3PL.SUB-RT-**can**-ALL-PFV+ALD

chuux juu 7anu7 ki7ananan7an
chuux juu 7anu7 kin-7a-nana-n-7an
all ART DADJ 1POS-PL-grandmother-PL-PL.POS
'All of our grandmothers went and returned.' [T0058: 051]

d. ka**laa**lh nii waa t'amak'oomp'ut'unch
ka-**laa**-li nii waa tamakajun-putun+ch
IRR-can-PFV COMP FOC stay(2SUB)-DESID(IMPFV.2SUB)+ALD
'Stay if you want to.' [T0055: 065]

When *laa-* is the main verb, it may be affixed with aspectual derivational morphemes, as seen above in (444c) and below in (445).

(445) kii**laa**choqopaa juu kit'in
kii-**laa**-choqo-pala juu kit'in
RT-**can**-AGAIN-REP.PFV ART PRN.1SG
'I went again (and came back).' [T0066: 021]

The verb *laa-* frequently occurs in certain adverbial constructions involving affect words (see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1 for more information on affect words). In such constructions, *laa-* either occurs as a free-standing—but essentially meaningless—verb, as seen below in (446), or it is suffixed to the end of the affect word to create a verb that means to perform the action of the affect word, as seen below in (447).

(446) a. lapaq lapaq **laa**y juu skikluw
lapaq lapaq **laa**-y juu skikluw
ID:snake ID:snake can-IMPFV ART eel
'The eel snakes along.'
'The eel goes *lapaq lapaq*.' [TPWDB]

b. lam lam **laa**y juu maklhku
lam lam **laa**-y juu maklhku
ID:flicker ID:flicker can-IMPFV ART light
'The light flickers.'
'The light goes *lam lam*.' [TPWDB]

(447) a. xaklhat**laa**y
xa-k-lhat-**laa**-y
PAST-1SUB-biting(ID)-**can**-IMPFV
'I used to bite.' [TPWDB]

b. xaklhulu**laa**y
xa-k-lhulu-**laa**-y
PAST-1SUB-sweating.droplets(ID)-**can**-IMPFV
'I would sweat droplets.' [TPWDB]

When *laa-* acts as an auxiliary verb, it is always inflected for imperfective aspect (i.e., it only manifests as *laay*), and it precedes a main verb, which is inflected for person, as well as tense, aspect, and mood, as seen in the examples below in (448).

(448) a. jaantuch **laa**y xlakmaaxtukanta
jaantu+ch **laa**-y x-lak-maaxtu-kan-ta
NEG+ALD **can**-IMPFV PAST-PL-take.out-INS-PF

juu laktaxtoqta
juu lak-taxtoqta
ART PL-thing
'They could not take out the things.' [T0018: 005]

b. waa jaantuch **laa**y xtalhiitajuy
waa jaantu+ch **laa**-y x-ta-lhiitaju-y
FOC NEG+ALD **can**-IMPFV PAST-3PL.SUB-find-IMPFV

juu lhiich'alhkat
juu lhiich'alhkat
ART work
'They could not find work.' [T0063: 009]

c. nii **laa**ych ka**laa**lh
nii **laa**-y+ch ka-**laa**-li
COMP **can**-IMPFV+ALD IRR-**can**-PFV
'If it can be done.' [T0069: 067]

d. nii **laa**ych kach'uk'ulh juu paalakch'uk'un
nii **laa**-y+ch ka-ch'uk'u-li juu paalakch'uk'un
COMP **can**-IMPFV+ALD IRR-cut-PFV ART knife

kamaakikxtuuch waa tzaj
ka-maa-kik-xtuu+ch waa tzaj
IRR-CAUS-EDGE-be.sharp(PFV)+ALD FOC frequently
'He must sharpen the knife frequently so that it will cut.'
[MNB13: 50]

In the periphrastic construction, *laa-* may or may not be inflected for person, as seen below in (449).

(449)a. k**laa**y knawiiy
k-**laa**-y k-nawii-y
1SUB-**can**-IMPFV 1SUB-do-IMPFV
'I can do it.' [ELIEX3: 001]

b. **laa**y xaknawiiy juu kit'ín
laa-y xa-k-nawii-y juu kit'ín
can-IMPFV PAST-1SUB-do-IMPFV ART PRN.1SG
'I could do it.' [ELIEX3: 004]

Adverbs may intervene between *laa* and the main verb, as seen below in (450). Note, also, in this example that the repetative suffix *-paa* occurs on the main verb, not on *laa-*.

(450) **laa**ych chunch 7aklaqoxipaa juu 7anu7
laa-y+ch chun+ch 7a-k-laqoxi-pala juu 7anu7
can-IMPFV+ALD like.so+ALD IRR-1SUB-arrange-REP.PFV ART DADJ
'I can arrange this one [a song] like this.' [T0066: 178]

Finally, in certain constructions, such as the infinitival construction shown below in (451), *laa-* precedes two verbs.

(451) 7anch juu maa **laa**ych 7anch m**a**koon**a**7
7anch juu maa **laa**-y+ch 7an+ch makajun-nV7
there REL RPT **can**-IMPFV+ALD go(IMPFV)+ALD leave.it-INF
'That is where he can go to leave it.' [T0003: 028]

Chapter 4: Nouns and Nominal Morphology

This chapter describes the inflectional and derivational morphosyntactic processes that nouns may undergo (sections 4.1 and 4.2, respectively), noun phrases (section 4.3), relational nouns (section 4.4), and pronouns (section 4.5).

4.1 INFLECTION

Morphosyntactic processes that utilize nominal inflectional morphology include pluralization of nouns (section 4.1.1) and possession of nouns (section 4.1.2). There is no case, gender, or class marking on the nouns.

4.1.1 Pluralization

HT nouns are not obligatorily marked for plurality in either elicited or naturally occurring speech. If a verbal argument is indeed plural, this feature is made obvious either by person marking on the verb,[125] by numerals or quantifiers, or by the context of the utterance. Each of these instances is addressed below.

It is frequently the case in both naturally occurring and elicited speech that the verb is inflected for a plural argument, even when the corresponding overt nominal is not inflected for plurality. In the following example in (452), the overt subject nominal *kintata7* 'my elder' is *singular*, while both verbs are inflected for *plural* subjects.

[125] See chapter 3, section 3.1 for more information on verbal inflection.

(452) waa **ta**najunch kintata7
waa **ta**-najun+ch kin-tata7
FOC **PL.SUB**-say(IMPFV) +ALD 1POS-elder

nii x**ta**laakilhun
nii x-**ta**-laa-kilhun
COMP PAST-**PL.SUB**-RCP-chat(IMPFV)
'My elders would say, when they were chatting with each other, . . .'
[T0022: 021]

In (453), the plural object is marked on the verb by the plural prefix, even though the object nominal is not marked for plurality.

(453) **lak**lhii7alhch juu chaqa7
lak-lhii7an-li+ch juu chaqa7
PL-take-PFV+ALD ART house
'It [the flooded river] carried away the houses.' [T0057: 067]

Three variations on plural marking appear below in (454). In the (a) example, the plurality of the object *7aalaaxuux* 'oranges' is marked only on the verb. In the (b) example, the plurality of the object is marked both on the verb and on the noun; interestingly, this causes a change in meaning from the clause in (a). In the (c) example, neither the verb nor the noun is marked for plurality; instead the object is understood to be plural because it is modified by a numeral.

(454) a. juu Susanita **lak**p'uxlh juu 7aalaaxuux
juu Susanita **lak**-p'ux-li juu 7aalaaxuux
ART Suzie **PL**-pick-PFV ART orange
'Suzie picked oranges.'

b. juu Susanita **lak**p'uxlh juu **lak**7aalaaxuux
juu Susanita **lak**-p'ux-li juu **lak**-7aalaaxuux
ART Suzie **PL**-pick-PFV ART **PL**-orange
'Suzie picked oranges *from several different orange trees*.'

c. juu Susanita p'uxlh laqa**t'uy** 7aalaaxuux
juu Susanita p'ux-li laqa-**t'uy** 7aalaaxuux
ART Suzie pick-PFV CL:GEN-**two** orange
'Suzie picked two oranges.' [NVP05]

In the clause in (455), the numeral—the classifier of which specifies the shape of the object, even though the object nominal is omitted[126]—is the only semantic indication that the object argument is plural.

(455) 7aqx**t'uy**ch kamaamaayaaw
7aqx-**t'uy**+ch ka-maa-maa-ya7-w
CL:flat-**two**+ALD IRR-CAUS-lying-FUT-1PL.SUB
'We're going to lay down two [boards]' [T0069: 064]

Quantifiers are also used to indicate that a verbal argument is plural, as seen below in (456). In this example, neither the verb nor the object is marked for plurality, and the only indication that the object argument is plural is the presence of the quantifier *lhuu* 'many'.[127]

(456) maa naa naa **lhuu** juu xkupu7 lhii7alh
maa naa naa **lhuu** juu xkupu7 lhii7an-li
RPT EMP EMP **many** ART crawdad take-PFV
'He took a lot of crawdads.' [T0058: 019]

There are many instances of naturally occurring speech in which, pragmatically, a noun is understood to be plural, even though there is no plural marking on the noun or the verb, nor are there numerals or quantifiers to modify the argument. Such an instance is seen below in (457). Even though the noun *7aqtzulh* 'head' is singular, the noun's possessor is plural, which produces a pragmatically plural noun.

[126] See Chapter 7, section 7.3 for more information on numeral classifiers.
[127] See Chapter 5, section 5.4 for more information on quantifiers.

(457) kaa waa kach'apaniych juu **ki7aqtzulh7an**
kaa waa ka-ch'apa-ni-y+ch juu kin-7aqtzulh-7an
BLV FOC IRR-grab-DAT-IMPFV+ALD[128] ART 1POS-head-PL.POS
'I think that he [the devil] touches our heads.' [T0054: 050]

The example in (458) shows that the possessed noun does not have to be an obligatorily possessed one,[129] as was the noun in (457). Below, the optionally possessed noun 'house' has a plural possessor; furthermore, the noun is understood to be plural because—normally—compadres (the possessors) do not live together, they each have their own house.

(458) maa soq talalhiitajuu juu 7akumwarii
maa soq ta-la-lhiitajuu juu 7akumwarii
RPT straight 3PL.SUB-RCP-meet(PFV) ART compadre

juu **laxchaqa7an**
juu laka-x-**chaqa7**-7an
ART PREP-3POS-house-PL.POS
'The friends met in their houses.' [T0055: 002]

Despite the fact that nouns are only optionally marked for plurality, there are a large number of affixes (*lak-, 7a-, -nin, -nan, -ni, -n, -an, -in,* and *-un*) that are used to mark a plural noun in HT, and the choice of affix revolves around both inherently semantic features of the noun (i.e., animacy) and phonological processes, as well as factors that I have not been able to discern.[130] For the sake of

[128] This verb is not marked for a first person object, and it seems to be a performance error. My consultant had a difficult time translating this clause.
[129] See section 4.1.2.4 of this chapter for more information on obligatory possession.
[130] I am not the first Totonacanist to be puzzled by the myriad of plural nominal affixes; to quote the grandfather of Totonacan linguistics, Norman A. McQuown, "Son numerosos los *afijos de plural* de los nombres, de varios tipos, con especializaciones de significado para cada tipo que aún no hemos ilucidado cabalmente" [*The plural noun affixes are numerous, of various types, with specializations in meaning for each type that we still have not fully elucidated*] (1990: 105).

simplicity, clarity, and organization, I divide the affixes into prefixes (section 4.1.1.1) and suffixes (section 4.1.1.2) below.

4.1.1.1 Plural Prefixes

There are two prefixes that are used to mark plurality of nouns: *lak-* and *7a-*. The plural prefix ***lak-*** is the default prefix used to mark plurality on an *inanimate* noun, as seen in the examples in (459). This prefix is quite likely related to the verbal prefix *lak-* that serves to co-index three similar concepts: a third person plural object, a multiply plural argument, and the distributive action of the verb.[131] This prefix does not participate in primary stress assignment.

(459) a. laqchaqa7 (~ lakchaqa7)[132]
lak-chaqa7
PL-house
'houses'

b. lakxqaam
lak-xqaam
PL-corn.husk
'corn husks'

c. laqmaqpu
lak-maqpu
PL-branch
'branches'

d. lak'uch'un
lak-k'uch'u-n
PL-cure-DVB
'cures', 'remedies', 'medicines'

[131] See Chapter 3, sections 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.1.4.
[132] See Chapter 2, section 2.6.5.2 and 2.6.10 for information on the alternation between /k/ and /q/.

Though most of the members of the class of nouns that are pluralized by means of the prefix *lak-* are inanimate, this class also includes some human nouns, shown below in (460).

(460) a. xalajkiin
xa-lak-kiin
IPOS-PL-aunt
'their aunts'

b. laklhii7aynaqmaqti
lak-lhii7aynaqmaqti[133]
PL-slave
'slaves'

The prefix *7a-* appears on only three nouns in my database, all of which are shown below in (461). This plural prefix is polysemous with the verbal prefix *7a-* that co-indexes a plural indefinite or indirect object on a transitive verb (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.5). Furthermore, it is most likely cognate with the prefix *ha:-* in the Chintipán dialect of Tlachichilco Tepehua that marks both plurality of action on verbs and plurality of unpossessed potential kinship terms (Watters 1988: 402). In the examples in (461), both the (a) and (b) examples also bear the plural suffix *–n*, while the (c) example bears no other plural affix. I have not been able to determine why this affix is needed on the plural forms of the lexemes in (a) or (b), or why it is the only plural marker to appear on the lexeme in (c).

(461) a. ki7ananaan
kin-7a-nana7-n
1POS-PL-elder.woman-PL
'my (female) elders'

[133] *Lhii7aynaqmaqti* is a derived nominal: lhii-qay-naq-maa-ti (APPL-big-hit.it-lying-NOM1).

b. 7amaaxkawaniniin[134]
7a-maaxkawanini7-n
PL-hunter-PL
'hunters'

c. 7apapanti[135]
7a-papanti
PL-grandson
'grandsons'

4.1.1.2 Plural Suffixes

Almost all *animate* HT nouns—as well as many inanimate ones—are pluralized by means of one of the numerous plural suffixes: *-nin, -nan, -ni, -n, -an, -in,* and *-un*. It is immediately obvious that the common denominator in all of the plural suffixes is the phoneme /n/. Furthermore, all of the suffixes—with the exception on *–ni*—carry primary stress according to the stress assignment rule.[136] These suffixes can be divided into two groups: the first group consists of *–nin*, *-nan*, and *–ni*; the second group is comprised of allomorphs of *–(V)n*, (that is, *–n*, *-an*, *-in*, and *–un*).

The first group of suffixes includes *–nin*, *-nan*, and *–ni.* Of these three suffixes, *-nin* is by far the more commonly occurring. In fact, *-nan* and *–ni* are so rare, that I suspect that they are earlier forms of the plural that have been preserved on a very small number of lexemes, all of which are shown below in (462) and (463), respectively.

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[134] *Maaxkawaninii* is a derived noun: maa-xkawa-ni-nV7 (CAUS-hunt-DAT-AGNM).
[135] *Papanti* is also a derived noun: papa-nti (man-NOM2)
[136] See Chapter 2, section 2.5.

The only occurrence of *–nan* that appears in the dictionary is *7atapakxatnan* 'animals', shown in (462a). The (b) and (c) examples, *kijnan* and *7uxijnan* are both frozen plural forms of the personal pronouns.

(462) a. 7atapakxat-**nan**
animal-PL

b. kij**nan**
'we', PRN.1PL

c. 7uxij**nan**
'you all', PRN.2PL

The only two examples I have found in which *–ni* forms the nominal plural are shown in (463). The plural form *lapanakni* in example (a) is being replace by *lápanák.*[137] The native Tepehua word for 'bride', *7ask'inintij*, in the (b) example is being replaced by the Spanish borrowing *novia.*

(463) a. lapanak-**ni**
person-PL

b. 7ask'ininti-**ni**
bride-PL

The plural suffix *–nin* is the most commonly occurring of all of the nominal plural suffixes. It may pluralize any kind of noun, including a human noun (464a), an animate, non-human noun (464b), an inanimate noun (464c), a derived noun (464d), and a human noun borrowed from Spanish (464e). The suffix *–nin* occurs on both vowel- and consonant-final roots and stems, as can be seen in the examples below.

[137] See the next section, 4.1.1.3.

(464) a. t'akuu**nin**
t'aku7-**nin**
woman-**PL**
'women'

b. muux-**nin**
monkey-**PL**
'monkeys'

c. qaaxwaat-**nin**
egg-**PL**
'eggs'

d. puutayaanin
puu-tayaa-n-**nin**
LOC-stand.up-DVB-**PL**
'stirrups'

e. doctor-**nin**
doctor-**PL**
'doctors'

The suffix ***–(V)n***, whose allomorphs are *–n*, *-an*, *-in*, and *–un,* forms the plural on human, animate, and inanimate nouns, but not on derived nominals. The vowelless allomorph, *-n* suffixes to a root ending in a vowel or a glottal stop that is deleted,[138] as seen below in (465). The other allomorphs are suffixed to roots ending in consonants; the unspecified vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the preceding root vowel to produce *–an* (466), *–un* (467), and *-in* (468). Only the allomorph *–in* may occur after the approximant consonants, irregardless of the quality of the preceding root vowel. The allomorph *–un* occurs in only two examples, one of which is a frozen form.

[138] See Chapter 2, section 2.6.7.2 on glottal-stop deletion.

(465) -n

a. Ch'aqawaxt'i-**n**
Totonac-**PL**
'Totonacs'

b. chiilaan
chiila7-**n**
chicken-**PL**
'chickens'

c. kuuxtu-**n**
cornfield-**PL**
'cornfields'

(466) -an

a. tz'al-**an**
boy-**PL**
'boys'

b. laawaan-**an**
Spaniard-**PL**
'Spaniards'

c. ch'aaxpa7-**an**
waist-**PL**
'waists'

(467) -un

a. tz'oqon-**un**
Otomí-**PL**
'Otomís'

b. yu7**un**ch
PRN.3PL

(468) -in

a. paamaalhik-**in**
nest-**PL**
'nests'

b. k'iw-**in**
tree-**PL**
'trees'

c. xalajqajin
xa-lakqay-**in**
IPOS-boss-**PL**
'bosses'

d. xa-laqaw-**in**
IPOS-sibling-**PL**
'siblings'

The question of how to determine which noun takes which plural affix remains unanswered. I suspect that at one time nouns belonged to different noun classes, each of which required a different plural affix. However, I believe that the use of the prefix *lak-* is becoming the norm for pluralization, and that the suffixes are slowly falling out of use. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that many nouns that form their plurals with *–nin* or *–(V)n*, may alternately form the plural by means of *lak-*, as seen below in the (a) and (b) examples of (469) and (470), or even by means of both affixes, as seen in (470c).

(469) a. kilh**nin**
kilh-**nin**
mouth-**PL**
'mouths'

b. **laj**kilh
lak-kilh
PL-mouth
'mouths'

(470) a. k'iw-**in**
tree-**PL**

b. **laj**k'iw
lak-k'iw
PL-tree
'trees'

c. lajk'iwin
lak-k'iw-**in**
PL-tree-**PL**
'trees'

4.1.1.3 Stress Pattern Change

The commonly used plural form of the noun *lapának* [la.ˈpa.nak] 'person' is produced by means of a change in the stress pattern of the word: *làpanák* [ˌla.pa.ˈnak] 'people'. However, *làpanák* is likely a truncated form of the older plural form *làpanákni* [ˌla.pa.ˈnak.ni] (see example (471) below). In my database, *làpanákni* occurs only twice, and both occurrences are from a narrative about the history of Huehuetla.

(471)	lapának	[la.ˈpa.nak]	'person'
	làpanákni	[ˌla.pa.ˈnak]	'people'
	làpanák	[ˌla.pa.ˈnak.ni]	'people'

When the plural noun *làpanák* is co-indexed with a verbal argument, the verb may be marked for a plural subject, as see in (472a), or it may be unmarked, as seen in (472b).

(472) a. juu tachu làpanák toontakuj **ta**-7a-t'inin
ART all people all.day.long **PL.SUB**-PL-dance(IMPFV)
'All of the people dance all day.' [T0066: 161]

b. naa lhuu nii-li juu làpanák
EMP many die-PFV ART people
'Many people died.' [T0057: 008]

4.1.2 Possession

The pattern for possession in HT is head-marking (Nichols 1986): the possessive affixes appear on the head noun (the possessum) rather than on the

dependent noun (the possessor). When there is an overt nominal possessor, it follows the possessum, as seen in (473).

(473) PM PR
juu [x-chaqá7 Kú:lax]
ART 3POS-house Nicolás
'Nicholas' house' [GN5: 53]

The possessive affixes are shown below in Table 21.

Table 21: HT Possessive Affixes

	Singular	Plural
1	kin-	kin- -7an
2	min-	min- -7an
3	7ix-	7ix- -7an
Impersonal Possessor	xaa-	(not possible)

The person of the possessor is marked by means of prefixes on the possessum (section 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.2) and the number of the possessor is marked by means of a suffix on the possessum (section 4.1.2.3). Certain Tepehua nouns are obligatorily possessed, while others are optionally possessed (section 4.1.2.4).

4.1.2.1 Person of the Possessor

First, second, and animate third person possessors (PR) are co-indexed on a possessed noun (PM) by means of the possessive prefixes *kin-, min-,* and *7ix-* respectively.

A first person possessor is indicated by the possessive prefix *kin-* and its allomorphs *ki-* and *kim-*, and a second person possessor is indicated by the

possessive prefix *min-* and its allomorphs *mi-* and *mim-*. The distributions of both the first and second person allomorphs are exactly the same: *ki-* and *mi-* occur before nasals and glides (474); *kim-* and *mim-* occur before /p/ and /p'/ (475); and *kin-* and *min-* occur everywhere else (476). *kin-* and *ki-* are in free variation before /7/ and a lateral consonant as seen in example (477).

(474) a. **ki**maka7
ki-maka7
1POS-hand
'my hand'

b. **mi**nana7
mi-nana7
2POS-old.woman
'your elder', 'your old woman'

c. **ki**wayti
ki-wayti
1POS-food
'my food'

(475) a. **mim**pay
mim-pay
2POS-father
'your father'

b. **kim**p'isaqa
kim-p'isaqa
1POS-younger.sibling
'my younger brother/sister'

(476) a. **kin**tata7
kin-tata7
1POS-old.man
'my elder', 'old man'

b. **kin**t'uun
kin-t'uun
1POS-land
'my land'

c. **min**skumilh
min-skumilh
2POS-pot
'your pot'

d. **min**tz'alh
min-tz'alh
2POS-child
'your child'

e. **kin**kiin
kin-kiin
1POS-aunt
'my aunt'

(477) a. **min**7aqtzúlh ~ **mi**7aqtzúlh
min-7aqtzúlh
2POS-head
'your head'

b. **kin**lakch'aja7 ~ **ki**lakch'aja7
kin-lak-ch'aja7
1POS-PL-foot
'my feet'

The third person human possessive prefix is *7ix-;* its allomorphs are *x-, 7is-, s-, and 7i-*. The prefixes *7ix-* and *x-* are in free variation, as seen below in (478). If the noun contains an /s/, then *7ix-* and *x-* may optionally harmonize with that phoneme, as seen in (479). Finally, *7ix-* reduces to *7i-* before /s/, as seen in (480). In one case, that of *7aqtzúlh* 'head', there are two acceptable possessive prefixes: *7ix-* and *tz-*, as seen in (481); I have found no other word for which *tz-* is an acceptable indicator of third person possession.

(478) a. **7ix**-chaqa7 ~ **x**-chaqa7
3POS-house
'his/her house'

b. **7ix**-nati ~ **x**-nati
3POS-mother
'his/her mother'

c. **7ix**-7ukxtin ~ **x**-7ukxtin
3POS-boss
'his/her boss'

(479) a. **x**7asqat'a7an ~ **s**asqat'a7an[139]
x-7asqat'a-7an
3POS-child-PL.POS
'their children'

b. **7ix**-tampuus ~ **7is**-tampuus
3POS-middle
'his/her middle

(480) a. **7i**sawaw
7ix-sawaw
3POS-muscle
'his/her muscle'

b. **7i**spiiriituu
7ix-spiiriituu
3POS-spirit
'his/her spirit'

(481) 7ix7aqtzúlh ~ tzaqtzúlh
7ix-7aqtzúlh
3POS-head
'his/her head'

[139] Please see Chapter 2, section 2.6.3 on stem-initial glottal stop insertion, which must happen before inflection; if it does not happen before inflection, it does not happen at all.

4.1.2.2 Impersonal Possessor

The impersonal possessor prefix *xaa-* is used instead of the third person possessor prefix under two circumstances: First, when an *obligatorily possessed* noun[140] has no possessor, it is prefixed with *xaa-*. Second, when the possessor of an *optionally possessed* noun[141] is *inanimate*, the possessum may be affixed with *xaa-* instead of the third person possessive prefix, *7ix-*.

The examples in (482) demonstrate that when an *obligatorily possessed* noun has no possessor, it bears the impersonal possessor prefix. The examples in (a) and (b) demonstrate that the noun *pay* must bear a possessive prefix. The (c) example is taken from a text in which the child of the father to which *pay* refers is deceased; since there is no longer an entity to possess the father, *pay* bears the unspecified possessor prefix.

(482) a. **(juu) pay
(ART) father
Target: '(the) father'

b. lakmaapaayniy juu 7ixtz'alh juu **7ixpay**
lak-maapaayni-y juu 7ix-tz'alh juu **7ix**-pay
PL-love-IMPFV ART 3POS-boy ART **3POS**-father
'The father loves his children.' [TPWDB: maapaayni]

c. juu **xaapay** maa jaantu xtalh7aman
juu **xaa**-pay maa jaantu x-talh7aman
ART **IPOS**-father RPT NEG PAST-get.mad(IMPFV)
'The father would never get mad.' [His child is deceased] [T0059: 029]

The examples in (483) demonstrate that when an *optionally possessed* noun's possessor is *inanimate*, the possessum may bear the impersonal possessor

[140] See section 4.1.2.4 on obligatory possession.
[141] Again, see section 4.1.2.4.

prefix. In the (a) example, the noun *7ukxtin* occurs without a possessive prefix and, thus, is not obligatorily possessed (i.e., it is optionally possessed). In the (b) example, *7ukxtin* bears the third person possessor prefix *x-*, and the gloss indicates that the possessor is human. In the (c) example, the same noun bears the impersonal possessor prefix, and in this example, its possessor is inanimate.

(483) a. nii paastaklich juu **7ukxtin**
nii paastak-li+ch juu 7ukxtin
COMP think-PFV+ALD ART boss
'Then the mayor thought . . . ' [T0057: 075]

b. maach'alhkatniy juu **x7ukxtin**
maa-ch'alhkat-ni-y juu **7ix**-7ukxtin
CAUS-work-DAT-IMPFV ART **3Pos**-boss
'His boss makes him work.' [TPWDB: 7ukxtin]

c. juu **xaa7ukxtin** juu xqatii
juu **xaa**-7ukxtin juu xqatii
ART **IPOS**-boss ART creek
'the boss of the creek' [T0058: 047]

4.1.2.3 Plural Possessor

If a possessor is plural, this feature is indicated on the possessum by the addition of the suffix ***–7an***, as seen below in (484). Person is indicated on the possessum as detailed above in section 4.1.2.1. The plural possessor suffix does not occur with the impersonal possessor prefix.

(484) a. kinchaqa**7an**
kin-chaqa7-**7an**
1POS-casa-**PL.POS**
'our house'

b. mintz'alh**7an**
min-tz'alh-**7an**
2POS-boy-**PL.POS**
'your (PL) boy'

c. sasqat'a**7an**
7ix-7asqat'a-**7an**
3POS-child-**PL.POS**
'their child'

When both the possessor *and* the possessum are plural, the possessive affixes are added to the stem of the possessum *after* the plural noun marker, as seen below in (485).

(485) a. kinchaqa7an
kin-lak-chaqa7-7an
1POS-PL-house-PL.POS
'our houses'

b. mintz'alan7an
min-tz'al-an-7an
2POS-boy-PL-PL.POS
'your (PL) boys'

c. sasqat'an7an
7ix-7asqat'a-n-7an
3POS-child-PL-PL.POS
'their children'

However, the possessum does not have to be marked for plurality to be understood to be plural, as seen below in (486).

(486) a. kin7aqtzulh7an
kin-7aqtzulh-7an
1POS-head-PL.POS
'our heads'

b. kín7aqtzulhnin7an
kin-7aqtzulh-**nin**-7an
1POS-head-**PL**-PL.POS
'our heads'

4.1.2.4 Obligatory Possession

A closed set of Tepehua nouns are *obligatorily* possessed, meaning that they never occur without one of the four possessive prefixes seen above in sections 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.2. These nouns are what Nichols (1988) calls 'bound nouns', in that they "*must* be formally possessed" (p. 563). What I am calling 'obligatory possession' has been called many things in the linguistic literature, including 'inalienable' and 'inherent' possession.[142] I have chosen to use the term 'obligatory' instead of 'inherent' to describe this set of nouns in Tepehua because I use the term 'inherent' to describe a *lack* of overt person marking on verbs,[143] while what is seen on the HT nouns is *not* a lack of person marking. I do not use the term 'inalienable' because the use of this term implies that 'inalienable' nouns are treated differently from 'alienable' nouns either syntactically or morphosyntactically, which is not the case in Tepehua.

Tepehua also has an open set of nouns that are *optionally* possessed; that is, they are free morphemes because they are not required to occur with the possessive morphology.

The same set of possessive affixes is used on both obligatorily and optionally possessed nouns. The difference is that the obligatorily possessed

[142] See Nichols 1988 (pp. 568-576) for a discussion of the semantics of what she calls the 'alienability opposition'; and see Nichols 1988 (p. 561) and Heine 1997 (pp. 10-16) for a discussion of the various terminology used in the linguistic literature to denote this phenomenon.
[143] See Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.

nouns are bound and may only appear with the possessive morphology, while the optionally possessed nouns are free and may appear with or without the possessive morphology, depending on context.

The set of obligatorily possessed nouns in Tepehua includes kinship terms (487), honorifics (488), human body parts and excretions (489), plant and animal body parts and excretions (490), parts of a whole (491), and one of the two words meaning 'tortilla' (492).

(487) Kinship terms

a.

chach	xmilh	juu	**kinati7an**
cha+ch	x-min-li	juu	kin-nati-7an
ABL+ALD	PAST-come-PFV	ART	1POS-mother-PL.POS

'If only our mother would come.' [T0066: 015]

b.

juu	**ki7asqat'ach**	maa	kanoonaach
juu	kin-7asqat'a+ch	maa	ka-najun-a7+ch
ART	1POS-child+ALD	RPT	IRR-say-FUT+ALD

'"My child?" he would say.' [T0059: 012]

c.

juu	**kinkuuk**	**7ixlaqaw**	juu	**kinati**
juu	kin-kuuk	7ix-laqaw	juu	kin-nati
ART	1POS-uncle	3POS-brother	ART	1POS-mother

'my maternal uncle' or
'my uncle, my mother's brother' [ELIEX2: 076]

(488) Honorifics

a.

juu	7anuuch	purowii	**xkumwarii**
juu	7anu7+ch	purowii	x-kumwarii
ART	DADJ+ALD	pitiful	3POS-compadre

'That pitiful compadre . . .' [T0055: 010]

b.

juu	liijuntoo	**kintata7an**	Riik'ii
juu	liijuntoo	kin-tata7-7an	Riik'ii
ART	deceased	1POS-male.elder-PL.POS	Enrique

'the deceased old man (elder) Enrique' [T0066: 078]

(489) Human body parts and excretions

a. kixkaniy juu **kilakatunaj**
kin-xka-ni-y juu kin-lakatunaj
1OBJ-hurt-DAT-IMPFV ART 1POS-body
'My body hurts.' [ELIEX3: 021]

b. maa waa lakaxajpalachiilh **xlakatz'itz'i**
maa waa laka-xaj-pala-chii-li x-laka-tz'itz'i
RPT FOC body-break.out-REP-ADL-PFV 3POS-body-bump
'Supposedly she broke out in bumps.' [T0069: 218]

c. laqat'uy lhk'awink'i **7ixtatzalat**
laqa-t'uy lhk'awink'i 7ix-tatzalat
CL:general-two long 3POS-tooth
'two long teeth' [ELIEX4: 084]

d. katu7iilh juu lapanak juu **7ix7aay**
katu-7ii-li juu lapanak juu 7ix-7aay
ear-bring-PFV ART person ART 3POS-hair
'The man pulled the hair out of his ear.' [ELIEX2: 050]

(490) Plant and animal parts

a. juu nimaa waa laqatam juu **7ixwootoon**
juu nimaa waa laqa-tam juu 7ix-wootoon
ART this.one FOC CL:general-one ART 3POS-knot
'This one [a piece of wood] has one knot.' [T0069: 353]

b. cha7iputun juu **x7alhtukunu7** k'iw juu lapanak
cha7i-putun juu x-7alhtukunu7 k'iw juu lapanak
remove-DESID(IMPFV) ART 3POS-thorn tree ART person
'The man wants to remove the tree's thorns.' [ELIEX1: 030]

c. **7ix7apamat** juu tz'oq
7ix-7apamat juu tz'oq
3POS-feather/fur ART bird
'bird's feathers' [TPWDB: 7apamat]

d. maa tzukulh maa maaxtoqnu7 juu **x7ilht'i** p'aax
maa tzuku-li maa maaxtoq-nV7 juu 7ix-7ilht'i p'aax
RPT begin-PFV RPT gather-INF ART 3POS-excrement pig
'He began to collect pig excrement.' [T0055: 100]

(491) Parts of a whole

a. juu **xmaalhka** yuuch juu nimaa
juu x-maalhka yuuch juu nimaa
ART 3POS-measurement PRN.3SG ART this.one
'This one is the measurement.' [T0069: 055]

b. waa yuuch juu **xpuutawlan**
waa yuuch juu x-puutawlan
FOC PRN.3SG ART 3POS-base
'This is the base [of a cabinet].' [T0069: 279]

c. chinich ka7anaa juu **xatornillo**
chinich ka-7an-a7 juu xa-tornillo
like.so IRR-go-FUT ART IPOS-screw
'Will the screw go like this?' [T0069: 030]

(492) tortilla (*ni7* in (a) is obligatorily possessed, but *waati* in (b) is not)

a. tz'alukulh juu **7ixni7** juu 7atzi7
tz'aluku-li juu 7ix-ni7 juu 7atzi7
make.tortilla-PFV ART 3POS-tortilla ART girl
'The girl made the tortilla(s).' [TPWDB: tz'aluku]

b. tz'alukuy juu **waati** juu t'aku7
tz'aluku-y juu waati juu t'aku7
make.tortilla-IMPFV ART tortilla ART woman
'The woman makes the tortilla(s).' [TPWDB: tz'aluku]

4.2 DERIVATION

In HT, nouns may be derived from verbs by means of suffixation and from nominals or deverbal stems by means of prefixation. The deverbalizing processes include agent nominalization (section 4.2.1), non-agentive nominalization (section 4.2.2), and deverbalization (section 4.2.3). The prefixes involved in noun derivation include instrumentals (section 4.2.4), the locative (section 4.2.5), the applicative (section 4.2.6) the comitative (section 4.2.7), and the body part

prefixes (section 4.2.8). Finally noun-noun and adjective-noun compounding is covered in section 4.2.9.

4.2.1 Agent Nominalizer *–nV7*

When the agent nominalizing suffix *–nV7* (AGNM)[144] is added to an action verb, the result is an agentive nominal that refers to the person or thing that performs the action of the verb, as seen in the examples in (493). The /n/ at the beginning of this suffix is most likely the deverbalizing suffix *–n* (see section 4.2.3). The unspecified vowel of the suffix *-nV7* harmonizes with the right-most vowel of the stem. The process of agent nominalization is highly productive in HT.

(493) a. maak'uk'a**na7**
maak'uk'a-**nV7**
carry.on.back-**AGNM**
'porter, loader'

b. piixiiyalh**na7**
piixiiyalh-**nV7**
stroll-**AGNM**
'navigator'

c. 7amaqpa**na7**
7amaqpa-**nV7**
wash.clothing-**AGNM**
'laundress'

d. lakxuk**nu7**
lak-xuk-**nV7**
PL-carve-**AGNM**
'wood-carver'

[144] This suffix is homophonous with the infinitival suffix. See Chapter 3, section 3.4.1 on infinitives.

e. laqchaqx**na7**
laq-chaqx-**nV7**
PL-chop-**AGNM**
'wood choppper' (a person)

f. 7ii**ni7**
7ii-**nV7**
bring-**AGNM**
'servant'

g. qaya7a**na7**
qaya7a-**nV7**
burn-**AGNM**
'embers'

h. maaxnapapa**na7**
maaxnapapa-**nV7**
make.white-**AGNM**
'bleach'

4.2.2 Non-agentive Nominalizers *–ti* and *-nti*

There are two nominalizing suffixes that are widely and productively used in HT to form non-agentive nouns from verbs: *-ti* (NOM1) and *–nti* (NOM2). To summarize Watters (1988: 416-423), in Tlachichilco Tepehua, intransitive action verbs form nominals by means of the suffix *–ti,* while transitive action verbs form nominals by means of the suffix *–nti* (the indefinite object suffix *–nVn*, plus *–ti*). Though both suffixes are found in HT, as well, the conditioning factors in this language are not so cut-and-dried. While there *are* nominalizations of intransitive action verbs formed by means of *–ti*, as seen below in (494), there are also nominalizations of *transitive* action verbs formed by the same suffix, as seen below in (495); however, there are far fewer of the transitive examples than there are of the intransitive examples. Next, there are nominalizations of both transitive

and intransitive verbs formed by means of the suffix *–nti,* as seen below in (496) and (497), respectively. Furthermore, the verb does not have to be an action verb to participate in this type of nominalization, as demonstrated by the example in (497d). On the whole, -*ti* is far more productive and occurs on many more nouns than *–nti* does; however, given the broad range of both nominalizing suffixes, the conditions that determine the use of one over the other have yet to be determined.

(494) intransitive verbs ending in -*ti* NOM1

a. miilhpaa**ti**
miilhpaa-**ti**
sing- **NOM1**
'song'

b. mak-tanuu-**ti**
hand-enter- **NOM1**
'ring', 'glove'

c. ch'an-tanuu-**ti**
foot-enter- **NOM1**
'shoe'

d. 7aq-tanuu-**ti**
head-enter- **NOM1**
'hat'

e. katu-tanuu-**ti**
ear-enter- **NOM1**
'earring'

f. taqanqa-**ti**
get.sick- **NOM1**
'illness'

g. talht'aja-**ti**
sweat- **NOM1**
'sweat'

h. 7ach'anan**ti**
7a-ch'an-nVn-**ti**
PL-sow-INO- **NOM1**
'garden', 'plants'

i. 7ak'atzanan**ti**
7a-k'atza-nVn-**ti**
PL-know-INO- **NOM1**
'knowledge', 'intelligence'

j. laa-saa-**ti**
RCP-hit-**NOM1**[145]
'fight', 'battle'

k. waa**ti**
wajin-**ti**
eat(vi)- **NOM1**
tortilla

l. way**ti**
wajin-**ti**
eat(vi)- **NOM1**
food, meal

m. tzulun**ti**
tzulun-**ti**
urinate-**NOM1**
'urine'

n. qaman**ti**
qaman-**ti**
play(VI)-**NOM1**
'game', 'Carnaval'

o. chiwin**ti**
chiwin-**ti**
speak-**NOM1**
'word'

[145] The reciprocal prefix *laa-* reduces the valency of the verb by one argument.

p. 7asaan**ti**
7asaanan-**ti** 7a-saa-nVn-**ti**
play.instrument- **NOM1** PL-hit-INO-**NOM1**
'gig', 'tocada'

q. talhan**ti**
talhanan-**ti**
be.afraid-**NOM1**
'fright', 'espanto'

(495) transitive verbs ending in *-ti* NOM1

a. skiti**ti**
skiti-**ti**
grind-**NOM1**
'dough'

b. lhiimaap'aqa-**ti**
explode-**NOM1**
'explosives', 'firecracker'

(496) transitive verbs ending in *–nti* NOM2

a. x7amaqpan**ti**
x-7amaqpa-**nti**
3POS-wash.clothes-**NOM2**
'her washing', 'her washed clothing'

b. maalaqch'ii-**nti**
dress(VT)-**NOM2**
traditional clothing

(497) intransitive verbs ending in *–nti* NOM2

a. tayaan**ti**
tayaa-**nti**
stand.up(VI)**-NOM2**
'slope'

b. talhawan**ti**
talhawa-**nti**
flood-**NOM2**
'flood'

c. 7a-xt'aja-**nti**
PL-melt-**NOM2**
'lead'

d. lht'aqala-**nti**
be.flat-**NOM2**
'board'

4.2.3 Deverbalizer *-n*

The deverbalizing suffix *–n* (DVB) is used in the derivation of nouns from verbs and adjectives from unproductive, adverb-like roots. I follow Beck (2004: 83) in calling it a deverbalizer rather than a nominalizer.[146] A derived noun that bears the deverbalizer suffix additionally always bears one of the following nominal derivational prefixes: the instrumental prefix *paa-* or *lhaa-* (section 4.2.4), the locative prefix *puu-* (section 4.2.5), or the applicative prefix *lhii-* (section 4.2.6). Since a deverbalized noun never occurs without one of these prefixes, examples of derived nouns bearing the deverbalizer suffix are found in the above listed sections.

4.2.4 Instrumental Prefixes *paa-* and *lhaa-*

Instrumental nouns in HT are derived by means of prefixation of one of two prefixes, *paa-* or *lhaa-*, to a deverbal form or to a verb. Derivation of an instrumental noun by means of the first instrumental suffix *paa-* (INST1) is highly productive. The prefix *paa-* almost always co-occurs with the deverbalizer suffix *–n*, as seen below in (498), but there are also a few—probably lexicalized—examples in which the prefix occurs without the suffix, as seen in (499).

[146] See Chapter 5 section 5.1.1.1 for information on the use of the deverbalizer on adjectives.

(498) paa-Verb-n

a. **paa**k'apin
paa-k'api-**n**
INST1-use.lever.on-**DVB**
'lever'

b. **paa**lakch'uk'un
paa-lak-ch'uk'u-**n**
INST1-PL-cut-**DVB**
'saw'

c. **paa**muujuun
paa-muujuu-**n**
INST1-put.in-**DVB**
'saddlebag'

d. **paa**mispaan
paa-mispaa-**n**
INST1-know- **DVB**
'sign', 'signal'

e. **paa**maaxt'uun tzaasnaat
paa-maaxt'uu-**n** tzaasnat
INST1-mine(VT)- **DVB** iron
'iron mine'

(499) paa-Verb

a. **paa**laqchaqx
paa-laq-chaqx
INST1-PL-cut.down
'axe'

b. **paa**ch'apa
paa-ch'apa
INST1-grab
'pincer'

c. **paa**ch'it
paa-ch'it
INST1-squeeze
'[sugarcane] press'

d. **paa**laktu7
paa-laktu7
INST1-XXX
'colander'

The following example demonstrates that there is some lexicalization of the instrumentals formed with *paa-*. In both examples in (500), *paa-* is prefixed to the intransitive verb *7alhtanan* 'walk'. In both examples, the indefinite object suffix *–nVn* has been dropped, and, in the (b) example only, the root *7alhtan*[147] has been further truncated to *lhtan*.

(500) a. **paa**7alhtan
paa-7alhtanan
INST1-walk
'motor'

b. **paa**lhtan
paa-7alhtanan
INST1-walk
'vehicle' (e.g., car, bus, bicycle)

The second HT instrumental prefix *lhaa-* (INST2) is cognate with what MacKay (1999: 387) calls the comitative prefix *laa-* in Misantla Totonac. In HT *lhaa-* always co-occurs with the deverbalizing suffix *–n*. The process of instrumentalization of a verb by means of *lhaa-* is less productive than instrumentalization by means of *paa-*. Examples appear in (501).

(501) a. **lhaa**manin
lhaa-mani-**n**
INST2-paint-**DVB**
'varnish', 'paint', 'ink', 'color'

[147] The root *7alhtan* does not occur as a transitive verb in HT.

b. **lhaa**sakminin
lhaa-sakmin-i-**n**
INST2-ask-EPE-**DVB**
'question'

c. **lhaa**qaman
lhaa-qaman-**n**
INST2-play-**DVB**
'toy'

d. **lhaa**k'uch'un
lhaa-k'uch'u-**n**
INST2-cure-**DVB**
'balm', 'ointment'

e. **lhaa**laqoxin
lhaa-laqoxi-**n**
INST2-make.good-**DVB**
'spice'

4.2.5 Locative Prefix *puu-*

The locative prefix *puu-* (LOC) most likely comes from the body part prefix *puu-* meaning 'inside',[148] and it is closely related to the verbal instrumental prefix *puu-*.[149] I follow MacKay (1999: 388) in calling this the 'locative' prefix.[150] This prefix may be affixed to a noun or a deverbal stem. When it is affixed to a noun, the resulting noun means "the place where the noun is found", as seen below in (502).

(502) a. **puu**ni7
puu-ni7
LOC-tortilla
'guaje', 'tortilla holder'

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[148] See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8.
[149] See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.5.
[150] Jim Watters points out to me that MacKay is not the only Totonacanist to call this the 'locative prefix and that this name goes all the way back to Zambrono (1752).

b. **puu**kapen
puu-kapen
LOC-coffee
'coffee field'

c. **puu**stapu
puu-stapu
LOC-bean
'bean plot'

d. **puu**chiila7
puu-chiila7
LOC-chicken
'chicken coop'

e. **puu**7ukxtiin
puu-7ukxtiin
LOC-boss
'municipal building'

f. **puu**jip
puu-jip
LOC-fire
'brazier'

g. **puu**skititi
puu-skititi
LOC-corn.dough
'corn grinder'

When the locative prefix occurs on a verb, it is always accompanied by the deverbalizer suffix *–n* (DVB). The resulting noun refers to the place where the action of the verb takes place. Examples appear in (503).

(503) a. **puu**lajch'in
puu-lak-ch'i-**n**
LOC-PL-tie-**DVB**
'jail'

b. **puu**tayaan
puu-tayaa-**n**
LOC-stand.up-**DVB**
'stirrup', 'pedal'

c. **puu**maaskakan
puu-maa-skaka-**n**
LOC-CAUS-be.hot-**DVB**
'forge'

d. **puu**tapalhun
puu-tapalhu-**n**
LOC-trap(VT)-**DVB**
'trap (N)'

The prefix *puu-* also occurs on deverbal stems that bear the indefinite subject suffix *–kan*,[151] as seen below in (504). In these examples, it is debatable as to whether prefix *puu-* is the locative nominal prefix or the instrumental verbal prefix.

(504) a. **puu**7iikan
puu-7ii-kan-n
LOC-bring-INS-DVB
'bucket'

b. **puu**makxto7kan
puu-mak-xtoq-kan-n
LOC-hand-gather-INS-DVB
'rake'

c. **puu**manikan
puu-mani-kan-n
LOC-paint-INS-DVB
'paintbrush'

[151] See Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.3.

d. **puu**maqniikan
puu-maqnii-kan-n
LOC-kill-INS-DVB
'slaughter house'

4.2.6 Applicative Prefix *lhii-*

The verbal applicative prefix[152] *lhii-* may be used to derive a noun from a deverbal stem or a noun from a noun. When it functions to nominalize a deverbal form, it always co-occurs with some other deverbalizing/nominalizing morpheme, such as the deverbalizer suffix *–n* (505) and (507), the nominalizer suffix *–ti* (506), or the indefinite subject suffix *–kan* (507).

(505) a. **lhii**niin
lhii-nii-n
APPL-die-DVB
'poison'

b. **lhii**saan
lhii-saa-n
APPL-hit-DVB
'musical instrument', 'guitar'

(506) a. **lhii**qot'ati
lhii-qot'-a-ti
APPL-drink-EPE-NOM1
'a drink'

b. **lhii**k'atzati
lhii-k'atza-ti
APPL-know- NOM1
'news'

c. **lhii**st'aati
lhii-st'aa-ti
APPL-sell- NOM1
'merchandise'

[152] See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.7.

(507) a. **lhii**manikan
lhii-mani-kan-n
APPL-paint-INS-DVB
'coloring agent', 'paint'

b. **lhii**k'uch'ukan
lhii-k'uch'u-kan-n
APPL-cure-INS-DVB
'cure'

c. **lhii**lakpaach'iikan
lhii-lakpaa-ch'ii-kan-n
APPL-head-tie-INS-DVB
'headscarf'

The applicative prefix *lhii-* also can be used to derive a new noun from a another noun. Specifically, it is used to derive a language name from the name of a group of people (508), in references to time,[153] (509), in references to general location (510), and in one lexicalized kinship term (511).

(508) a. **lhii**maqalhqama7
lhii-maqalhqama7
APPL-Tepehua
'Tepehua language'

b. **lhii**kachupin
lhii-kachupin
APPL-Gringo
'English language'

(509) a. **lhii**yaxich
lhii-yaxi+ch
APPL-moment+ALD
'a little while ago.' [T0066: 118]

[153] Not coincidentally, the HT word that means 'tomorrow' is *lhi7*. When a word or stem ends in a glottal stop, the glottal stop is deleted and the vowel is lengthened before a suffix or clitic. See Chapter 2, section 2.6.7.2.

b. **lhii**tuumiinku
lhii-tuumiinku
APPL-Sunday
'Sunday'

(510) a. **lhii**7uwint'i
lhii-7uwint'i
APPL-there
'over there' [T0069: 328]

b. **lhii**7aniich
lhii-7ani7+ch
APPL-there+ALD
'around here' [T0054: 54]

(511) **lhii**laqaw
lhii-laqaw
APPL-sibling
'cousin'

4.2.7 Comitative Prefix *t'aa-*

The verbal comitative prefix *t'aa-* (COM) is affixed to a noun to derive a different noun. Though this is a productive process in Tlachichilco Tepehua (Watters 1988: 408), it is not in Huehuetla Tepehua. All of the forms in (512) are lexicalized.

(512) a. **t'aa**lapanak
t'aa-lapanak
COM-person
'friend'

b. **t'aa**tawlhna7
t'aa-tawii-li-nV:
COM-sit.down-PFV-AGNM
'neighbor'

c. **t'aa**t'akuun
t'aa-t'akuu-n
COM-woman-PL
'witch'

d. **t'aa**7ulut
t'aa-7ulut
COM-XXX
'compadre', 'father-in-law'

4.2.8 Body-Part Prefixes

The same body part prefixes (BPPs) that are used on the verbs[154] may also occur on noun roots. When a BPP occurs on a noun root, it may produce one of two results: (i) a different noun or (ii) a more specific noun.

In the first case, a different, derived noun results from the combination of a BPP and a noun root, as seen below in (513). These examples are mostly lexicalized, and—in some cases—their meanings cannot be easily discerned from their parts.

(513) a. **7ak**skítit[155]
7ak-skítit
head-dough
'cerebrum', 'brains'

b. **7aq**aloqot
7aq-7alukut
head-bone
'horn', 'antler'

[154] See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8.
[155] All BPPs that contain a /k/ or /q/ exhibit a size-symbolic phonemic alternation between these two phonemes, dependent on the size of the noun (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.10).

c. **lakpaa**xkaan
lakpaa-xkaan
head-water
‘fontanel’, ‘soft spot’

d. **lakapaa**lipípi
lakapaa-lipipi
head-bald
‘bald spot’

e. x**ch'an**pututunti
x-**ch'an**-pututu-nti
3POS-**foot**-round-NOM2
‘paw pad’

f. **lakapuu**k'íw
lakapuu-k'íw
face-tree
‘cheekbone’

g. x**laqapuu**tanuuti
x-**laqapuu**-tanuu-ti
3POS-**face**-put.on-NOM1
‘his mask’

h. **mak**tzaasnaat
mak-tzaasnaat
hand-iron
‘horseshoe’

i. **tasa**k'íw
tasa-k'iw
tooth-tree
‘gums’

In the second case, the BPP is affixed to a body part root to create a more specific body part, as seen in the examples in (514) and (515).

(514) x**laka**tz'itz'i
x-**laka**-tz'itz'i
3POS-**body**-pimple
'bumps or rash on the body'

In each example in (515), the noun *ch'awti* 'hair' is prefixed with a different BPP to demonstrate that this is a productive process.

(515) a. **7ak**ch'awti
7ak-ch'awti
head-hair
'tiny hairs (or filaments) on a small creature, such as an insect'

b. **ch'an**ch'awti
ch'an-ch'awti
foot-hair
'leg or foot hair'

c. **ch'an**qésit
ch'an-qésit
foot-nail
'toenail', 'claw'

d. **katu**ch'awti
katu-ch'awti
ear-hair
'hair in or around ears'

e. **kik**ch'awti
kik-ch'awti
mouth-hair
'whisker', 'mustache', 'beard'

f. **kinka**ch'awti
kinka-ch'awti
nose-hair
'nose hair'

h. **mak**ch'awti
mak-ch'awti
hand- hair
'hair on the hand'

The examples in (516) show two different words for 'pelvis', both of which are prefixed with the BPP *puu-* 'insides'. The (a) example is an older, lexicalized (and not necessarily transparent) form, and the (b) example is a productive form.

(516) a. **puuq**aax
puu-qaax
insides-gourd
'pelvis'

b. **puu**lukut
puu-7alukut
insides-bone
'pelvis'

4.2.9 Compound Nouns

In a noun-noun compound, the two nouns are joined by an epenthetic /i/, as seen below in (517). The second (or right-most) element is the head.

(517) Noun-noun compounds

a. juukiluw
juuk-i-luw
deer-EPE-snake
'boa constrictor'

b. jiniluw
jin-i-luw
smoke-EPE-snake
'rat snake'

c. p'inik'uch'u
p'in-i-k'uch'u
chile-EPE-medicine
'ginger'

d. xkaanit'aaxkati
xkaan-i-t'aaxkati
water-EPE-honey
'maguey juice'

e. t'ini7ach'ananti
t'in-i-7ach'ananti
seed-EPE-garden
'seed bed'

Adjectives and nouns are also compounded to form nouns. The adjective precedes the noun, and the two elements are conjoined by an epenthetic vowel that harmonizes with the final vowel of the adjectival root. The noun (the right-most element) is the head. Examples are shown in (518).

(518) Adjective-noun compounds

a. smarrawaluw
smarraw-V-luw
black-EPE-snake
'black-snake'

b. xnapapacha7aan
xnapap-V-cha7aan
white-EPE-ant
'white-ant' (a type of ant)

c. tz'uulikichiila7
tz'uulik-V-chiila7
striped-EPE-chicken
'striped chicken' (a type of chicken)

When the adjective simply modifies the noun, there is no epenthetic vowel that joins them, and they do not form a compound, as seen below in (519).

(519) Adjectives modifying nouns

a. smarraw luw
black snake

b. xnapáp cha7aan
white ant

c. tz'uulík chiila7
striped chicken

4.3 NOUN PHRASES

A noun phrase in HT consists minimally of a head noun (520a) and maximally of an article, a demonstrative pronoun, a modifier,[156] and the head noun, as seen in (520b). The article is the left-most element of the noun phrase, and the head—the noun—is the right-most element.

(520) a. waa [lapanak]$_{NP}$
FOC person
'it is human' [T0020: 032]

b. [juu 7anuuch purowii xkumwarii]$_{NP}$
juu 7anu7+ch purowii x-kumwarii
ART that+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre
'that pitiful compadre' [T0055: 010]

Generally speaking, overt NPs (both definite and indefinite) in HT are referential. Non-referential overt nouns appear in predicate nominal constructions,[157] such as in (520a), and as body parts prefixed on verbs.[158]

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[156] Only one modifier (either quantitative or qualitative) may occur in a noun phrase; see Chapter 5, section 5.1.
[157] See Chapter 3, section 3.3.3.1.
[158] See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8.

4.3.1 Definiteness and Specificity of Noun Phrases

A definite noun (or noun phrase) in HT is always preceded by the definite article *juu;* an indefinite, specific noun is preceded by a numeral; and an indefinite, non-specific noun is preceded by neither an article nor a numeral.

The examples in (521) demonstrate the difference between a definite and an indefinite, specific noun phrase. The first time the noun phrase *pumatam lapanak* 'a person' is mentioned in the narrative, it is indefinite, as seen in the (a) example. This NP refers to a specific, non-definite (unknown, at this point in the narrative) entity; thus, the NP has a number, but no definite article. The next time the same entity is mentioned, it is definite and is preceded by the definite article *juu*, as seen in the (b) example.

(521) a.

xminta	[**pumatam**	**lapanak**]
x-min-ta	puma-tam	lapanak
PAST-come-PF	CL:human-one	person

'A person came.' [T0022: 035]

b.

maa	maaqeswaa	[**juu**	**pumatam**	**papa7**]
maa	maa-qeswaa	juu	puma-tam	papa7
RPT	CAUS-scare(PFV)	ART	CL:human-one	old.man

'It scared the one old man.' [T0022: 054]

The examples in (522) demonstrate the difference between a specific noun phrase and a non-specific noun phrase. The NP in the (a) example is specific and definite, while the NP in the (b) example is indefinite and non-specific.

(522) a.

niilh	[**juu**	**lapanak**]
nii-li	juu	lapanak
die-PFV	ART	person

'The man died' [T0009: 016]

b. [**qox** **tachapun** **lapanak**]
qox tachapun lapanak
good strong person
'a strong, healthy man.' [T0009: 017]

4.3.1.1 Definite Article

As mentioned above, the definite article *juu* is always the first element in a definite noun phrase. The same particle is also used as a relativizer in a relative clause, as well as a marker of definiteness in locative and temporal adverbial phrases; these uses are covered in Chapter 8 (section 8.3.2.1) and Chapter 5 (sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), respectively. Examples of *juu* used as a definite article are seen in (523).

(523) a. [**juu** luw]
ART snake
'the snake'

b. [**juu** 7anu7 luw]
ART that snake
'that snake' [T0003: 005]

c. [**juu** Teewanch] junkan
juu Teewan+ch jun-kan
ART Esteban+ALD call-INS(IMPFV)
'They call him Stephen.' [T0054: 005]

4.3.1.2 Indefinite Article

The numeral *tam* 'one' serves as an indefinite article in HT, similar to the Spanish *un(a)*. When the numeral acts as an indefinite article, it may occur with or without a numeral classifier. In the examples in (524), the classifier-*tam* combination acts as an indefinite article.

(524) a. lhiitamawlh [**laqatam** xlaqpuutanuti]
lhii-tamaw-li laqa-tam x-laqpuutanuti
APPL-buy-PFV CL:general-one 3POS-mask
'He bought himself a mask' [T0055: 048]

b. milh [**laqatam** maa taqanqati]
min-li laqa-tam maa taqanqati
come-PFV CL:general-one RPT illness
'An illness came.' [T0057: 009]

c. maa chunch nawita [**pumatam** kintata7]
maa chun+ch nawi-ta puma-tam kin-tata7
RPT like.so+ALD do-PF CL:human-one 1POS-elder
'That is what an old man did.' [T0003: 029]

The examples in (525), show that the numeral *tam* does not require a numeral classifier prefix when it acts as an indefinite article.

(525) a. waa naa ksk'in [**tam** cartón] wachu7
waa naa k-sk'in tam cartón wachu7
FOC EMP 1SUB-order(IMPFV) one box also
'I order a box [of beer], too.' [T0066: 043]

b. [**tam** maqali7] kamaach'ixtaqniynch juu tuumiin
tam maqali7 ka-maach'ixtaq-ni-y-n+ch juu tuumiin
one rich.person IRR-loan-DAT-IMPFV-2OBJ+ALD ART money
'A rich person might loan you the money.' [T0054: 024]

c. juu x7ulaata [**tam** p'aqlati tuumiin]
juu x-7ulaa-ta tam p'aqlati tuumiin
REL PAST-put-PF one chest money
'[He] who had a chest of money.' [T0054: 060]

Not all noun phrases containing the numeral *tam* are indefinite. The examples in (526) show that when the classified *tam* is preceded by the definite article *juu*, it acts as a numeral—not an indefinite article—and the noun phrase is definite.

(526) a. [juu **laqatam** wilhchan]
juu laqa-tam wilhchan
ART CL:general-one day
'one day' [T0020: 001]

b. [juu **7alaqatam** wilhchan]
juu 7a-laqa-tam wilhchan
ART CL:other- CL:general-one day
'the other day' [T0058: 001]

Finally, the example in (527) contrasts the use of *tam* as a numeral with its use as an indefinite article. The first NP is definite, and *tam* is used as a numeral; the second NP is indefinite, and *tam* is used as an indefinite article.

(527) maa xkitasp'it'ach x7ast'aanta
maa x-ki-tasp'it'-ta+ch x-7a-st'aa-nVn-ta
RPT PAST-RT-return-PF+ALD PAST-PL-sell-INO-PF

[juu **pumatam** xkumwarii]$_{NP1}$
juu puma-tam x-kumwarii
ART CL:human-one 3POS-compadre

[**laqatam** laqachaqan]$_{NP2}$
laqa-tam laqachaqan
CL:general-one town
'One friend had returned from selling in a town.' [T0055: 003]

4.3.1.3 Vocative Article

The vocative article *jii* precedes the noun that names or refers to the addressee, as seen in the examples in (528). In the (a) example, the addressee is a proper name; in the (b) example, it is a quasi-kinship term; in the (c) example, it is a kinship term; and in the (d) example, it is a noun. Neither Tlachichilco Tepehua nor Pisaflores Tepehua has a vocative article (J. Watters, p.c.).

(528) a. nii k'i7uya7 [**jii** Piitalu7]
nii ki-7u-ya7 jii Piitalu7
COMP 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-FUT VOC Pedro
'If you eat me, Pedro' [T0066: 245]

b. kti7anch [**jii** kintz'alh]
k-ti-7an+ch jii kin-tz'alh
1SUB-IMM-go(IMPFV)+ALD VOC 1POS-son
'I'm leaving now, son.' [T0066: 289]

c. tanchach [**jii** kinkiin]
tancha-ch jii kin-kiin
where+ALD VOC 1POS-aunt
'Where, aunt?' [T0054: 031, 035]

d. 7at'aych [**jii** t'aqap'an]
7a-tayaa+ch jii t'aqap'an
IRR(2SUB)-stand.up(2SUB.PFV)+ALD VOC drunkard
'Stand up, you drunk.' [T0066: 084]

4.3.2 Modified Nouns

Modifiers that modify the head noun in an NP follow the article (if there is one) and precede the head noun, as seen in (529).

(529) a. juu **saasti** kinch'antanuuti
juu saasti kin-ch'antanuuti
ART new 1POS-shoe
'my new shoes.'

b. juu **maqaniyaa** lapanak
ART ancient people
'The people from before', 'the old people' [T0057: 049]

c. **qox** **tachapun** lapanak
good strong person
'a healthy, strong person' [T0009: 017]

d. jaantu naa naa [**sii** **maqalhqama7** laqachaqan]
jaantu naa naa sii maqalhqama7 laqachaqan
NEG EMP EMP pure Tepehua town
'this is not a pure Tepehua town.' [T0057: 035]

If the head noun is modified by both a demonstrative and an adjective, the demonstrative precedes the adjective, as seen in (530).

(530) juu **7anuuch** **purowii** xkumwarii
juu 7anu7+ch purowii x-kumwarii
ART that+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre
'That pitiful compadre . . .' [T0055: 010]

For more information about modifiers, see Chapter 5.

4.4 RELATIONAL NOUNS

In HT, free noun roots that express locations or parts of a whole (including body parts) may form a relational noun construction with another noun, in which the location/part noun is possessed by the second noun, as seen below in (531). In these examples, the relational noun is indicated by bold face type, and the relational noun phrase is enclosed in brackets.

(531) a. [juu x**lakaytat** laqachaqan]
juu x-**lakaytat** laqachaqan
ART 3POS-**middle** town
'the middle of town' [T0057: 089]

b. [juu x**tantiilakan** tz'aqtzulh]
juu x-**tantiilakan** x-7aqtzulh
ART 3POS-**behind** 3POS-head
'The back of his head.'

c. [juu x**tanqaapu7** xch'aja7]
juu x-**tanqaapu7** x-ch'aja7
ART 3POS-**bottom** 3POS-foot
'the bottom of its foot'

d. [juu x**paqaxti7** juu puutamaan]
juu x-**paqaxti7** juu puutamaan
ART 3POS-**side** ART bed
'the side of the bed'

e. yaachaa [x**puulakan** chaqa7]
yaa-chaa x-**puulakan** chaqa7
standing-DST 3POS-**behind** house
'He is (standing) behind a house.' [MNB8: 492]

Syntactically, the relational noun construction acts a locative adverbial modifier, much like a prepositional phrase. When the relational noun phrase modifies a non-positional verb, it generally is preceded by the preposition *laka-*; conversely, when the relational noun phrase modifies a positional or locational verb,[159] it generally is *not* preceded by the preposition. Compare the examples in (532), which exhibit non-positional verbs and the truncated preposition *la-*, with the examples in (533), which exhibit positional verbs, but no preposition.[160]

(532) a. kulhunch *7ulaa* [juu lax**lakaytat** laqachaqan]
kulhun+ch *7ulaa* juu laka-x-**lakaytat** laqachaqan
piled.up+ALD *put*(PFV) ART PREP-3POS-**middle** town
'He piled it up in the middle of town' [T0055: 021]

b. naa *7aqtzamanta* xkaan [juu lax**puulak** juu nipx]
naa *7aqtzaman*-ta xkaan juu laka-x-**puulak** juu nipx
EMP *fill*-PF water ART PREP-3POS-**inside** ART squash
'Water fills the inside of the squash.' [MNB7: 449]

(533) a. [7ix**tan7aapu7** makt'ook'a] *maa* juu paaxoqo
7ix-**tan7aapu7** makt'ook'a *maa* juu paaxoqo
3POS-**below** napkin *lying*(IMPFV) ART spoon
'The spoon is (lying) underneath the napkin.' [MB24]

[159] Please see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2 for more information on postional and locational verbs.
[160] For more information on the preposition *laka-* ~ *la-*, see Chapter 6, section 6.6.1.

b. juu 7awilhchan *yaa*
juu 7awilhchan *yaa*
ART sun *standing*(IMPFV)

[x**puulakan** qay 7atapuutz'i]
x-**puulakan** qay 7atapuutz'i
3POS-**behind** big cloud
'The sun is behind a big cloud.' [MNB8: 492]

c. [x**tampuus** miixaa] *tanuun* juu miistu7
x-**tampuus** miixaa *tanuun* juu miistu7
3POS-**middle** table *inserted*(IMPFV) ART cat
'The cat is in the middle of the table.' [MB31-1]

d. [7ix**7uksni7** k'iw] *juk'alh* juu luw
7ix-**7uksni7** k'iw *juk'alh* juu luw
3POS-**surface** tree *hanging*(IMPFV) ART snake
'The snake is lying across the top of the tree trunk.' [MB23]

e. [x**puulak** skuumilh] *tajun* juu paamata
x-**puulak** skuumilh *tajun* juu paamata
3POS-**inside** pan *inserted*(IMPFV) ART fish
'The fish is inside the pan.' [MB32]

However, this subcategorizational difference between the positional and non-positional verbs seems to be in the process of leveling. In the examples in (534), the preposition *laka-* co-occurs with a positional verb.

(534) a. [lax**tantu7** chaqa7] *juk'alh* juu paamaakilhtan
laka-x-**tantu7** chaqa7 *juk'alh* juu paamaakilhtan
PREP-3POS-**wall** house *hanging*(IMPFV) ART hook
'The hook is (hanging) in the wall of the house.' [MB50]

b. juu 7asqat'a *wii* [juu lax**paqaxti7** jip]
juu 7asqat'a *wii* juu laka-x-**paqaxti7** jip
ART child *sitting*(IMPFV) ART PREP-3POS-**beside** fire
'The child is sitting beside the fire.' [MB38]

c. [lax**tantu7** k'iw] *tanuun* juu moqxnu7
laka-x-**tantu7** k'iw *tanuun* juu moqxnu7
PREP-3POS-**wall** tree *inserted*(IMPFV) ART owl
'The owl is in (a hole in) a tree.' [MB67]

d. juu lhii7ut *tajun* [juu lax**puulak** qaax]
juu lhii7ut *tajun* juu laka-x-**puulak** qaax
ART fruit *inserted*(IMPFV) ART PREP-3POS-**inside** gourd
'The fruit is inside the gourd.' [MB2-2]

The HT relational nouns are not bound morphemes. Relational nouns frequently occur without possessive prefixes (or possessors) when they express more general locations, as seen in (535). In the (a) example, *smaqspa7* 'outside' is possessed by *chaqa7*, while in the (b) example it is a free-standing word.

(535) a. [**smaqspa7** chaqa7] wii juu xqooy
x-**maqspa7** chaqa7 wii juu xqooy
3POS-**outside** house sitting(IMPFV) ART dog
'The dog is (sitting) outside of the house.' [MB6-2]

b. **maqspa7** wii juu xqooy
maqspa7 wii juu xqooy
outside sitting(IMPFV) ART dog
'The dog is (sitting) outside.' [MB6-1]

The possessor of the relational noun may also be possessed, as seen below in (536). In this example, the noun *chaqa7* 'house' bears the first person possessive prefix, and it is the possessor of the possessed relational noun *smaqspa7* 'outside'.

(536) [**smaqspa7** kinchaqa7] wii juu xqooy
x-**maqspa7** kin-chaqa7 wii juu xqooy
3POS-**outside** 1POS-house sitting(IMPFV) ART dog
'The dog is (sitting) outside of my house.' [MB6-3]

The relational noun and its possessor may form a discontinuous constituent, the parts of which are separated by other clausal elements, as seen in

the examples in (537). In the (a) example, the possessed relational noun *7ixtampuus* 'middle' and its possessor *7amuuntzaanaas* 'apple' are side-by-side. In the (b) example, the two constituents are separated from each other by the rest of the clause.

(537) a. [**7ixtampuus** **7amuuntzaanaas**] tanuun juu paqt'alan
7ix-**tampuus** 7amuuntzaanaas tanuun juu paqt'alan
3POS-**middle** apple inserted(IMPFV) ART arrow
'The arrow is stuck in the middle of the apple.' [MB30-2]

b. **7ixtampuus** tanuun juu paqt'alan **7amuuntzaanaas**
7ix-**tampuus** tanuun juu paqt'alan 7amuuntzaanaas
3POS-**middle** inserted(IMPFV) ART arrow apple
'The arrow is stuck in the middle of the apple.' [MB30-1]

Given that the relational construction in HT is based on a part-whole relationship and that most body parts may be incorporated onto a verb in the form of body part prefixes,[161] it should come as no surprise that a relational noun may appear prefixed to the verb, as seen below in (538). In the (a) example, the possessed relational noun *xtantu7* 'wall' and its possessor *chaqa7* 'house' form a constituent. In the (b) example, the relational noun is prefixed to the verb, and its possessor is a clausal argument. The presence of the plural verbal prefix *lak-* to the left of the relational noun is evidence of incorporation.

(538) a. [**xtantu7** **chaqa7**] lakjuk'alh juu tzaapuuj
x-tantu7 chaqa7 lak-juk'alh juu tzaapuuj
3POS-wall house PL-hanging(IMPFV) ART worm
'The worms are on the wall of the house.' [MB52-2]

[161] See Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.8 for more information on body part prefixes and verbs.

b. lak**tantu**juk'alh juu tzaapuuj juu **chaqa7**
lak-**tantu**-juk'ah juu tzaapuuj juu chaqa7
PL-wall-hanging(IMPFV) ART worm ART house
'The worms are on the wall of the house.' [MB52-1]

The HT relational nouns are shown below in Table 22.

Table 22: HT Relational Nouns

Relational Noun	Gloss
7aqsti7	top , roof, crest
kinkati7	tip, point
lakata	reason, topic, fault
lakaytat	center, middle
maqastu7	corner
maqspa7	outside
paqaxtu7, paqaxti7	side, beside
puulak	inside
puulakan	behind, back
tampuus	center, middle
tantu7	wall, side
tan7aapu7	below, underneath
tantiilakan	behind
7ukx ~ 7ukxni7 ~ 7ukxpu7	top, surface, face

4.5 PRONOUNS

Topics covered in this section include the personal pronouns (section 4.5.1), possessive pronouns (section 4.5.2), reflexive pronouns (section 4.5.3), and demonstrative pronouns (section 4.5.4).

4.5.1 Personal Pronouns

Huehuetla Tepehua has only one set of personal pronouns, listed in Table 23. Syntactically, the personal pronouns behave as nominals, and they may co-index the subject or object of a verb, as well as the possessor of a noun; they do not distinguish case, class, or gender. Given that verbal participants are marked on every HT verb—either overtly or inherently—overt pronominal participants are not obligatory and are primarily used for emphasis.

Table 23: Huehuetla Tepehua Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	ki7in ~ kit'in	kijnan
2	7uxint'i ~ 7ixint'i	7uxijnan
3	yuuch	yu7unch

The variation in pronunciation of the first and second person singular pronouns is age-gradient. The "younger" speakers—that is, speakers who were younger than 70 years of age at the time of my fieldwork—invariably produced *ki7in* and *7uxint'i*, while the older speakers—speakers who were older than 70 at the time of my fieldwork—produced *kit'in* and *7ixint'i*.

The plural personal pronouns appear to have been derived from the singular forms, given that all three plural forms are phonologically similar to their corresponding singular forms and that they all bear a frozen form of the plural nominal suffixes (*-nan* and *–un*).[162]

The first person singular and plural personal pronouns and the second person singular personal pronoun bear some similarity to the verbal person marking affixes. A first person singular subject and a first person exclusive plural subject are marked on the verb by the prefix *k-*, and a first person object (singular or plural) is co-indexed by the prefix *kin-*. Clearly, both the *k-* of the subject prefix and the first two phonemes, *ki-*, of the object prefix are reflected in the roots of both the singular and plural first person pronouns. The second person singular pronoun *7uxint'i* bears the suffix *–t'i*, which marks a second person singular subject on a verb in the perfective aspect. The third person pronouns bear no resemblance whatsoever to the third person verbal affixes.

The following are examples of all of the HT personal pronouns.

(539) **1SG ki7in ~ kit'in**

a. nii kaa naa waa xtaqalhiniyanch
nii kaa naa waa x-taqalhi-ni-y-a-n+ch
COMP BLV EMP FOC PAST-ruin-DAT-IMPFV-EPE-2OBJ+ALD

juu mi7aqtzulh knajun juu **kit'in**
juu min-7aqtzulh k-najun juu **kit'in**
ART 2POS-head 1SUB-say(IMPFV) ART **PRN.1SG**
'*I* say that it [alcohol] messed up your head.' [T0054: 048]

b. **ki7in** **ki7in**
PRN.1SG **PRN.1SG**
'It is I! It is I!' [T0055: 082]

[162] See section 4.1.1 for information on plural nominal affixes.

(540) **2SG 7uxijnt'i ~ 7ixijnt'i**

a. puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chunch
puus kaa 7aqtz'iyan+ch chun+ch
well BLV always+ALD like.so+ALD

juu 7uuniit'a juu **7uxijnt'i**
juu 7un-niita juu **7uxijnt'i**
REL be(2SUB)-PF(2SUB) ART **PRN.2SG**
'Well, I think that *you* have always been like that.' [T0054: 028]

b. tachu **7ixijnt'i**
like **PRN.2SG**
'like you' [T0054: 023]

(541) **3SG yuuch**

a. maa **yuuch** juu laay kalhii7alh maqata
maa **yuuch** juu laa-y ka-lhii7an-li maqata
RPT **PRN.3SG** REL can-IMPFV IRR-take-PFV far
'It is *he* who can take it far away . . .' [T0003: 026]

b. juu x7atz'akanti juu **yuuch**
juu 7ix-7a-tz'aka-nti juu **yuuch**
ART 3POS-PL-bite-NOM ART **PRN.3SG**
'its bite' [*it* = the snake] [T0009: 015]

c. laqtz'ilh juu **yuuch**
laqtz'in-li juu **yuuch**
see-PFV ART **PRN.3SG**
'He saw him.'
'Él lo vió.' [T0022: 047]
'Vió a él' [NVP05]

d. 7entons taas t'alaych juu **yuuch**
7entons taas t'ala-y+ch juu **yuuch**
then Q do-IMPFV+ALD ART **PRN.3SG**
'Then what did he do?' [T0054: 001]

(542) **1PL kijnan**

a. juu **kijnan** (la)k'uyaw manku
juu **kijnan** (lak-)k-7u-y-aw manku
ART **PRN.1PL** (3PL.OJB-)1SUB-eat-IMPFV-1PL.SUB mango
'We are eating mangos.' [NVP05]

b. kanaawch juu **kijnan** juu sabado
ka-7an-a7-w+ch juu **kijnan** juu sabado
IRR-go-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD ART **PRN.1PL** ART Saturday
'We will go on Saturday.' [ELIEX2: 041]

(543) **2PL 7uxijnan**

a. **7uxijnan** 7ínaa7it'it juu sabat
7uxijnan 7in-a7-7i-t'it juu sabat
PRN.2PL go(2SUB)-FUT-2PL.SUB.FUT-2PL.SUB ART Saturday
'You all will go on Saturday.' [NVP05]

b. juu **7uxijnan** 7oqoot'it chuux juu jaak
juu **7uxijnan** 7u-qoju.PFV-t'it chuux juu jaak
ART **PRN.2PL** eat-all-2PL.SUB all ART banana
'You all ate all of the bananas.' [NVP05]

(544) **3PL yu7unch**

a. juu **yu7unch** kata7ana7 juu sabat
juu **yu7unch** ka-ta-7an-a7 juu sabat
ART **PRN.3PL** IRR-PL.SUB-go-FUT ART Saturday
'They will go on Saturday.' [NVP05]

b. juu **yu7unch** ta7ulh juu lhiiway
juu **yu7unch** ta-7u-li juu lhiiway
ART **PRN.3PL** PL.SUB-eat-PFV ART meat
'They ate the meat.' [NVP05]

4.5.2 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by combining the possessive person prefixes and the possessive plural suffix with the demonstrative pronoun *7anu7* 'that', as seen in (545).

(545) a. ki(n)-7anu7 'X is mine'
b. mi(n)-7anu7 'X is yours (SG)'
c. 7ix-7anu7 'X is his/hers/its'
d. ki(n)-7anu7-7an 'X is ours'
e. mi(n)-7anu7-7an 'X is yours (PL)'
f. 7is-7anu7-7an 'X is theirs'

If the possessum is plural, than the plural prefix *lak-* is optionally added to the possessive pronoun, as seen in (546b).

(546) a. ki7anu7 juu chaanaa
ki-7anu7 juu chaanaa
1POS-that ART planting.pole
'The planting pole is mine.'

b. kilak7anu7 juu chaanaa
ki-lak-7anu7 juu chaanaa
1POS-PL-that ART planting.pole
'The planting poles are mine.'

When both the possessor and the possessum are plural, as seen below in (547b), the pluarl prefix *lak-* co-indexes the possessum, and the plural suffix *–7an* co-indexes the possessor.

(547) a. ki7anuu7an juu chaanaa
ki-7anu7-7an juu chaanaa
1POS-that-PL ART planting.pole
'The planting pole is ours.'

b. kilak7anuu7an juu chaanaa
ki-lak-7anu7-7an juu chaanaa
1POS-PL-that-PL ART planting.pole
'The planting poles are ours.'

4.5.3 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are formed by adding the possessive prefixes to the adjective *7aqstu* 'alone', as seen below in (548). Plurality of the pronoun is indicated by the plural suffix *–7an.*

(548)	a.	ki(n)-7aqstu	'myself'
	b.	mi(n)-7aqstu	'yourself'
	c.	7ix-7aqstu	'himself'
	d.	ki(n)-7aqstu-7an	'ourselves'
	e.	mi(n)-7aqstu-7an	'yourselves'
	f.	7ix-7aqstu-7an	'themselves'

When the reflexive pronoun is preceded by the focus particle *waa*, the resulting meaning is 'X is alone' or 'X is a widow(er)'.

(549)	waa	saqstu	juu	lapanak
	waa	7ix-7aqstu	juu	lapanak
	FOC	3POS-alone	ART	person

'The man is alone', 'The man is a widower.' [TPWDB: 7aqstu]

4.5.4 Demonstratives

Huehuetla Tepehua has two demonstrative pronouns: *nimaa* 'this' or 'these' refers to items within the reach of the speaker, while *7anu7* 'that' or 'those' refers to items outside the speakers reach, and possibly even outside of the speaker's field of vision. The demonstrative pronouns are always preceded by the definite article *juu*, as seen in the following examples. They may modify a noun, as seen in (550), or they may stand alone as a nominal, as seen in (551).

(550)	a.	naa	qox	[juu	**nimaa**	paamata]
		EMP	good	ART	this	fish

'This fish is good.' [NVP05]

b. [juu **nimaa** lapának] naa qox
ART this person EMP good
'This person is good.' [NVP05]

c. [juu **7anu7** luw]
ART that snake
'that snake' [T003: 005]

d. taspitlh nii laqtz'ilhch [juu **7anuuch** lapanak]
taspit-li nii laqtz'in-li+ch juu 7anu7+ch lapanak
return-PFV COMP see-PFV+ALD ART that +ALD person
'He returned when he saw that person' [T0022: 031]

(551) a. [juu **nimaa]** laay 7akch'uk'unilh 7ani7
juu nimaa laa-y 7a-k-ch'uk'u-ni-li 7ani7
ART this can-IMPFV IRR-1SUB-cut-DAT-PFV here
'I could cut this one here.' [T0069: 337]

b. [sii xlak7aparaatuuch] [juu **nimaa**]
sii 7ix-lak-7aparaatuu+ch juu nimaa
pure 3POS-PL-machine+ALD ART these
'These are all her machines.' [T0066: 237]

c. pus [juu **7anu7]** nii kaa x7anch
pus juu 7anu7 nii kaa x-7an+ch
well ART that COMP BLV PAST-go(IMPFV) +ALD
'Well, that one, I believe that he went.' [T0020: 038]

d. laklhkulh [juu **7anu7]**?
lak-lhku-li juu 7anu7
DIS-burn-PFV ART that
'Did that one get burned? [T0054: 066]

Frequently, the adverb *7anii* 'here' is substituted for *nimaa* 'this/these', as seen below in (552).

(552) a. [juu **7ani7** x7ilht'i p'aax]
juu 7ani7 7ix-7ilht'i p'aax
ART this 3POS-excrement pig
'this pig excrement' [T0055: 024]

b.	kaa	soqnik'a	[juu	**7ani7]**
	kaa	soq-ni-k'a	juu	7ani7
	BLV	btraight-DVB-ADJZ	ART	this

'This one is straight, I think.' [T0069: 080]

Chapter 5: Modifiers

Modifiers in Huehuetla Tepehua include adjectives, numbers, non-numerical quantifiers, and adverbs. Adjectives and non-numerical quantifiers are covered in this chapter in sections 5.1 and 5.2, respectively. Adverbs are discussed in Chapter 6, and numbers and the numeral classifiers are covered in Chapter 7.

5.1 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Huehuetla Tepehua occur in both predicative and modificational syntactic positions. They form a distinct word class from nouns, verbs, and adverbs, though they share features in common with members of each of these classes. When adjectives occur in a predicative position, they pattern like nouns; predication of adjectives is addressed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3.3. Adjectives pattern like both nouns and verbs with regard to the inflectional and derivational affixes that they accept,[163] though there is one derivational suffix that is unique to adjectives. Adjectives differ from adverbs in that adjectives may accept inflectional affixes, while adverbs never do. Thus, since adjectives are neither completely noun-like, completely verb-like, nor completely adverb-like, I analyze them as a separate word class.

When an adjective modifies a noun within a noun phrase (i.e., in a modificational position), the adjective immediately precedes the noun, as seen in

[163] Nouns, verbs, and adjectives may all be suffixed with the body part prefixes and the plural prefix *lak-*. Verbs and adjectives may be suffixed with the deverbalizer *-n*.. Nouns and adjective may be prefixed with the impersonal possessor prefix *xaa-*.

the examples below in (553). If the noun is possessed, the possessive marker occurs only on the noun, and not on the adjective, as seen in (553a).

(553) a. waa ktamawputun [juu **saasti** kinch'antanuti]$_{NP}$
waa k-tamaw-putun juu **saasti** kin-ch'antanuti
FOC 1SUB-buy-DESID(IMPFV) ART **new** 1POS-shoe
'I want to buy the new shoes.' [TPWDB: ch'antanuuta]

b. 7aks [juu **maqaniyaa** lapanak]$_{NP}$ tanajun
7aks juu **maqaniyaa** lapanak ta-najun
then ART **old** people 3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)
'Then the people from before (the ancestors) say . . .' [T0057: 048]

c. porque juu maa noomputun juu Huehuetla
porque juu maa najun-putun juu Huehuetla
because REL RPT say-DESID(IMPFV) ART Huehuetla

[**maqaniyaa** laqachaqan]$_{NP}$
maqaniyaa laqachaqan
old town
'Because "Huehuetla" means "old town".' [T0057: 041]

d. juu ki7in naa [**k'usi** 7atzi7]$_{NP}$
ART PRN.1SG EMP **pretty** girl
'I'm a very pretty girl.' [PDLMA2005]

e. klaqtz'in [juu **k'usi** 7atzi7]$_{NP}$
k-laqtz'in juu **k'usi** 7atzi7
1SUB-see(IMPFV) ART **pretty** girl
'I see a/the pretty girl.' [PDLMA2005]

f. klaqtz'in [juu **slapulh** paatz'oq]$_{NP}$
k-laqtz'in juu **slapulh** paatz'oq
1SUB-see(IMPFV) ART **red** pencil
'I see the/a red pencil.' [PDLMA2005]

g. [juu **qay** serrootii]$_{NP}$,
juu qay serrootii
ART big saw

waa kijuunilh [juu **liijuuntuu** mimpay]$_{NP}$
waa ki-jun-ni-li juu **liijuuntuu** mim-pay
FOC 1OBJ-tell-DAT-PFV ART **deceased** 2POS-father

nii naa **qoxich** juu serrootii
nii naa qoxi+ch juu serrootii
COMP EMP good+ALD ART saw
'The big saw, your deceased father told me that the saw is/was good.'
[T0069: 383-5]

The sentence in (553g) contains three adjectives. The first two—*qay* 'big' and *liijuuntuu* 'deceased'—occur in the modificational position immediately before the head noun in their respective noun phrases. The third adjective—*qoxi* 'good'—occurs in a predicative position; note that in this example, the article *juu* intervenes between the predicative adjective *qoxich* and the noun *serrootii* 'saw'.

When a demonstrative pronoun modifies a noun phrase, it occurs immediately after the article, and it precedes all other modifiers, including both qualitative adjectives, as seen below in (554a), and numbers, as seen below in (554b).[164]

(554) a. 7entons juu **7anuuch** purowii xkumwarii
7entons juu **7anu7**+ch purowii x-kumwarii
then ART **that**+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre

nii maa naa waa xkilhpatiych
nii maa naa waa x-kilhpati-y+ch
COMP RPT EMP FOC PAST-be.poor-IMPFV+ALD
'Well, that pitiful compadre, he was very poor.' [T0055: 010-11]

[164] For more information on demonstrative pronouns and numbers, please see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.4 and Chapter 7, respectively.

b. juu **7anu7** xt'iyun7an lapanák
juu **7anu7** x-t'iyun-7an lapanák
ART **that** 3POS-two-PL.POS people
'those two people' [T0063: 004]

Only one adjective occurs in a noun phrase. If an additional descriptive adjective is used, is occurs in a complement clause, as seen above in (554a). In fact, the majority of adjectives occuring in narrative texts occur in predicative position; there are very few textual examples in which an attributive adjective modifies a noun within a noun phrase. The four predications (each of which occurs within brackets) shown below in (555) demonstrate how multiple nominal and adjectival predications can be strung together in HT without once making use of nominal modification within a noun phrase:

(555) [waa naa papa7]
waa naa papa7
FOC EMP old.man

[maa naa **kiklhman**],
maa naa kik-lhman
RPT EMP mouth-long

[maa naa naach waa **lakpuulhalhaa**],
maa naa naa+ch waa lakpuu-lhalhaa
RPT EMP EMP+ALD FOC face-hairy

[maa **laqlhman** juu xlaqpuuch'awti]
maa laq-lhman juu x-laqpuu-ch'awti
RPT face-long ART 3POS-face-hair
'He was an old man, he was long-bearded, he was very, very long-bearded, his beard was long.' [T0022: 037-040]

A particle may intervene between an adjective and a head noun, as seen below in (556), in which the reportative particle *maa* intervenes between the numeral modifier *laqatam* 'one' and the noun *taqanqati* 'disease'.

(556) maa waa milh [**laqatam** maa ta7an7ati]
maa waa min-li **laqa-tam** maa taqanqati
RPT FOC come-PFV **CL:general-one** RPT disease
'A disease came.' [T0057: 009]

Adverbs may precede and modify an adjective within a noun phrase, as seen in the examples in (557). In these examples, the adverbs are underlined, and the adjectives are in bold type.

(557) a. [qox **tachapun** lapanak]
good **strong** person
'a good and strong person'
'a very/really strong person' [T0009: 017]

b. jaantu naa naa [sii **maqalhqama7** laqachaqan]
NEG EMP EMP purely **Tepehua** town
'It is not a purely Tepehua town.'
(Meaning that not everyone in town is Tepehua) [T0057: 035]

c. maa naa naa [qox **qay** maqtili7]
RPT EMP EMP good **big** wild.animal
'It was a very/really big animal.' [T0020: 028]

Finally, adjectives may undergo the same sound symbolic alternations that are found elsewhere in the language.[165] Examples are shown in (558).

(558) a. yuuch juu **weeqeli/wiik'ili**[166] ingeniero
PRN.3SG ART wrinkled engineer
'Him, the wrinkled engineer.' [T0066: 294]

b. **lhoqoqo** ~ **lhukuku** 'hollow'

[165] Please see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.11.

[166] The forms *weeqeli* and *wiik'ili* alternate with *weeqelh* and *wiik'ilh*; the former occur phrase-internally and the latter occur phrase-finally (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.2). The forms *weeqeli* ~ *weeqelh* are considered to be quite rude (and, thus, provoke laugher), while the forms *wiik'ili* ~ *wiik'ilh* are not rude and do not provoke laughter.

5.1.1 Derivation

Derivational morphology on adjectives includes the deverbalizer *–n* (section 5.1.1.1), the adjectivizer *–k'V* (section 5.1.1.2), and body part prefixes (section 5.1.1.3).

5.1.1.1 Deverbalizer -n

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.3, the deverbalizing suffix *-n* (DVB) appears on nouns and adjectives that have been derived from verbs. Additionally, the deverbalizer is used to derive an adjective from an adverb. When the deverbalizer *-n* or its allomorph *-ni* is used to derive an adjective from a verb or adverb, it is usually followed by the adjectivizing suffix *-k'V*, which is discussed in the next section. The only example that I have found in which an adjective bears the dervabalizer *without* also being suffixed with the adjectivizer is shown below in example (559).

(559) nii waa muujuukalhch juu lapanak
nii waa muujuu-kan-li+ch juu lapanak
COMP FOC throw-INS-PFV+ALD ART person

[juu **xaaniin** lapanak]$_{NP}$ juu lakxkaan
juu xaa-nii-**n** lapanak juu laka-xkaan
ART IPOS-die-**DVB** person ART PREP-water
'because the people threw the dead people into the river.' [T0057: 083]

However, the above example differs from examples that bear *–k'V* in that here the derived adjective modifies an noun within a noun phrase, while the examples that bear the adjectivizer occur in a present tense predicative position only, as will be seen in the following section.

The *–n* allomorph occurs after a vowel-final root as seen below in (560a); the *–ni* allomorph occurs after a consonant-final root, as seen below in (560b).

(560) a. lakpaaswili**n**k'i juu Weechii
lakpaa-swili-**n**-k'i juu Weechii
head-swirl(ADV)-**DVB**-ADJZ ART Laurencio
'Laurencio has a cowlick.'
LIT: 'Laurencio is cowlicked.' [ELIEX3: 033]

b. naa qox p'oqot**ni**k'a juu xkaan
naa qox p'oqot-**ni**-k'a juu xkaan
EMP good thickly(ADV)-**DVB**-ADJZ ART water
'The water is very densely colored.' [MNB13: 94]

I have found two examples of adjectives derived by means of the deverbalizer and the adjectivizer in which the root is neither a verb nor an adverb; these examples are shown below in (561). The example in (561a) is derived from the noun *matzat* 'salt', and the example in (561b) is derived from the Spanish adjective *morado* 'purple'. Nevertheless, I continue to call the *–n* ~ *-ni* suffix the *deverbalizer* since it is primarily used on verbs and adverbs.

(561) a. matzatnik'a
matzat-ni-k'a
salt-DVB-ADJZ
'salty', 'salted' [TWPDB: matzatnik'a]

b. muuraaruunik'a
muuraaruu-ni-k'a
purple-DVB-ADJZ
'purple' from the Spanish 'morado' [TPWDB: muuraaruunik'a]

5.1.1.2 Adjectivizer -k'V

The adjectivizer (ADJZ) *-k'V* or its variant *-7V* (**-q'V*) is combined with the derverbalizer *–n* or its allomorph *–ni* to derive a predicative adjective from a verb or adverb. When the adjectivizer occurs after the *–n* allomorph of the

derverbalizer, the unspecified vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the final vowel of the stem, as seen in the examples below in (562), where the last vowel in the stem is underlined.

(562) a. k'ayan**k'a**
k’aya-n-**k’a**
painfully-DVB-**ADJZ**
‘painful’ [TPWDB: k’ayank’a]

b. lhk’awin**k'i**
lhk’awi-n-**k’i**
crossing-DVB-**ADJZ**
‘long, crossing’ [TPWDB: lhk’awink’i]

c. 7at’ilhen**7e**
7at’ilhi-n-**q’i**
wear.out-DVB-**ADJZ**
‘worn out, worn down’ (e.g., a house in disrepair)
[TPWDB: 7at’inlhen7e]

d. spulun**k’u**
spulu-n-**k’u**
crunchy(ADV)-DVB-**ADJZ**
‘crunchy’ [TPWDB: spulunk'u]

e. lhpupon**7o**
lhpupu-n-**q’u**
sparking(ADV)-DVB-**ADJZ**
‘freckled’ [TWPDB: lhpuponq’o]

Given the phonetic similarity between the root *spulu* ‘crunching’ in (562d)—which is suffixed with *–k’u*—and the root *lhpupu* ‘sparking’ in (562e)—which is suffixed with *–7o*, the two variations of this suffix do not seem to be in complementary distrubution. I did not explicitly test for this morpheme during my field work, so I do not have enough examples of either of the variants to be able to determine what conditions their variation. Also, I have a strong sense that many

of these adjectives are lexicalized because I cannot identify the root in the majority of the examples that I have. An obvious explanation for the variation between *-k'V* and and *-7V* (*-*q'V*) is one of a symbolic phonemic variation between /k/ and /q/ (see Chapter 2, section 2.6.10), given the prevelant use of symbolic phonemic variation within the language; however, my database does not contain any instances of both variations being used on the same stem. The same variation between "allomorphs" of this cognate suffix is found in Papantla Totonac. While Levy does not offer an explanation for the variation, she has found contrasting lexical minimal pairs involving the two cognate variants (1992: 276), indicating that in PT, at least, the variants are not allomorphs and that symbolic phonemic variation alone can not explain the variation.

When the adjectivizer follows the *–ni* allomorph of the derverbalizer, it always occurs as *–k'a*, as seen in the examples in (563).

(563) a. paaqluut'ujni**k'a**
paaq-luut'uj-ni-**k'a**
armpit-oval-DVB-**ADJZ**
'oval-shaped' [TPWDB: paaqluut'ujnik'a]

b. p'oqotni**k'a**
p'oqot-ni-**k'a**
thickly(ADV)-DVB-**ADJZ**
'thick, dense' (ADJ) [MNB13: 94]

The following set of examples shown in (564) are all derived from the adverb *soq* 'straight', which is shown in (564a). The adjectival form, *soqnik'a*, and its derivation are shown in (564b). The example in (564c) shows *soqnik'a* as

a non-verbal predicate adjective.[167] In example (564d), I attempted to use *soqnik'a* as an attributive adjective modifying a head noun in a noun phrase; my consultant found this usage to be grammatically questionable, but he did not reject it outright. When I tried to inflect *soqnik'a* with the third person plural subject marker *ta-*, my consultant rejected the example, shown in (564e). The example in (564f) shows that the predicative adjective is pluralized by means of the plural prefix *lak-* when the subject of the predicate is plural. The examples in (564g) and (564h) are interesting because they demonstrate that when the copula is used, the adverbial form *soq* is used instead of the adjectival form *soqnik'a*; this could be due to a restriction on the part of speech of words that may precede a verb given that the syntactic position immediately before the verb is normally occupied by an adverb, an adverbial particle, a noun, or a discourse marker.

(564) a. **soq** 7an juu paalhtan
straight go(IMPFV) ART car
'The car goes straight.' [TWPDB: soq]

b. **soqnik'a**
soq-ni-k'a
straight(ADV)-DVB-ADJZ
'(be) straight' (ADJ) [TWPDB: soqnik'a]

c. **soqnik'a** juu k'iw
straight ART stick
'The stick is straight.' [PDLMA2005]

d. ??juu **soqnik'a** k'iw
ART straight stick
'straight stick' [PDLMA2005]

[167] A copula is not needed in the present tense. See Chapter 3, section 3.3.3 on copular and non-verbal predicate constructions.

e. ***tasoqnik'a** juu k'iw
ta-soqnik'a juu k'iw
3PL.SUB-straight ART stick
Target: 'The sticks are straight' [PDLMA2005]

f. naa **lajsoqnik'a** juu paatz'oqni
naa lak-soqnik'a juu paatz'oqni
EMP PL-straight ART pencil
'The pencils are straight.' [PDLMA2005]

g. naa naach waa **soq** kajuna7
naa naa+ch waa soq ka-jun-a7
EMP EMP+ALD FOC straightIRR-be-FUT
'It will remain straight.' [T0069: 310]

h. **kasoq** xajunpalay
ka-soq xa-jun-pala-y
tip-straight PAST-be-REP-IMPFV
'It remained straight.' [T0069: 254]

5.1.1.3 Body Parts

The use of body part prefixes on adjectives—both lexical and derived—is one of the most common ways of deriving new adjectives in HT.[168] There is a very small subset of adjectives that are bound morphemes that must co-occur with a body part prefix; examples of body part prefixes occuring on the bound root *t'ikst'i*[169] 'small' are shown below in (565). Note that the prefix *tz'a-* in (565d) and the prefix *7aksa-* in (565e) are prefixes that I have not found in any other context; I assume that they are body part prefixes given that they pattern like the other body part prefixes on this root.

[168] Please see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.8 and Chapter 4, Section 4.2.8 for discussion of body part prefixes used on verbs and nouns, respectively.
[169] The bound root *t'ikst'i* has serveral alternations, including *t'iks*, *t'ik*, and *t'ikt'i*.

(565) a. juntaa waa **puu**t'ikst'i laktalhpa
juntaa waa **puu-**t'ikst'i lak-talhpa
where FOC **insides-**small PL-hills
'where the hills are narrow.' [T0022: 052]

b. **lakapuu**t'ikst'i
lakapuu-t'ikst'i
face-small
'narrow' (refers to the weave of cloth) [TPWDB: lakapuut'ikst'i]

c. **laka**t'ikst'i
laka-t'ikst'i
body-small
'small' [TPWDB: lakat'ikst'i]

d. **tz'a**t'ikt'i xkaan
tz'a-t'ikt'i xkaan
XXX-small water
'thin liquid' [TPWDB: tz'at'ikt'i]

e. **7aksa**t'ikt'i xjuuniita juu xtuuch'iti
7aksa-t'ikt'i x-jun-niita juu x-tuuch'iti
XXX-small PAST-be-PF ART 3POS-skirt
'Her skirt was narrow.' [TWPDB: 7aksat'ikt'i]

Body part prefixes also occur on free root adjectives, such as *qay* 'big', examples of which are shown below in (566). Once again, I have encountered two prefixes that I have not found in any other contexts, *maqa-* in (566e) and *7aqxa-* in (566f). Note that *7aqxa-* in (566f) and *7aksa-* in (565e) are size-symbolic phonemic alternations of each other.

(566) a. **paaj**qay
paaq-qay
armpit-big
'wide' (a type of weave) [TPWDB: paajqay]

b. **puu**qay
puu-qay
insides-big
'wide', 'roomy', 'spacious', 'amplio' [TPWDB: puuqay]

c. **puutan**qay
puu-tan-qay
insides-torso-big
'tall' [TPWDB: puutanqay]

d. **qalhtan**qay
qalh-tan-qay
edge-torso-big
'wide', 'grueso' [TPWDB: qalhtanqay]

e. **maqa**qay
maqa-qay
XXX-big
'thick', 'grueso' [TPWDB: maqaqay]

f. **7aqxa**qay xjuuniita juu xtuuch'iti
7aqxa-qay x-jun-niita juu x-tuuch'iti
XXX-big PAST-be-PF ART 3POS-skirt
'Her skirt is wide.' [TPWDB: 7aqxaqay]

In the following examples in (567), lexical color terms are prefixed with body parts.

(567) a. **7ak**tzasan
7ak-tzasan
head-grey
'grey-haired' [TPWDB: 7aktzasan]

b. **lakpaa**smarraw
lakpaa-smarraw
head-black
'black-haired' [TPWDB: lakpaasmarraw]

c. **laqxtii**xqawaaw
laqxtii-xqawaaw
crown-yellow
'blond' [TPWDB: laqxtiixqawaaw]

d. naa qox **tan**juukspi 7asqat'a
naa qox **tan**-juukspi 7asqat'a
EMP good **trunk**-striped child
'The child's stomach is good and striped with dirt and sweat.'
[TPWDB: juukxpi]

The examples in (568) show that body part prefixes may be affixed to derived adjectives as well as to the lexical ones, which were seen in the previous examples.

(568) a. juu **kik**smulunk'uch
juu **kik**-smulu-n-k'u+ch
ART mouth-thickly-DVB-**ADJ**+ALD
'the thick-lipped guy' [T0066: 036]

b. **lakpaa**swilink'i
lakpaa-swili-n-k'i
head-swirl(ADV)-DVB-ADJ
'cowlicked' [ELIEX3: 033]

The following example in (569) is interesting because the prefix *laka-* on the adjective *t'ikst'i* could be interpreted as the body part prefix meaning 'body' or as the classifier meaing 'place', given that the nominal *laqachaqan* that this adjective modifies means 'town'. However, since I have no other examples in which a classifier is prefixed to an adjective, I must assume that the correct analysis is that of the body part prefix.

(569) porque juu 7ani7 laqachaqan
porque juu 7ani7 laqachaqan
because ART here town

waa **lakat'ikst'i** xjuuniita, **lakat'ikst'i;**
waa **laka**-t'ikst'i xjuniita **laka**-t'ikst'i
FOC **body**-small PAST-be-PF **body**-small
CL:place-small **CL:place**-small

juu chaway naa qaych
juu chaway naa qay+ch
ART now EMP big+ALD
'Because here the town was small, very small; now it is very big'
[T0057: 086-87]

5.1.2 Inflection

Adjectival inflection is limited to pluralization (section 5.1.2.1) and restriction (section 5.1.2.2).

5.1.2.1 Pluralization

HT adjectives are marked for plurality by the plural prefix *lak*-, which is also used to mark plurality on nouns (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.1), multiple plurality and distributive action (Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.2), and third person plural objects on verbs (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.4). Examples of plural adjectives are as seen below in (570), (571), and (572).[170]

(570) a. juu **lakst'ak'alh** chiiwx
juu **lak**-s'ak'alh chiiwx
ART **PL**-flat rock
'the flat rocks' [MNB15: 40]

[170] Note that the usual morphophonemic rules apply at this morpheme boundary; see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.

b. maa lakachiiwx maa
maa laka-chiiwx maa
RPT PREP-rock lying

naa **lajqay** xkupu7 juu x7aknuuy
naa **lak**-qay xkupu7 juu x-7ak-nuu-y
EMP **PL**-big crawfish REL PAST-head-insert-IMPFV
'In the rocks were big crawfish whose heads were stuck in.'
[T0058: 020-1]

c. **laqjenew** xjuuniita juu 7ix7aay juu lapának
lak-jenew x-jun-niita juu 7ix-7aay juu lapának
PL-dark.brown PAST-be-PF ART 3POS-hair ART person
'The person's hair is dark brown.' [TWPDB: jenew]

When the modified nominal is *inanimate* and plural, it is often the case that the only morphological indication of plurality occurs on the adjective given that an inanimate noun in Tepehua is not obligatorily marked for plurality, nor is an inanimate noun obligatorily coindexed on the verb. In the example in (571a), the plurality of the head noun is not indicated on either the noun or the verb; though it is indicated on the adjective. In (571b), the adjective again is marked for plurality, and so too is the verb, which also bears the prefix *lak-*, indicating a third person plural object.

(571) a. klaqtz'in juu **laq**slapulh paatz'oqo
k-laqtz'in juu **laq**-slapulh paatz'oqo
1SUB-see(IMPFV) ART **PL**-red pencil
'I see the red pencils.' [PDLMA2005]

b. k**laq**laqtz'in juu **laq**slapulh paatz'oqo
k-**laq**-laqtz'in juu **laq**-slapulh paatz'oqo
1SUB-**PL**-see(IMPFV) ART **PL**-red pencil
'I see the red pencils.' [PDLMA2005]

One adjective in my database additionally takes the nominal plural suffix *–n*, as seen in the example below in (572). According to Beck (2000: 236), some

adjectives in Upper Necaxa Totonac that denote human characteristics also follow this double-plural marking pattern. It is possible that other HT adjectives that describe human charateristics follow this pattern as well; however, I cannot be sure of this since I have no other examples.[171]

(572) naa **laj**k'usi**n** xtajuuniita juu 7atzi7in
naa **lak**-k'usi-**n** x-ta-jun-niita juu 7atzi7-in
EMP **PL**-pretty-**PL** PAST-3PL.SUB-be-PF ART girl-PL
'The girls were very pretty.' [PDLMA2005]

5.1.2.2 Restrictive Modification with xaa-

When the impersonal possessive prefix *xaa-* (IPOS) is affixed to an adjective, it serves to restrict the modification of the noun to a certain subset of that noun. Levy (1992) calls the cognate prefix in Papantla Totonac a "specifying determiner," and she argues that when it occurs on an adjective modifying a noun, it means "of X [the elements that are possible in a context], the one that Y" (p. 280).[172] Beck (2000) seems to be the first to have called this "restrictive modification" in comparison to "qualificative modification" in which the adjective is not prefixed with *xaa-* (p. 229).

While Levy and Beck both give examples of *xaa-* prefixed to lexical adjectives, I have found the prefix *xaa-* on derived adjectives only in my own data; however, I did not explicitly test for it on any adjectives—lexical or derived—during my fieldwork.

[171] Unfortunately, I overlooked this pattern during my fieldwork.
[172] Beck (2000) quotes an unpublished, undated manuscript of Levy to which I do not have access: "of the Ns, the Adj one" (p. 229)

In the example below in (573), the derived adjective *niin* ‘dead’ is prefixed with *xaa-*, and the adjective modifies the head noun *lapának* ‘person’ within a noun phrase. The prefix restricts the set of people to just the dead ones.

(573)

nii	waa	muujuukalhch	juu lapának
nii	waa	muujuu-kan-li+ch	juu lapának
COMP	FOC	throw-INS-PFV+ALD	ART person

[juu	**xaaniin**	lapának]$_{NP}$	juu	lakxkaan
juu	**xaa**-nii-n	lapának	juu	laka-xkaan
ART	**IPOS**-die-DVB	person	ART	PREP-water

‘Because the people threw the dead people into the water.’ [T0057:083]

The prefix *xaa-* may occur on an adjective in a predicative position, as well as on an adjective in a modificational one. In the examples in (574), *xaa-* is prefixed to the derived adjective *chaan* ‘ripe’. In (574a), the adjective *xaachaan* occurs in the predicative position, following the noun phrase *juu t’aaxkati* ‘the honey’ and preceding the copula. In (574b), *xaachaan* occurs within the noun phrase, after the article and before the head noun *lhii7uti* ‘fruit’, in a modificational position.

(574) a.

[juu	t'aaxkati]$_{NP}$	[**xaachaan]**	7ixjuuniita
juu	t’aaxkati	**xaa**-chaa-n	7ix-jun-niita
ART	honey	**IPOS**-ripe-DVB	PAST-be-PF

‘The honey was ripe/done/ready-to-eat.’ [PDLMA2005]

b.

klaqtz'in	[juu	**xaachaan**	lhii7uti]$_{NP}$
k-laqtz'in	juu	**xaa**-chaa-n	lhii7uti
1SUB-see(IMPFV)	ART	**IPOS**-ripe-DVB	fruit

‘I see the ripe fruit.’ [PDLMA2005]

Finally, the prefix *xaa-* is found on an adjective that occurs in a lexicalized, idiomatic noun phrase, shown in the examples in (575). The combination of *xaaqay* ‘big’ with *pay* ‘father’ creates the lexeme ‘grandfather’,

shown in (575a), (575b), and (575c): of the fathers, the big (old?) ones. The combination of *xaaqay* with *nati* ‘mother’ creates the lexeme ‘grandmother, shown in (575d): of the mothers, the big ones. Evidence that *xaaqay* is an adjective modifying *pay* and *nati* is seen in the placement of the possessive morphology on the noun.

(575) a. **xaaqaych** xpay juu Teewan
xaa-qay+ch x-pay juu Teewan
IPOS-big+ALD 3POS-father ART Stephen
Stephen's grandfather. [T0054: 020]

b. **xaa7ay** kimpay
xaa-qay kin-pay
IPOS-big 1POS-father
‘my grandfather’ [TPWDB: xaaqay pay]

c. **xaalaj7ay** kimpay
xaa-lak-qay kin-pay
IPOS-PL-big 1POS-father
‘my grandfathers’ [TPWDB: xaaqay pay]

d. **xaa7ay** kinati
xaa-qay ki-nati
IPOS-big 1POS-mother
‘my grandmother’ [TPWDB: xaaqay nati]

5.2 QUANTIFIERS

There are three non-numeric quantifiers that appear with great frequency in texts, narratives, and conversations: *chuux* ‘all’, *lakatz’unin* ‘few, a few, a little (bit)’, and *lhuu* ‘much, many’. Though quantifiers have features in common with adjectives, adverbs, and numbers, only the adjectival properties of quantifiers are treated here. A discussion of the adverbial use of quantifiers is included in

Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2, and the use of numeral classifiers on quantifiers is covered in Chapter 7, Section 7.3.

Unlike other adjectives, quantifiers may not be inflected for plurality or restricted modification, nor may they bear derivational affixes. Furthermore, when a quantifier modifies a noun, it *precedes* all other members of the noun phrase, including the definite article *juu*, the demonstrative pronoun, and the head noun, as seen below in the examples in (576).[173] This position is outside of (and anterior to) the noun phrase, which indicates that the quantifier has scope over the entire noun phrase, not just the head noun.

(576) a. taqayxtoqlich **chuux** [juu lapanak]$_{NP}$
taqayxtoq-li+ch **chuux** juu lapanak
gather.together-PFV+ALD **all** ART people
'All the people gathered together.' [T0058: 049]

b. takilaqolhch
ta-ki-laqo-li+ch
3PL.SUB-GO.RETURN-end-PFV+ALD

chuux [juu 7anu7 ki7ananaan7an]$_{NP}$
chuux juu 7anu7 kin-7a-nana7-n-7an
all ART DADJ 1POS-PL-old.woman-PL-PL.POS
'All of our grandmothers went.' [T0058; 051]

c. pero juu chaway nii naa **lhuuch** [juu lapanak]$_{NP}$
pero juu chaway nii naa **lhuu**+ch juu lapanak
but ART now COMP EMP **many**+ALD ART person

laay chiwiinin lhiilaawaan,
laa-y chiwin-nin lhii-laawaan
can-IMPFV speak-PL.INF APPL-Spanish
'Now that many of the people can speak Spanish, . . .' [T0057: 097-98]

[173] I have found no examples in which a quantifier modifies a noun phrase which contains a qualitative or quantitative adjective, nor did I test this possibility during my fieldwork.

d. maa naa naa **lhuu** [juu xkupu7]$_{NP}$ lhii7alh
maa naa naa **lhuu** juu xkupu7 lhii7an-li
RPT EMP EMP **many** ART crayfish take-PFV
'He took a lot of crayfish (crawdads).' [T0058: 019]

Quantifiers may act as predicate adjectives, as seen in the examples below in (577). The examples shown in (a) and (b) are unmarked for tense and do not have a copula,[174] while the examples in (c) and (d) are marked for past tense and, therefore, must have a copula to bear the tense and aspect markers.[175]

(577) a. [waa **lakatz'unin**]$_{PREDADJ}$ [juu maqalhqaman]$_{NP}$
waa lakatz'unin juu maqalhqama-n
FOC few ART Tepehua-PL
'The Tepehua [people] were few.' [T0057: 055]

b. puus [yuuch juu puutaxtulh
puus [yuuch juu puutaxtu-li
well [PRN.3SG REL survive-PFV

waa juu 7anii laqachaqan]$_{NP}$
waa juu 7anii laqachaqan
FOC ART DADJ town

[waa **lakatz'unin**]$_{PREDADJ}$
waa **lakatz'unin**
FOC **few**
'Well, those who survived here in the town were few.' [T0057: 053]

c. [7ixjuuniita]$_{COP}$ [juu lapanak]$_{NP}$ maa [jaantu **lhuu**]$_{PREDADJ}$
7ix-jun-niita juu lapanak maa jaantu **lhuu**
PAST-be-PF ART person RPT NEG **many**
'The people were not many.' [T0057: 054]

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[174] The English free translations for the (a) and (b) examples in (577) are in the past tense even though the HT clauses are unmarked for tense because the past tense context was already established in previous clauses.
[175] See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3 for more information on predicate adjectives and copulas.

d. 7entoons [tuuka7 **laqlhuu**]$_{\text{PREDADJ}}$ [7ixjuuniita]$_{\text{COP}}$
7entoons tuu+ka7 laq-lhuu 7ix-jun-niita
then/so NEG+JST **CL:peso**-many PAST-be-PF
'So it was not expensive (inexpensive).' [T0069: 389]

Though a classified quantifier may stand alone as an anaphoric expression that refers to some previously mentioned noun, there is no conclusive evidence that an unclassified quantifier may do so. I have found only one clause that contains an unclassified quantifier that appears to act as an anaphoric expression, shown below in (578).

(578) maa naa **lhuu** jaantuch xtaminputun
maa naa **lhuu** jaantu+ch x-ta-min-putun+ch
RPT EMP **many** NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-come-DESID. (IMPFV)+ALD
'Many did not want to come.' [T0057: 027]

If this were an anaphoric expression, there should be a corresponding clause that contains the omitted noun phrase, which would appear between the quantifier *lhuu* and the negative verb phrase *jaantuch xtaminputun*, as seen below in (578′).[176]

(578′) maa naa **lhuu** [***juu*** ***lapanak***]$_{\text{NP}}$
maa naa **lhuu** [***juu*** ***lapanak***]
RPT EMP **many** [***ART*** ***people***]

jaantuch xtaminputun
jaantu+ch x-ta-min-putun+ch
NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-come-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD
'Many did not want to come.' [T0057: 027]

However, it is most often the case that a quantifier in the syntactic pre-verbal position is seperated from the noun phrase by the verb phrase, indicating that the quantifier acts as an adverbial modifier, rather than as an adjectival modifier.

[176] I have modeled the clause in (578′) after the one in (576c); I want it to be clear that I did not test this clause with a native speaker.

Such an example is seen below in (579), and further discussion is found in Chapter 6, section 6.3.2.

(579) maa naa naa **lhuu** niilh
maa naa naa **lhuu** nii-li
RPT EMP EMP **many** die-PFV

[juu lapanak]$_{NP}$ juu 7aksnich
juu lapanak juu 7aksnich
ART person ART then
'Many people died then.' [T0057: 020]

Chapter 6: Adverbs

The adverb class in Huehuetla Tepehua is a catch-all class of words and particles that (i) modify other words, (ii) may not be inflected, and (iii) do not fall into any of the other word classes. Adverbs may be loosely divided into three subclasses: temporal (section 6.1), locative (section 6.2), and manner (section 6.3). Manner adverbs may be further divided into those that are ideophonic or symbolic in nature (section 6.3.1) and those that are not (section 6.3.2). Other, more specific adverbs are treated in section 6.4; these include: the emphatic adverb *naa* (section 6.4.1), the evidential and the epistemic adverbs (section 6.4.2), temporal adverbial clitics (section 6.4.3), quantifiers used as adverbs (section 6.4.4). Prepositions are discussed in section 6.6. HT Adverbs form a distinct word class from nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Unlike the other words classes, adverbs may not be inflected; they do, however, accept the applicative derivational prefix *lhii-*, which may also appear on verbs and nouns (section 6.5). Finally, adverbs may undergo a phonological process of reduplication that does not apply to the other word classes; this process is addressed along with the ideophonic adverbs in section 6.3.1.

6.1 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs and temporal adverbial clauses are always clause- or sentence-level modifiers.[177] They usually occur pre-verbally, either at the beginning of the sentence or immediately before the verb, as seen in the examples

[177] Please see Chapter 8, Section 8.6.1.3 for information on the internal structure of adverbial clauses.

in (580). In (580a), the adverbial phrase *juu maqanchich* ‘a long time ago’ occurs at the beginning of the sentence; it is separated from the verb by the subject *juu xqatii* and the emphatic adverbial particle *naa*, which is reduplicated. In (580b), the adverbial clause (*juu chaway nii naa lhuuch juu lapanak laay chiwinin lhiilaawaan* ‘now that the people can speak Spanish’) is sentence-initial, and it is separated from the verb phrase by the discourse marker *puus* ‘well’. In (580c), the adverbial phrase *juu p’ulhnan* occurs immediately before the verb *and* at the beginning of the sentence. In (580d), the adverbial phrase *chuux lhiituumiinku* ‘every Sunday’ follows the subject and precedes the verb.

(580) a. [juu maqanchich]$_{ADVP}$ [juu xqatii]$_{SUB}$ naa naa
juu maqanchi+ch juu xqatii naa naa
ART long.time+ALD ART creek EMP EMP

[xlaktanooqojuy]$_{V}$ juu lakalakchaqa7
x-lak-tanuu-qoju-y juu laka-lak-chaqa7
PAST-3PL.OBJ-enter-ALL-IMPFV ART PREP-PL-house

naa naa juu lapanak
naa naa juu lapanak
EMP EMP ART people
‘Before, the creek flooded the houses of all the people.’ [T0057: 069]

b. [juu chaway nii naa lhuuch juu lapanak laay
juu chaway nii naa lhuu+ch juu lapanak laa-y
ART now COMP EMP many+ALD ART people can-IMPFV

chiwiinin lhiilaawaan]$_{ADVCL}$ puus [laaych qalhtayanan]$_{VP}$
chiwin-nin lhii-laawaan puus laa-y+ch qalhtaya-nVn
speak-PL.INF APPL-Spanish well can-IMPFV+ALD defend-INO
‘Now that many people can speak Spanish, well,
they can defend themselves.’ [T0057: 097-098]

c. [juu p'ulhnan]$_{ADVP}$ [tuu laay 7ixchiwinin]$_{V}$
juu p'ulhnan tuu laa-y 7ix-chiwin-nin
ART first NEG can-IMPFV PAST-speak-PL.INF

[juu maqalhqama7]$_{SUB}$ [juu lhiilaawaan]$_{OBJ}$ naa qox
juu maqalhqama7 juu lhii-laawaan naa qox
ART Tepehuas ART APPL-Spanish EMP good
'At first, the Tepehua could not speak Spanish very well.'[T0057: 097]

d. [juu Miikii]$_{SUB}$ [chuux lhiituumiinku]$_{ADVP}$ t'aqap'aych
juu Miikii chuux lhii-tuumiinku t'aqap'a-y+ch
ART Michael all APPL-Sunday get.drunk-IMPFV+ALD
'Michael gets drunk every Sunday.' [T0066: 104]

It is less common for a temporal adverb or adverbial clause to occur post-verbally or post-predicatively, but examples do occur, as seen below in (581). In both (581a) and (581b), a single temporal adverb—*chaway* 'now' and *tz'iisich* 'last night', respectively—follows the verb. In (581c), the adverbial clause *7aksni soqch 7an* 'when it goes straight' follows the verb; and in (581d), the adverbial clause *7aksni 7atz'akanan juu tzaapuj* 'when the worm bites' follows the predicate nominal construction *yuuchach juu xak'uch'u* 'that is the cure'.

(581) a. [laktantamakxtuukalhch]$_{V}$ [chaway]$_{ADV}$
lak-tan-ta-makxtuu-kan-li+ch chaway
PL-TORSO-INCH-take.out-INS-PFV+ALD now
'They were taken out then.' [T0063: 079]

b. [k'ilaach'oqo7as]$_{V}$ [tz'iisich]$_{ADV}$?
ki-laa-choqo+7as tz'iisich
RT(2SUB)-can-AGAIN(2SUB.PFV)+TAGQ last.night
'Did you go out again last night?' [T0066: 020]

c. jaa chunchi7as [nawiikanch]$_{V}$
jaa chun+chi+7as nawii-kan+ch
Q like.so+ALD+TAGQ make-INS(IMPFV)+ALD

[7aksni soqchi 7an]$_{ADVCL}$
7aksni soq+chi 7an
when straight+ALD go(IMPFV)
'Is this how they do it when it goes straight?' [T0069: 168]

d. [yuuchach juu xak'uch'u]$_{PREDNOM}$
yuuch+ach juu xa-k'uch'u
PRN.3SG+ALD ART IPOS-cure

[7aksni 7atz'akanan juu tzaapuj]$_{ADVCL}$
7aksni 7a-tz'aka-nVn juu tzaapuj
when PL-bite-INO(IMPFV) ART worm
'*That* is the cure when the worm bites' [T0009: 010-011]

When the temporal adverb refers to a specific chronological or sequential time, it may or may not be preceded by the definite article *juu*, as seen below in the examples in (582). In (582a), the specific adverb *7askniich* 'then' is preceded by *juu*, while in (582b), it is not. Other examples of a specific adverb that *is* preceded by *juu* include (580a), (580b), and (580c); other examples of a specific adverb that is *not* preceded by *juu* include (581a) and (581b).

(582) a. maa naa naa lhuu niilh
maa naa naa lhuu nii-li
RPT EMP EMP many die-PFV

juu lapanak [**juu** 7aksniich]$_{ADVP}$
juu lapanak **juu** 7aksnii+ch
ART people **ART** then+ALD
'Many people died then.' [T0057: 020]

b. [7aksniich]$_{ADV}$ maa tanuuchilh juu comunismo
7aksnii+ch maa tanuu-chi-li juu comunismo
then+ ALD RPT enter-PROX-PFV ART communism
'Then communism entered [the village].' [T0057: 060]

Conversely, when the time to which the temporal adverb refers is not specific, it is *never* preceded by the definite article *juu*, as seen above in (580d) and (581d).

6.2 LOCATIVE ADVERBS

Locative adverbs and locative adverbial phrases may be either clause-level or phrase-level modifiers, as seen in the examples below in (583). In (583a), the locative adverb *juu 7anch* 'there' and the locative prepositional phrase *juu lakilaqachaqan* 'in my village' both have scope over the entire clause, while in (583b) the locative adverb *ma7at* 'far away' has scope only over the verb phrase *laay kalhii7alh* 'can take it'.

(583) a. puus [juu 7anch]$_{ADVP}$ [juu lakilaqachaqan]$_{ADVP}$
puus juu 7anch juu laka-ki-laqachaqan
well ART there ART PREP-1POS-village

wachu7 [talaknajun]$_{V}$
wachu7 ta-lak-najun
also 3PL.SUB-PL-say(IMPFV)
'Well, there in my village, they talk about . . .' [T0003: 001-2]

b. maa yuuch juu [laay kalhii7alh]$_{VP}$ [ma7at]$_{ADV}$
maa yuuch juu laa-y ka-lhii7an-li ma7at
RPT PRN.3SG REL can-IMPFV IRR-take-PFV far.away
'He is (the one) who can take it far away.' [T0003: 026]

The locative adverbial may occur pre- or post-verbally. Compare (583a) above, in which the two clause-level adverbial phrases occur before the predicate, to (584a) below, in which the same two clause-level adverbials occur after the predicate. Also compare (583b) above, in which the phrase-level adverb occurs post-verbally, to (584b) below, in which the phrase-level adverb occurs pre-verbally.

(584) a. puus chunch juu [noonkan]$_{V}$
puus chun+ch juu najun-kan
well like.so+ALD REL say-INS(IMPFV)

[juu 7anch]$_{ADVP}$ [juu lakilaqachaqan]$_{ADVP}$
juu 7anch juu laka-ki-laqachaqan
ART there ART PREP-1POS-village
'Well, that is what they say there in my village.' [T0003: 033]

b. puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa [7anchach]$_{ADV}$ [tamaktay]$_{V}$
puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa 7anch+ach tamakta-y
well ART that story FOC there+ALD end-IMPFV
'Well, that story ends there.' [T0058: 055]

A locative adverb may occur as a predicative element, as seen in the examples below in (585). In (585a), the locative adverb *niin* 'near' acts as a predicative adverb within the relative clause, which modifies the nominal *maqtili7* 'wild animal'. In (585b), the adverb *7anch* 'there' is the predicative head of the following relative clause.[178]

(585) a. maa xt'oonpalay juu maqtili7 [juu waa
maa x-t'ajun-pala-y juu maqtili7 juu waa
RPT PAST-be-REP-IMPFV ART wild.animal REL FOC

niinch laqachaqan, taa wii xkaan]$_{RELCL}$
niin+ch laqachaqan taa wii xkaan
near+ALD town where seated(IMPFV) water
'There was a wild animal that was near the town, by the pond.'
[T0020: 002]

b. [7anch]$_{ADV}$ [juu maa laaych 7anch mukoona7]$_{RELCL}$
7anch juu maa laa-y+ch 7an+ch muku-nV7
there REL RPT can-IMPFV+ALD go+ALD leave-INF
'It is there that he can go to leave it.' [T0003: 028]

[178] Please see Chapter 8, Section XXX for more information on relative clauses.

When a locative adverb refers to a definite location, it usually is preceded by the definite article *juu*, as seen below in the examples in (586).

(586) a. jaantu lhiiminpalay [**juu** 7ani7]$_{ADVP}$
jaantu lhii-min-pala-y juu 7ani7
NEG APPL-come-REP-IMPFV ART here
'I never come here.' [T0054: 033]

b. 7alin [**juu** 7ani7]$_{ADVP}$ juu lhiistak'a lakatii
7alin juu 7ani7 juu lhiistak-7a laka-tii
there.is(IMPFV) ART here REL guard-IMPFV PREP-road
'Here there is he/one who guards (in) the road.' [T0022: 050]

c. laqtz'ilh wachu7 [**juu** 7anch]$_{ADVP}$
laqtz'in-li wachu7 juu 7anch
see-PFV also ART there

taa kch'alhkatnanaw
taa k-ch'alhkat-nVn-aw
where 1SUB-work-INO-1PL.SUB
'He saw him, too, there where we worked.' [T0022: 043-44]

However, it is not always the case that a definite locative adverb is preceded by the definite article, as can be seen in the examples below in (587). In the example in (587a), the adverb *7anch* 'there' refers to a specific location (a cave); though this adverb occurs twice in the clause, only one occurrence (the second one) is preceded by *juu*. In (587b), the adverb *7ani7* 'here' also occurs twice, and both occurrences are definite in that the speaker is referring to the exact location in which she is speaking; however neither of these instances are preceded by the definite article *juu.*

(587) a. pero [7anch]$_{ADV}$ Maliyaa Senisyeentaach xajunkan
pero 7anch Maliyaa Senisyeentaach xa-jun-kan
but there Mary Cinderella PAST-call-INS(IMPFV)

[**juu** 7anch]$_{ADVP}$ juu laka7ani7 taa
juu 7anch juu laka-7ani7 taa
ART there REL PREP-here where

xtanuunch
x-tanuun+ch
PAST-inserted(IMPFV)+ALD
But there, Mary was called Cinderella, there where she was.'
[T0063: 049-050]

b. [7ani7]$_{ADV}$ kimaaqeswaat'i, taa
7ani7 kin-maa-qeswaa-t'i taa
here 1OBJ-CAUS-be.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV where

wii minana7 Seepaa
wii min-nana7 Seepee
seated(IMPFV) 2POS-old.woman Josefa

minkanch [7ani7]$_{ADV}$
min-kan+ch 7ani7
come-INS+ALD here
'You scared me here, where old lady Josephine lives,
coming here.' [T0054: 036-037]

In the following example in (588), *7anch* 'there' refers to a figurative location: the end of the story. This phrase—or one very similar to it—occurs repeatedly in the stories that I recorded, and *7anch* is never preceded by *juu* in this context.

(588) a. puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa [7anchach]$_{ADV}$ tamaktay
puus juu 7anu7 kweentuu waa 7anch+ach tamakta-y
well ART that story FOC there+ALD end-IMPFV
'Well, that story ends there.' [T0058: 055]

b. [7anchach]$_{ADV}$ 7aklay juu xkweentuu?
7anch+ach 7akla-y juu x-kweentuu
there+ALD end-IMPFV ART 3POS-story
'Does the story end there?' [T0054: 083]

Finally, a less specific locative adverb is not preceded by the definite article, as seen in the examples below in (589). In (589a), the locative adverb *maqspa7* 'outside' refers to a general location, as does the adverb *ma7at* 'far away' in (589b), which is repeated from (583b) above; neither adverb is preceded by the definite article *juu*.

(589) a. xakt'aawiilhpaa juu papa7 [maqspa7]$_{ADV}$
xa-k-t'aa-wiilh-paa juu papa7 maqspa7
PAST-1SUB-COM-seated-REP.PFV ART old.man outside
'I was sitting outside with the old man.' [T0066: 025]

b. maa yuuch juu laay kalhii7alh [ma7at]$_{ADV}$
maa yuuch juu laa-y ka-lhii7an-li ma7at
RPT PRN.3SG REL can-IMPFV IRR-take-PFV far.away
'He is (the one) who can take it far away.' [T0003: 026]

6.3 MANNER ADVERBS

The class of manner adverbs is made up of two subclasses: the ideophonic adverbs (section 6.3.1) and the non-ideophonic adverbs (section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 Ideophonic Manner Adverbs

Many of the manner adverbs form a subclass of ideophonic words that I have called *affect words* elsewhere (Smythe Kung 2005a, 2005c, 2006), following England (2004) and Kaufman (1988); however, in keeping with recent work on ideophones in other Totonacan languages (Beck in press a, in press b; McFarland 2006, to appear), I now call them *ideophones* in order to maintain consistency within the Totonacan language family. HT ideophonic words are symbolic of

action, sound, taste, smell, and sensation. Though many ideophones are onomatopoeic, the majority are not. Some examples of ideophones are shown below in (590). The words *loqo* in (590a) and *chalan* in (590b) are onomatopoeic and symbolic of sound; *lapaq* in (590c) is symbolic of movement; *lhulh* in (590d) is symbolic of taste; *chiix* in (590e) is symbolic of smell; and *chilili* in (590f) is symbolic of sensation.

(590) a.

loqo	**loqo**	najun	juu	chiila7
loqo	**loqo**	najun	juu	chiila7
ID	ID	say(IMPFV)	ART	chicken

'The chicken clucks.'
[*loqo* 'the cluck of a chicken'] [TPWDB: loqo]

b.

chalan	**chalan**	makat'ajun	juu	kuux
chalan	**chalan**	makat'ajun	juu	kuux
ID	ID	sound(IMPFV)	ART	corn

'The (dried) corn goes *chalan chalan*.'
[*chalan* 'a ringing sound'] [TPWDB: chalan]

c.

lapaq	**lapaq**	laay	juu	skikluw
lapaq	**lapaq**	laa-y	juu	skikluw
ID	ID	can-IMPFV	ART	eel

'The eel snakes along.'
[*lapaq* 'the motion of moving like a snake'] [TPWDB: lapaq]

d.

lhulh	**lhulh**	7uy	juu	lapanak	juu	7aalaaxuux
lhulh	**lhulh**	7u-y	juu	lapanak	juu	7aalaaxuux
ID	ID	eat-IMPFV	ART	person	ART	orange

'The person savors his orange.'
[*lhulh* 'a sweet, savory flavor'] [TPWDB: lhulh]

e.

chiix	**chiix**	7akamin	juu	lapanak
chiix	**chiix**	7akamin	juu	lapanak
ID	ID	smell(IMPFV)	ART	person

'The person smells of urine.'
[*chiix* 'the smell of urine'] [TPWDB: chiix]

f. **chilili** k'atzalh juu Susana
chilili k'atzan-li juu Susana
ID know(PFV)-PFV ART Susan

nii cha7alh juu Kuulaax
nii chaa7an-li juu Kuulaax
COMP arrive.there-PFV ART Nicholas
'Susan felt fear when Nicholas arrived there.'
[*chilili* 'sensation of fear'] [TPWDB: chilili]

Ideophones differ phonologically from non-expressive vocabulary in two important ways: stress and short vowel devoicing. The first syllable of an ideophone receives primary stress and all subsequent syllables (from left to right) receive secondary stress, as seen in (591a). The first syllable of non-ideophonic lexemes is *not* systematically stressed; instead the final syllable receives primary stress if it ends in a sonorant consonant, otherwise the penultimate syllable receives primary stress. Secondary stress in non-ideophonic lexemes is assigned to alternate syllables from right to left, as seen in (591b).[179] Primary stress is indicated by an acute accent mark (´), and secondary stress is indicated by a grave accent mark (`). Please see Chapter 2, section 2.5 for more information on stress.

(591) a. Primary and secondary stress in ideophones

chílìlì	'sensation of fear'
kúlhùk	'action of entering'
k'áchùchù	'sound of walking through dry leaves'
lápàq	'the motion of moving like a snake'
7ót'ìt'ì, 7ót'ì	'sensation of being upset or bothered'

b. Primary and secondary stress in non-ideophonic lexemes

chawáy	'now'
p'ulhnán	'first'
xkulúk'u	'wart'
maqàlhqamá7	'Tepehua person'

[179] Please see Chapter 2, section 2.5.

lhìimaqàlhqamá7	‘Tepehua language’

Next, word-final short vowels are *devoiced* in non-ideophonic lexemes, as seen in (592a), while in ideophones, word final short vowels are *voiced*, as seen in (592b).

(592) a. Word final short vowel devoicing in non-ideophonic lexemes

juuki	[ˈhuː.ki̥]	‘deer’
xanchi	[ˈʃaɲ.tʃi̥]	‘hello, goodbye’
7ach'enq’e	[ʔa.ˈtʃ’en.ʔe̥]	‘toasted’
talhpa	[ˈtaɬ.pḁ]	‘hill’
tz'oqo	[ˈts’o.ʔo̥]	‘bird’
maklhku	[ˈmak.ɬku̥]	‘light’

b. Word final short vowel voicing in ideophones

kixixi	[ˈki.ˌʃi.ˌʃi]	‘hiss’, ‘sound a snake makes’
maqeqe	[ˈma.ˌʔe.ˌʔe]	‘sensation of being sick to the stomach’
taqaqa	[ˈta.ˌʔa.ˌʔa]	‘the cry of a hen that is going to lay an egg’
qolo	[ˈʔo.ˌlo]	‘the cry of a male turkey’
lhkuku	[ˈɬku.ˌku]	‘purring of a cat’

Another common phonological feature of ideophones is their salient ability to be reduplicated. Other (non-ideophonic) adverbs may be reduplicated for emphasis, as seen below in the examples in (593). In (593a) the temporal adverb *chaway* ‘now’ is repeated, while in (593b), the entire adverbial phrase *naa qox* ‘very good’ is reduplicated. The only pattern of reduplication that is available for use with a non-ideophonic adverb is the pattern of complete reduplication. Also, it is important to note that non-ideophonic adverbs do not commonly appear in reduplicated form and that this reduplication is marked.

(593) a. [chaway]$_{ADV}$ [chaway]$_{ADV}$ k'ananta
chaway chaway k-7an-an-ta
now now 1SUB-go-XXX-PF
'I'm going now, *now*.' [TPWDB: chaway]

b. [naa qox]$_{ADVP}$ [naa qox]$_{ADVP}$ kixkaniy
naa qox naa qox kin-xka-ni-y
EMP good EMP good 1OBJ-hurt-DAT-IMPFV
'I hurt very, *very* badly.' [TPWDB: naa qox]

Ideophones, on the other hand, appear in reduplicated form more often than they appear in non-reduplicated form. Furthermore, ideophones exhibit three different patterns of reduplication: (i) complete reduplication, (ii) a single reduplication of an open final syllable, and (iii) reiterative reduplication of an open final syllable. The example in (594a), in which the ideophone *lapaq* appears twice, is an example of complete reduplication. Single reduplication of the last syllable of an ideophone is shown in (594b), and reiterative reduplication of the final syllable is shown in (594c). In these examples, the reduplicated elements are underlined.

(594) a. **lapaq** **<u>lapaq</u>** laay juu xkaan
lapaq **<u>lapaq</u>** laa-y juu xkaan
ID ID can-IMPFV ART water
'*Lapaq lapaq* goes the water.'
[*lapaq* 'snake-like (curved) motion'] [TPWDB: lapaq]

b. **k'achu<u>chu</u>** makat'ajun juu xaxqoy kapen
k'achu<u>chu</u> makat'ajun juu xa-xqoy kapen
ID sound(IMPFV) ART IPOS-leaf coffee
'The coffee leaves make the noise *k'achuchu*.'
[*k'achu* 'the sound of dried leaves'] [TPWDB: k'achuchu]

c. **lhk'ulu<u>lulu</u>** maa juu xkaan
ID lying(IMPFV) ART water
'The water goes *lhk'ulululu*.'
[*lhk'ulu* 'sound of the creek'] [TPWDB: lhk'ululu]

Some, but not all, ideophones may exhibit more than one type of reduplication, as seen below in the examples in (595). In (595a) *7ot'i* is fully reduplicated, and in (595b) only the final syllable is reduplicated.

(595) a. **7ot'i** **7ot'i** k'atz'an juu kimpajan
7ot'i **7ot'i** k'atz'an juu kim-pajan
ID **ID** know(IMPFV) ART 1POS-stomach
'My stomach is upset.'

b. **7ot'it'i** k'atz'an juu kimpajan
7ot'it'i k'atz'an juu kim-pajan
ID know(IMPFV) ART 1POS-stomach
'My stomach is upset.'
[*7ot'i* 'sensation of being upset or bothered'] [PDLMA2005]

Regarding the semantics of reduplication, a single occurrence of the affect word corresponds to a single action, sound, or sensation, as seen in (596a), where one occurrence of *la7a* indicates one pop of the speaker's neck. Whole-word reduplication indicates that the sound, action, or sensation happened more than once, as seen in (596b), where *la7a la7a* indicates that the speaker's neck popped multiple times.

(596) a. **la7a** makat'awlh juu kimpiixtu7
la7a makat'ajun-li juu kin-piixtu7
ID sound(PFV)-PFV ART 1POS-neck
'My neck popped once.'

b. **la7a** **la7a** makat'awlh juu kimpiixtu7
la7a **la7a** makat'ajun-li juu kin-piixtu7
ID ID sound(PFV)-PFV ART 1POS-neck
'My neck popped several times.'
[*la7a* 'popping noise'] [TPWDB: la7a]

Final syllable reduplication indicates that the action, sound, or sensation is long or continuous, as in (594b), (594c), and (595b) above. Multiple reduplicants of the

final syllable are used emphatically to indicate a longer-lasting sound, as in (594c) above.

Ideophones interact semantically with the verb which they modify; for example, ideophones that refer to sounds frequently occur with the verb *najun* 'say', as seen above in (590a), or with the verb *makat'ajun* '(make a) sound', as seen in (590b) and (596). Ideophones that refer to tastes tend to occur with verbs that refer to eating, such as *7uy* 'eat', shown above in (590d). Ideophones that refer to smells tend to occur with the verb *7akamin* 'smell' or '(give off an) odor', as seen in (590e). Ideophones that refer to sensations usually occur with the verb *k'atz'an* 'know', as seen in (590f) and (595). Ideophones that refer to actions frequently occur with the verb *laay* 'can', as seen above in (590c) and (594a), or with a verb whose meaning is very similar to that of the ideophone itself, as seen below in (597) and (598a).

(597) **kalhi** **kalhi** tz'i7in
ID ID laugh(IMPFV)
'He is laughing noiselessly.'
[*kalhi* 'laugh without sound'] [TPWDB: kalhi]

Ideophones have a very specific syntactic behavior: they always precede the verb that they modify, both when they are elicited, as seen in the examples above in (590), (594), (595), (596), and (597), and when they occur in texts, as seen in the examples below in (598).

(598) a. nii laqtz'inkalh, **lhtuj** xaqatajikalh
nii laqtz'in-kan-li **lhtuj** xaqataji-kan-li
COMP see-INS-PFV ID pull.out-INS-PFV
'When they saw her, they pulled her out [of the fire].'
[*lhtuj* 'action of pulling something towards self'] [T0054: 080]

b. juu chunch naa naach waa **qam qam** kamakat'awlh
juu chun+ch naa naa+ch waa **qam qam** ka-makat'ajun-li
ART like.so+ALD EMP EMP+ALD FOC ID ID IRR-sound-PFV
'Like this, it would sound very deep.'
[*qam* 'a deep or hollow sound'] [T0066: 137]

The evidential clitic *maa* may intervene between the ideophone and the verb, as seen in the example below in (599).

(599) **lhtoolhtoo** maa 7atz'alatzukulhch
lhtoolhtoo maa 7atz'ala-tzuku-li+ch
ID ID RPT run-begin-PFV+ALD

puuxkajuna7 juu x7ilht'i p'aax
puuxkaju-nV7 juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
search-INF ART 3POS-excrement pig
'He began to run around searching for pig excrement.'
[*lhtoo* 'manner of running round frantically searching'] [T0055: 012-13]

Finally, two ideophones may occur side-by-side preceding the verb, as seen in the example below in (600).

(600) **lhkukun** **kulhuk** tanuu juu laxpaamaalhik juu kuuyuu
lhkukun **kulhuk** tanuu juu laka-x-paamaalhik juu kuuyuu
ID ID enter(PFV) ART PREP-3POS-nest ART armadillo
'The armadillo ran and hid in its nest.'
[lhkukun 'the action of running']
[kulhuk 'action of entering'] [PDLMA 2005]

Ideophones themselves may not be inflected; however, they may act as roots for new verbal stems, which may then be inflected. I have found five productive morphological frames in HT in which an ideophone may act as the root; these five frames are shown in (601), and they are discussed in the following paragraphs.

(601) i. 7a-ID-nVn
PL.INO-ID-INO

ii. ID-laa
ID-can

iii. ID-nawii
ID-do

iv. ID-similar.verb

v. maa-ID-ni
CAUS-ID-DAT

The first morphological frame derives an intransitive verb stem from an ideophone by means of affixation of the indefinite object suffix *-nVn*, plus the plural indefinite object prefix *7a-* ; the meaning of the derived verb is based on that of the affect word. The frame is shown above in (601i). Beck (in press b: 13) lists some examples of intransitive verbs comprised of affect words bearing the *–nVn* suffix in Upper Necaxa Totonac, so this process is not unique to Huehuetla Tepehua. HT examples are shown below in (602) and (603). In example (602a), the ideophone *jaw* 'howl' appears in the adverbial position immediately preceding the verb *najun* 'say'; in example (602b) the same ideophone is used as the verb root, to which the indefinite object prefix and suffix are affixed.

(602) a. **jaw** **jaw** najun juu xqooy
ID **ID** say(IMPFV) ART dog
'The dog says, "howl howl."'
[*jaw* 'howling of an dog']

b. ta7a**jaw**nan juu xqooyun
ta-7a-**jaw**-nVn juu xqooy-un
3PL.SUB-PL.INO-**ID**-INO(IMPFV) ART dog-PL
'The dogs howl.' [TPWDB: jaw]

Similarly, in example (603a), the ideophone *p'uks* 'stink' modifies the verb *7akamin* 'smell' or 'have an odor', while in example (603b), the affect word is affixed with the indefinite object prefix and suffix.

(603) a. **p'uks** **p'uks** 7akamin juu lhiiway
ID **ID** smell(IMPFV) ART meat
'The meat stinks.'
[*p'uks* 'a strong and stinky odor, e.g., rotten meat']

b. 7a**p'uks**nun juu makxtalh
7a-**p'uks**-nVn juu makxtalh
PL.INO-**ID**-INO(IMPFV) ART garbage
'The garbage stinks.' [TPWDB: p'uks]

The second morphological frame creates a transitive or intransitive verb stem by compounding an ideophone and the auxiliary verb *laa* 'can'; the frame is shown above in (601ii). The resulting derived verb stem means to perform the action of the ideophone. The valency of the verb is dependent on pragmatic constraints of the ideophone. It is clear from the examples below in (604) and (605) that the ideophone and the auxiliary verb form a compound unit because they are prefixed with the past tense marker *xa-* ~ *x-* and suffixed with the imperfective aspect marker *–y*.

(604) a. **lhat** **lhat** 7atz'iy
lhat **lhat** 7atz'i-y
ID **ID** bite-IMPFV
'He bites and bites large chunks.'
[*lhat* 'action of biting large chunks or pieces']

b. xak**lhat**laay
xa-k-**lhat**-laa-y
PAST-1SUB-**ID**-can-IMPFV
'I would bite (off chunks of) it.' [TPWDB: lhat]

(605) a. **lomp'a** **lomp'a** laay juu 7uulii
lomp'a **lomp'a** laa-y juu 7uulii
ID **ID** can-IMPFV ART tarp
'The tarp goes *lomp'a lomp'a.*'
[*lomp'a* 'motion of something (e.g., tarp, sheets) flapping in the wind']

b. x**lomp'a**laay juu 7uulii juu laka7uun
x-**lomp'a**-laa-y juu 7uulii juu laka-7uun
PAST-**ID**-can-IMPFV ART tarp ART PREP-wind
'The tarp would move in the wind.' [TPWDB: lomp'a]

In the third morphological frame, the ideophone is compounded with the verb *nawii* 'do' or 'make' to form either a transitive or an intransitive stem, according to the pragmatic constraints of the ideophone. The template is shown above in (601iii), and examples are shown in (606) and (607). The resulting *ID-nawii* stem has a meaning that is the same as or nearly the same as the meaning as the *ID-laa* stem (compare (606) to (604b) and compare (607) to (605b)). The verbs *laa* 'can' and *nawii* 'do, make' are both semantically general, and both can be described as 'light' or 'empty' verbs that have very little inherent meaning. Regardless of the semantics of *laa* and *nawii*, in all of these examples, the derived stem means to perform some sort of action based on the meaning of the ideophone. Furthermore, these two frames may be used only with ideophones that refer to actions.

(606) xak**lhat**nawiiy
xa-k-**lhat**-nawii-y
PAST-1SUB-**ID**-do-IMPFV
'I would bite it.' [TPWDB: lhat]

(607) x**lomp'a**nawiiy juu 7uulii juu 7uun
x-**lomp'a**-nawii-y juu 7uulii juu 7uun
PAST-**ID**-do-IMPFV ART tarp ART wind
'The wind would move the tarp.' [TPWDB: lomp'a]

The fourth morphological frame compounds an ideophone with a verb that is both semantically specific and semantically (though not phonologically) similar to the ideophone; the frame is shown above in (601iv). Examples are shown below in (608) and (609). In all of the examples, the HT ideophone corresponds to the direct object in the English translation.

(608) xaki**lhat**'atz'iy juu xqooy
xa-ki-**lhat**-7atz'i-y juu xqooy
PAST-1OBJ-**ID**-bite-IMPFV ART dog
'The dog would give me a bite.' [TPWDB: lhat]

(609) x**lomp'a**suunuuy juu 7uulii juu 7uun
x-**lomp'a**-suunuu-y juu 7uulii juu 7uun
PAST-**ID**-blow-IMPFV ART tarp ART wind
'The wind would blow the tarp.' [TPWDB: lomp'a]

In the fifth and final morphological frame, an ideophone is affixed with the causative prefix *maa-* and the dative suffix *–ni*; the frame is shown above in (601v). The resulting meaning of the derived stem is to make something or someone else perform the action or sound of the ideophone. Examples are shown below in (610).

(610) a. maa**lomp'a**niy juu 7uulii juu 7uun
maa-**lomp'a**-ni-y juu 7uulii juu 7uun
CAUS-**ID**-DAT-IMPFV ART tarp ART wind
'The wind moves the tarp.' [TPWDB: lomp'a]

b. maa**lhkapak**niy juu puutook'a juu Kuulaax
maa-**lhkapak**-ni-y juu puutook'a juu Kuulaax
CAUS-**ID**-DAT-IMPFV ART horse ART Nicholas
'Nicholas makes the horse rear up.'
[*lhkapak* 'action of rearing up on hind legs'] [PDLMA2005]

Though all five frames are productive processes, not all ideophones may participate in all of the frames due to pragmatic constraints. For example, an

ideophone that describes a sound may not be used in Frame 2 (ID-laa) or Frame 3 (ID-nawii), as seen in the examples below in (611). Furthermore, I found no corresponding morphological frame in which only sound-based (onomatopoeic) ideophones may be used. To date, I have not investigated the pragmatics of ideophones and their morphological frames beyond this rather general observation regarding the ideophones based on sound and action.

(611) *t'oq* 'the sound of a horse's hooves on concrete or rock'

a. **t'oq** **t'oq** xnawiiy juu puutook'a
t'oq **t'oq** x-nawii-y juu puutook'a
ID **ID** PAST-do-IMPFV ART horse
'The horse goes *t'oq t'oq*.'

b. ** x**t'oq**laay juu puutook'a
x-**t'oq**-laa-y juu puutok'a
PAST-**ID**-can-IMPFV ART horse

c. ** x**t'oq**nawiiy juu puutook'a
x-**t'oq**-nawii-y juu puutook'a
PAST-**ID**-do-IMPFV ART horse [PDLMA2005]

6.3.2 Non-ideophonic Manner Adverbs

Like the ideophonic manner adverbs, non-ideophonic manner adverbs also precede the verb, as seen in the examples below in (612). Both the (a) and the (b) examples are acceptable word orders because the adverbial phrase *naa k'us* 'very pretty' precedes the verb; the (c) example is unacceptable because the adverbial phrase follows the verb without occurring clause-finally.

(612) a. [**naa** **k'us**]$_{ADVP}$ [tasuy]$_{V}$ [juu talhpa]$_{SUBJ}$
naa k'us tasu-y juu talhpa
EMP pretty look(VI)-IMPFV ART hill
'The hill looks very pretty.'

b. [juu talhpa]$_{SUBJ}$ [**naa k'us**]$_{ADVP}$ [tasuy]$_{V}$
'The hill looks very pretty.'

c. **[tasuy]$_{V}$ [**naa k'us**]$_{ADVP}$ [juu talhpa]$_{SUBJ}$
(Intended reading: 'The hill looks very pretty.') [MNB13: 40]

However, the pre-verbal word order of the non-ideophonic manner adverbs is not as strict as that of the ideophonic adverbs. If another adverb occurs in the position immediately preceding the verb, the manner adverb may occur at the end of the clause. The example in (613a) shows the manner adverbial phrase *naa qox* 'very well' in the pre-verbal position. In (613b) a temporal adverb, *p'ulhnan* 'first', occurs in this pre-verbal position, and the manner adverbial phrase *naa qox* occurs at the end of the clause.

(613) a. [**naa qox**]$_{ADVP}$ [st'aakan]$_{V}$ [juu x7ilht'i p'aax]$_{SUBJ}$
naa qox st'aa-kan juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
EMP well sell-INS(IMPFV) ART 3POS-excrement pig
'The pig excrement sells really well.' [T0055: 092-093]

b. [**juu p'ulhnan**]$_{ADVP}$ [tulaay 7ixchiwinin]$_{VP}$
juu p'ulhnan tuu+laa-y 7ix-chiwin-nin
ART first NEG+can-IMPFV PAST-speak-PL.INF

[juu maqalhqama7]$_{SUBJ}$ [juu lhiilaawaan]$_{OBJ}$ [**naa qox**]$_{ADVP}$
juu maqalhqama7 juu lhii-laawaan naa qox
ART Tepehuas ART APPL-Spanish EMP good
'At first, the Tepehua could not speak Spanish very well.'
[T0057: 097]

A manner adverb may intervene between an auxiliary verb and a main verb, as seen below in (614).

(614) laaych [**chunch**]$_{ADV}$ 7aklaqoxipaa
laa-y+ch chun+ch 7a-k-laqoxi-paa
can-IMPFV+ALD like.so+ALD IRR-1SUB-arrange-REP.PFV

juu 7anu7
juu 7anu7
ART that
'I can arrange that one like this.' [T0066: 178]

Unlike temporal and locative adverbs, manner adverbs (both ideophonic and non-ideophonic) may never be preceded by the definite article *juu*.

6.4 OTHER ADVERBS

Topics covered in this section include the emphatic adverb *naa* (section 6.4.1), the evidential and the epistemic adverbs (section 6.4.2), temporal adverbial clitics (section 6.4.3), and quantifiers used as adverbs (section 6.4.4).

6.4.1 Emphatic *naa*

The emphatic adverbial particle *naa* intensifies the meaning of the adverb, verb, or predicate that it modifies. In the examples in (615), *naa* modifies an adverb; in the examples in (616), *naa* modifies a verb; and in the examples in (617), it modifies a predicate adjective and a predicate nominal.

(615) a. nii 7an **naa** qay xtalhawata juu xkaan
nii 7an **naa** qay x-talhawa-ta juu xkaan
COMP go(IMPFV) **EMP** big PAST-flood(VI)-PF ART water
'because the [river] water had flooded very high.' [T0018: 006]

b. **naa** qox k'asníy juu kit'ín
naa qox k-7asni-y juu kit'ín
EMP good 1SUB-be.cold-IMPFV ART PRN.1SG
'I'm *really* cold.' [TPWDB: 7asni]

.

(616) a. juu kuchíyuu **naa** kikxtúy
juu kuchíyuu **naa** kikxtu-y
ART knife **EMP** sharp-IMPFV
'The knife is *very* sharp.' [TPWDB: kikxtu]

b. 7astan waa **naa** 7alaklhiijuuniy kit'in
7astan waa **naa** 7alak-lhiijun-ni-y kit'in
afterwards FOC **EMP** PL-order-DAT-IMPFV PRN.1SG
'Afterwards, *I* ordered [drinks] for them.' [T0066: 056]

c. waa **naa** maa laqapuutanuuy xlaqapuutanuuta
waa **naa** maa laqapuu-tanuu-y x-laqapuutanuuta
FOC **EMP** RPT FACE-insert-IMPFV 3POS-mask
'He puts on the mask.' [T0055: 073]

(617) a. waa **naa** papa7
waa **naa** papa7
FOC **EMP** old.man
'He was a very old man.' [T0022: 037]

b. **naa** kan juu lhiiway 7ixjuuniita juu kutanch
naa kan juu lhiiway 7ix-jun-niita juu kutanch
EMP delicious ART meat PAST-be-PF ART yesterday
'The meat was delicious yesterday.' [ELIEX2: 038]

Like other adverbs, the adverbial particle *naa* may be reduplicated for added emphasis, as seen in the examples below in (618).

(618) a. maa **naa** **naa** lhuu niilh
maa **naa** **naa** lhuu nii-li
RPT **EMP** **EMP** many die-PFV

juu lapanak juu 7aksnich
juu lapanak juu 7aksni+ch
ART people ART then+ALD
'*Many, many* people died then.' [T0057: 017]

b. **naa** **naa** saqtzamanta juu xkaan
naa **naa** x-7aqtzaman-ta juu xkaan
EMP **EMP** PAST-fill-PF ART water
'The water filled it.' [T0018: 004]

c. jaantu **naa** **naa** sii maqalhqama7 laqachaqan
NEG **EMP** **EMP** pure Tepehua town
'It is not a *purely* Tepehua town.' [T0057: 035]

Like other adverbs, the emphatic particle *naa* may not be inflected. However, it may be cliticized with the temporal clitic *+ch*, as seen in the examples below in (619).

(619) a. y luego waa naa maa 7alakt'aatoolay
y luego waa naa maa 7alak-t'aa-toola-y
and then FOC EMP RPT PL-COM-stay-IMPFV

y waa **naach** nii talaklhtatalhch
y waa **naa+ch** nii ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
and FOC **EMP+ALD** COMP 3PL.SUB-DIS-fall.asleep-PFV+ALD
'And then he stayed with them, and they all fell asleep.'
[T0055: 067-68]

b. **naa** **naach** waa soq kajuna7
naa **naa+ch** waa soq ka-jun-a7
EMP **EMP+ALD** FOC straight IRR-be-FUT
'It will be very straight.' [T0069: 310]

The focus particle *waa* and the evidential particle *maa* may intervene between the emphatic particle *naa* and the adverb, verb, or predicate that it modifies, as seen in the following examples in (620).

(620) a. porque tuuka7 **naa** waa maqan
porque tuu+ka7 **naa** waa maqan
because NEG+JST **EMP** FOC long.time
'Because not very long ago . . .' [T0022: 025]

b. **naa** **naach** maa waa kiklhalhaa
naa **naa+ch** maa waa kik-lhalhaa
EMP **EMP+ALD** RPT FOC MOUTH-bearded
'he was very bearded' [T0022: 032]

c. nii kaa **naa** waa xtaqalhiniyanch
nii kaa **naa** waa x-taqalhi-ni-y-an+ch
COMP BLV **EMP** FOC PAST-spoil-DAT-IMPFV-2OBJ+ALD

juu mi7aqtzulh
juu min-7aqtzulh
ART 2POS-head
'It destroyed your head.' [T0054: 048]

d. waa **naa** maa tarr talak7atz'alay
waa **naa** maa tarr ta-lak-7atz'ala-y
FOC **EMP** RPT ID:running 3PL.SUB-DIS-run-IMPFV
'They took off running.' [T0055: 077]

6.4.2 Evidential and Epistemic Adverbs

HT displays a lexical evidential and epistemic strategy (or information source) rather a grammatical one (Aikhenvald 2003). The system is comprised of two particles: the evidential *maa* (RPT) indicates reported speech (section 6.4.2.1), while the epistemic *kaa* (BLV) indicates the speaker's belief or opinon (section 6.4.2.2). No other source of information is grammatically marked in HT. The two particles do not co-occur.

6.4.2.1 Evidential 'Reportative' maa

The evidential particle *maa* (RPT) indicates that the speaker does not have first-hand knowledge of the information. Speakers use *maa* to recount events that they did not actually witness or to convey the information that they got from another source, such as events or stories that they heard from someone else. The addition of this particle is the equivalent of adding 'they say' to a statement in English or 'dicen que' or 'según' to a statement in Spanish.[180] It is important to

[180] The reportative particle *maa* is also used to coordinate two clauses; please see the section 8.6.2 on "Coordination" in Chapter 8 for more information on this use of *maa*.

note that the use of *maa* is not obligatory and that omission of *maa* does not imply first-hand knowledge of the information conveyed by the utterance.

The reportative particle is ubiquitous in narratives and in conversation. Though *maa* most frequently occurs in the slot immediately preceding a verb (the adverbial slot), it may occur anywhere in a clause or even in a phrase. In the example in (621a) *maa* precedes a verb phrase. The example in (621b) has two occurrences of *maa* in the same clause: the first one precedes a pronoun and the second one preceds a noun. The example in (621c) also has two occurrences of *maa* in the same clause: the first instance of *maa* precedes a prepositional phrase, and the second instance precedes the adverbial particle *naa*, which modifies the plural adjective *lajqay* 'big (ones)'.

(621) a.

maa	tzúkulh	ch'apana7
maa	tzuku-li	ch'apa-nV7
RPT	begin-PFV	grab-INF

maa	laqtzamalhch	juu	xcubeta
maa	laqtzaman-li+ch	juu	x-cubeta
RPT	fill-PFV+ALD	ART	3POS-bucket

'Supposedly, he began to grab, and he filled his bucket.'[T0058: 022-023]

b.

puus	juu	7anu7	luw	**maa**	yuuch	laktitaymay
puus	juu	7anu7	luw	**maa**	yuuch	lak-titayma-y
well	ART	that	snake	**RPT**	PRN.3SG	PL-chase-IMPFV

juu	t'akunin	**maa**	papaaninch	juu	mati7	sasqat'a7an
juu	t'aku-nin	**maa**	papa7-nin+ch	juu	mati7	x-7asqat'a-7an
ART	woman-PL	**RPT**	man-PL+ALD	REL	none	3POS-child-PL

'Well, that snake, it chases after the women and men who have no children.' [T0003: 005-006]

c. **maa** lakachiiwx **maa** naa lajqay
maa laka-chiiwx **maa** naa lak-qay
RPT PREP-rock **RPT** EMP PL-big
'Supposedly, in the rocks, there were really big ones [crawdads].'
[T0058: 020]

Maa co-occurs with verbs in all tenses: the past is shown in the example in (622a); the present tense—which is formally unmarked—is shown in (621b); and the future tense is shown in (622b). *Maa* also occurs with verbs in all aspects—the imperfective (621b), the perfective (623a), and the perfect (623b)—as well as with verbs in the irrealis mood (624).

(622) a. entonces 7aksnii **maa** xch'apaputunch
entonces 7aksnii **maa** x-ch'apa-putun+ch
then when **RPT** PAST-grab-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD
'Then when he wanted to grab it . . .' [T0058: 024]

b. **maa** kakumpliilaya7 7ixk'aata juu 7ixtz'i7
maa ka-kumpliila-ya7 7ix-k'aata juu 7ix-tz'i7
RPT IRR-finish-FUT 3POS-year ART 3POS-daughter
'Supposedly, it will be her daughter's birthday.' [T0069: 420]

(623) a. **maa** jaantu ch'apalh
maa jaantu ch'apa-li
RPT NEG grab-PFV
'He didn't grab it.' [T0058: 042]

b. **maa** niita yaa juu laka7uun
maa nii-ta yaa juu laka-7uun
RPT die-PF standing ART PREP-air
'He was dead, standing in the air.' [T0022: 010]

(624) maa jaantu qox nii **maa** katamaqnii
maa jaantu qox nii **maa** ka-ta-maqnii
RPT NEG good COMP **RPT** IRR-3PL.SUBJ-kill(PFV)

juu 7anuuch lapanak maa laktitaymay
juu 7anu7+ch lapanak maa lak-titayma-y
ART that+ALD people RPT PL-pursue-IMPFV

porque nii **maa** katamaqniiy
porque nii **maa** ka-ta-maqnii-y
because COMP **RPT** IRR-3PL.SUBJ-kill-IMPFV

maa 7aqstu naa naa 7awilhchan **maa** kaniilh
maa 7aqstu naa naa 7awilhchan **maa** ka-nii-li
RPT same EMP EMP day **RPT** IRR-die-PFV

juu 7anuuch t'aku7
juu 7anu7+ch t'aku7
ART that+ALD woman
'It is not good for the people who it chases to kill it because, if they kill it, that very same day the woman Would die.' [T0003: 016-020]

6.4.2.2 Epistemic 'Believe' kaa

The use of the epistemic particle *kaa* indicates that the statement expressed by a clause is the opinion of the speaker, e.g, 'I believe' or 'in my opinion'. It is only used in the first person context and never in the second or third person contexts. *Kaa* occurs quite commonly in both Tlachichilco Tepehua and Pisaflores Tepehua; in both varieties it means 'probably' (Jim Watters, p.c.)

The epistemic particle *kaa* is not as ubiquitous as the evidential reported speech particle *maa*; in fact, it occurs in fewer than one-eighth of the clauses in the text database (whereas *maa* occurs in more than half of the clauses). Like *maa*, *kaa* occurs most frequently before verbs, though it may occur anywhere in the clause. Examples are shown below in (625). In (625a), *kaa* occurs before the

negative marker *jaantu*, which has scope over the verb; in (625b), *kaa* precedes the predicate nominal phrase *waa maqtilich*; in (625c) it occurs before the predicate pronominal *yuuch*, which is the head of the following relative clause; and in (625d) and (625e), *kaa* precedes the adverbs *7aqtz'iyanch* and *7ani7*, respectively.

(625) a. **kaa** jaantu xaktz'o7a
kaa jaantu xa-k-tz'o7-7a
BLV NEG PAST-1SUB-mark-IMPFV
'I think that I didn't mark it.' [T0069: 107]

b. **kaa** waa maqtiliich
kaa waa maqtili7+ch
BLV FOC wild.animal+ALD
'I believe it was a wild animal.' [T0020: 041]

c. puus **kaa** yuuch juu 7ixtaqnitach
puus **kaa** yuuch juu 7ix-xtaq-ni-ta+ch
well **BLV** PRN.3SG REL PAST-give-DAT-PF+ALD
'Well, I believe it is he who had given it to her.' [T0054: 016]

d. puus **kaa** 7aqtz'iyanch chunch
puus **kaa** 7aqtz'iyan+ch chun+ch
well **BLV** always+ALD like.so+ALD

juu 7uuniit'a juu 7uxint'i
juu jun-niita juu 7uxint'i
ART be(2SUB)-PF(2SUB) ART PRN.2SG
'Well, I think *you* have always been like that.' [T0054: 032]

e. 7ani7 juu xatz'o7a **kaa** 7ani7
7ani7 juu xa-tz'o7-7a **kaa** 7ani7
here REL PAST-mark-IMPFV **BLV** here
'It is here that you marked it, I think it is here.' [T0069: 108]

The epistemic particle may co-occur with verbs in any tense or aspect. Examples of the (unmarked) present tense are shown above in (625b) and (625d);

examples of the past tense are shown above in (625a), (625c), and (625e); and an example of the future tense is shown below in (626a). Examples of the imperfective aspect are shown above in (625a) and (625e); examples of the perfect aspect are shown above in (625c) and (625d); and an example of the perfective aspect is shown below in (626b). Finally, the particle *kaa* may occur with both the realis and irrealis moods; examples of the realis mood are seen in (625) and (626), while examples of the irrealis mood are seen in (627).

(626) a.

kaa	waa	chunchach	ka7ana7
kaa	waa	chunch+ach	ka-7an-a7
BLV	FOC	like.so+ALD	IRR-go-FUT

'I think it will go like this.' [T0069: 068]

b.

juu	7uputulhch	**kaa**	7ulhch
juu	7u-putun-li+ch	**kaa**	7u-li+ch
REL	eat-DESID-PFV+ALD	**BLV**	eat-PFV+ALD

'He who wanted to eat it, I believe he ate it.' [T0020: 034]

(627) a.

kaa	laay	xak7ampaalhchan	taymanaan
kaa	laa-y	xa-k-7an-paalh-chaa-n	tayma-nV7-n
BLV	can-IMPFV	PAST-1SUB-go-REP.PFV-ABL-2OBJ	catch-INF-2OBJ

'I think that I would have been able to catch you.' [T0066: 023]

b.

katast'aaya7	juu	puukapen
ka-ta-st'aa-ya7	juu	puukapen
IRR-3PL.SUB-sell-FUT	ART	coffee.plantation

maas	**kaa**	jaantuch	7ixlakaskilh	juu	xaatata7
maas	**kaa**	jaantu+ch	7ix-lakaskin-li	juu	xaa-tata7
although	**BLV**	NEG+ALD	PAST-want-PFV	ART	IPOS-grandfather

'They will sell the coffee plantation even if the grandfather were to have opposed it.' [QMMES]

6.4.3 Temporal Adverbial Clitics

There are two temporal adverbial clitics in HT: +*ch* (ALD) 'already' and +*ka7* (JST) 'just'. I analyze these two morphemes as clitics rather than affixes following criteria offered by Zwicky and Pullum (1983). First, these two clitics "exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts" (p. 503); they may affix to nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and negative particles. These clitics are affixed to words only after all morphosyntactic (derivational and inflectional) operations have applied. And unlike inflectional and derivational affixes, these clitics do not have a morphophonemic effect on the words to which they cliticize. The clitic +*ch* (ALD) 'already' is discussed below in section 6.4.3.1, and +*ka7* (JST) 'just' is discussed in section 6.4.3.2.

6.4.3.1 'Already' +ch

The temporal adverbial clitic +*ch* (ALD) is used more frequently than any other clitic or affix in the language, occurring in approximately one-third of the clauses in the text database. It may cliticize onto verbs in any aspect, as well as onto adverbs, nouns, predicative adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and the negative particle. However, its meaning is not transparent. Though I have labeled it (ALD) for 'already', it adds this temporal meaning to a verb only in the perfect aspect, as seen below in the examples in (628).

(628) Perfect Aspect

a.	**xniitach**	maqtili7
	x-nii-ta+**ch**	maqtili7
	PAST-die-PF+**ALD**	wild.animal
	'The wild animal had already died.'	[T0020: 023]

b. juu yuuch waa **xt'alalhwaqtach**
juu yuuch waa x-t'alalhwaq-ta+**ch**
ART PRN.3SG FOC PAST-distribute-PF+**ALD**
'He had already distributed it [the money].' [T0054: 018]

c. maa naa **xtamaaqantalhanantach**
maa naa x-ta-maaqantalha-nVn-ta+**ch**
RPT EMP PAST-INCH-scare-INO-PF+**ALD**
'It had already scared her.' [T0003: 031]

d. puus juu lapanak maa **niitach**
puus juu lapanak maa nii-ta+**ch**
well ART person RPT die-PF+**ALD**
'Well, the person had already died.' [T0022: 014]

When it occurs on a verb in the perfective aspect, +*ch* indicates that the action represented by that verb had already been completed by the time of the past which is being narrated. Examples are shown in (629).

(629) Perfective Aspect

a. maa **milhch** 7awilhchan
maa min-li+**ch** 7a-wilhchan
RPT come-PFV+**ALD** CLS:other-day

nii lhiitajukalh tanch juu tanuun
nii lhiitaju-kan-li tanch juu tanuun
COMP discover-INS-PFV where REL inserted
'Another day (already) came when they discovered where it was.'
[T0020: 013]

b. **laqaxuk'alhch** maa **tapaach'uk'ulhch**
laqa-xuk'a-li+**ch** maa ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+**ch**
body-skin(VT)-PFV+**ALD** RPT 3PL.SUB-insides-open-PFV+**ALD**
'They skinned it and they opened it up.' [T0020: 026]

The clitic +*ch* may occur on both present and past tense verbs marked for the imperfective aspect. A narrative feature of HT is that the narrative past may be indicated by a combination of (i) the unmarked present tense or the past tense

marker *x*-, (ii) the *imperfective* aspect suffix, and (iii) the clitic *+ch*. Present tense exmples are shown below in (630), and past tense examples are shown in (631). The choice between past and present tense seems to be a stylistic, personal one. Note that for all of the examples in (630) and (631), we would expect these verbs to be marked for the *perfective* aspect.

(630) Imperfective Aspect, present tense

a. maa **juuniych** juu xkumwarii
maa jun-ni-y+**ch** juu x-kumwarii
RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+**ALD** ART 3POS-compadre
'. . . his compadre says [said] to him.' [T0055: 007]

b. **lakch'apayajuych**
lak-ch'apayaju-y+**ch**
PL-detain-IMPFV+**ALD**
'He stops [stopped] them.' [T0055: 084]

c. yuuch maa **lhiitalhawaych** juu qayxkaan
yuuch maa lhii-talhawa-y+**ch** juu qayxkaan
PRN.3SG RPT APPL-flood-IMPFV+**ALD** ART river
'That is why the river floods [flooded].' [T0057: 085]

d. **tamaa7atz'alaych** juu xkupu7
ta-maa-7atz'ala-y+**ch** juu xkupu7
3PL.SUB-CAUS-run-IMPFV+**ALD** ART crawdad
'They run [ran] off the crawdad.' [T0058: 066]

(631) Imperfective Aspect, past tense

a. nii **xaniiych** juu sp'isaqa7an
nii xa-nii-y+**ch** juu x-p'isaqa-7an
COMP PAST-die-IMPFV+**ALD** ART 3POS-younger.sibling-PL.POS
'When their sister died, . . .' [T0063: 012]

b. 7anch juu **xatalhiitajuych**
7anch juu xa-ta-lhiitaju-y+**ch**
there REL PAST-3PL.SUB-meet-IMPFV+**ALD**

juu xp'isaqa7an
juu x-p'isaqa-7an
ART 3POS-younger.sibling- PL.POS
'It was there that they met their little sister.' [T0063: 047]

c. kaa **x7uych** juu yuuch juu lhiiway
kaa x-7u-y+**ch** juu yuuch juu lhiiway
BLV PAST-eat-IMPFV+**ALD** ART PRN.3SG ART meat
'I think he ate the meat.' [T0020: 038]

However, in some examples in which *+ch* cliticizes onto a past tense imperfective aspect verb, it seems to indicate that the action or state of that verb began or was achieved *prior to* the past action of another verb in the clause. For example, in (632a), the compadre was already very poor *before* he began to run around; in (632b), the people already liked Zicatlán [place name] *prior to* the circumstance arising in which they did not want to come [to Huehuetla].

(632) a. 7entons juu 7anuuch puruwii xkuumwarii
7entons juu 7anu7+ch puruwii x-kuumwarii
then ART that+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre

nii maa naa waa **xkilhpatiych**
nii maa naa waa x-kilhpati-y+**ch**
COMP RPT EMF FOC PAST-be.poor-IMPFV+**ALD**

lhtoo lhtoo maa <u>7atz'alatzukulhch</u>
lhtoo lhtoo maa 7atz'ala-tzuku-li+ch
ID ID RPT run-begin-PFV+ALD
'Then, that pitiful compadre, who was very poor,
began to run around *lhtoo lhtoo*.' [T0055: 010-012]

b. maa naa lhuu jaantuch xtaminputun
maa naa lhuu jaantu+ch x-ta-min-putun
RPT EMF much NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-come-DESID(IMPFV)

porque maa naa **xtaqachaniych**
porque maa naa x-ta-qacha-ni-y+**ch**
because RPT EMF PAST-3PL.SUB-like-DAT-IMPFV+**ALD**

juu Siikalhan
juu Siikalhan
ART Zicatlán
'Many [people] did not want to come [to Huehuetla] because they liked Zicatlán.' [T0057: 027-028]

Finally, there are some examples in which +*ch* cliticizes to past tense imperfective aspect verbs without any apparent change in their past habitual meaning, as seen in the examples in (633).

(633) a. kaa naa waa **xtaqalhiniyanch**
kaa naa waa x-taqalhi-ni-y-an+**ch**
BLV EMP FOC PAST-mess.up-DAT-IMPFV-2OBJ+**ALD**

juu mi7aqtzulh
juu mi-7aqtzulh
ART 2POS-head
'I think it would mess up your head.' [T0054: 048]

b. laaych xtamaqniiy
laa-y+ch x-ta-maqnii-y
can-IMPFV+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-kill-IMPFV

xta7uych
x-ta-7u-y+**ch**
PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPFV+**ALD**
'They would kill it, and they would eat it.' [T0059: 041]

c. **7ixta7anch** maat'iwninin
7ix-ta-7an+**ch** maa-t'iwni-nin
PAST-3PL.SUB-go(IMPFV)+**ALD** CAUS-dance-INF

nii **xtamaat'iwniych**
nii x-ta-maa-t'iwni-y+**ch**
COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-CAUS-dance-IMPFV+**ALD**

maa **x7alinch** juu xlhiich'alhkat7an
maa x-7alin+**ch** juu x-lhiich'alhkat-7an
RPT PAST-there.is(IMPFV)+**ALD** ART 3POS-work-PL.POS
'They would take her to dance. When they would make her dance, then they would have work.' [T0063: 024-026]

When *+ch* occurs on a verb in the future tense, it marks the future within the narrative past, as seen in the examples below in (634).

(634) Future in the narrative past

a. puus juu 7anu7 luw maa taach juu paytatz'iisi
puus juu 7anu7 luw maa taach juu paytatz'iisi
well ART that snake RPT even ART midnight

maa **ka7anaach** laqtz'ini7 juu xnati
maa ka-7an-a7+**ch** laqtz'i-nV7 juu x-nati
RPT IRR-go-FUT+**ALD** see-INF ART 3POS-mother
'Well, that snake, even at midnight, it was going to go to see its mother.' [T0003: 009-010]

b. porque nii jaantu **katat'alhnuyaach**
porque nii jaantu ka-ta-t'alhnu-ya7+**ch**
because COMP NEG IRR-3PL.SUB-jail-FUT+**ALD**
'Because if not, they were going to put him in jail.' [T0055: 030]

c. y luego nii maa **kachinaach** juu xaapay,
y luego nii maa ka-chin-a7+**ch** juu xaa-pay
and then COMP RPT IRR-arrive-FUT+**ALD** ART IPOS-father

maa **ka7uyaach**, **kamaawaakanaach** juu puulaq
maa ka-7u-ya7+**ch** ka-maa-wajin-kan-a7+**ch** juu puulaq
RPT IRR-eat-FUT+**ALD** IRR-CAUS-eat-INS-FUT+**ALD** ART tamale
'And later, when the father was going to arrive, he was going to eat it, she was going to make him eat the tamale.' [T0059: 009-010]

d. t'asanikalhch nii
t'asa-ni-kan-li+ch nii
yell-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD COMP

kaxtaqnikanaach juu lhiich'alhkat
ka-xtaq-ni-kan-a7+**ch** juu lhiich'alhkat
IRR-give-DAT-INS-FUT+**ALD** ART job
'The yelled that they were going to give him a job.' [T0063: 042]

Additionally, the clitic *+ch* may cliticize to adverbs (635), nouns (636), predicate adjectives (637), demonstrative pronouns (638), and the negative particle (639). In the predicate nominal construction in (636b) and in the predicate adjective constructions in (637), the clitic adds the meaning of 'already' to the clause. In the other examples, the clitic does not seem to change the meaning of any of the clauses in any obvious way, and it seems to be used stylistically. Note that the temporal clitic does *not* cliticize to an attributive adjective in a modificational position within a noun phrase.

(635) Adverbs

a.

maa	xt'oonpalay	juu	maqtili7	juu
maa	x-t'ajun-pala-y	juu	maqtili7	juu
RPT	PAST-be-REP-IMPFV	ART	wild.animal	REL

waa	**niinch**	laqachaqan	taa	wii	xkaan
waa	niin+**ch**	laqachaqan	taa	wii	xkaan
FOC	near+ **ALD**	town	where	seated(IMPFV)	water

'There was a wild animal that was near the town, in the water.'
[T0020: 02]

b.

pero	naa	**naach**	maa	waa
pero	naa	naa+**ch**	maa	waa
but	EMF	EMP+**ALD**	RPT	FOC

talaqxaqalhiit'ajun	juu	Maliiyaa
ta-laqxaqa-lhii-t'ajun	juu	Maliiyaa
3PL.SUB-drag-APPL-AMB(IMPFV)	ART	Mary

'But they go around really dragging Mary.' [T0063: 071]

c.

7aksch	juu	xalaktantamaakxtukan
7aks+**ch**	juu	xa-lak-tan-tamaakxtu-kan
when+**ALD**	REL	PAST-PL-TORSO-take.out-INS(IMPFV)

'That is when they were taken out.' [T0063: 078]

d.

chunch	tapuu7afinalaych
chun+**ch**	ta-puu-7afinala-y+ch
like.so+**ALD**	3PL.SUB-INST-tune-IMPFV+ALD

chuux	juu	7anu7	maestro
chuux	juu	7anu7	maestro
all	ART	that	master

'All the masters tune like this.' [T0066: 009]

(636) Nouns

a.

juu	**luwch**	kjunaw
juu	luw+**ch**	k-jun-aw
ART	snake+**ALD**	1SUB-say(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB

'We call it "snake".' [T0009: 012]

b. **papaach** waachu7 xjuuniita
papa7+**ch** waachu7 x-jun-niita
old.man+**ALD** also PAST-be-PF
'He was already old.' [T0022: 055]

c. waa niipaa juu **xnatich** juu 7atzi7
waa nii-paa juu x-nati+**ch** juu 7atzi7
FOC die-REP.PFV ART 3POS-mother+**ALD** ART girl
'The girl's mother died unexpectedly.' [T0054: 004]

d. juu Teewanch junkan
juu Teewan+ch jun-kan
ART Stephen+**ALD** call-INS(IMPFV)
'He was named Stephen.' [T0054: 005]

e. puus juu anu7 luw,
puus juu anu7 luw,
well ART that snake

maa yuuch laktiitaymay
maa yuuch lak-tiitayma-y
RPT PRN.3SG PL-follow-IMPFV

juu t'akuunin maa **papaaninch**
juu t'aku7-nin maa papa7-nin+**ch**
ART woman-PL RPT man-PL+**ALD**

juu mati7 sasqat'a7an
juu mati7 s-7asqat'a-7an
REL none 3POS-child-PL.POS
'Well, that snake, it follows women and men who have no children.'
[T0003: 005-007]

(637) Predicate Adjectives
a. pero maa **xaaniinch**
pero maa xaa-nii-n+**ch**
but RPT IPOS-die-DVB+**ALD**
'But it was already dead.' [T0020: 022]

b. waa **puu7aqstuch**, tz'ink7a
waa puu-7aqstu+**ch** tz'ink-7a
FOC INST-alone+**ALD** be.heavy-IMPFV
'Alone, it is heavy.' [T0069: 012]

c. juu chaway waa **lakatz'uninch**, jaantu?
juu chaway waa lakatz'unin+**ch** jaantu
ART now FOC little.bit+**ALD** NEG
'Now there is a little bit, isn't there?' [T0069: 151]

(638) Demonstrative Pronouns

a. juu **7anuuch** 7amanawinin
juu 7anu7+**ch** 7amanawin-nin
ART that+**ALD** hill.owner-PL
'those hill-owners mythical people]' [T0022: 011]

b. juu **7aniich** xpaqaxti7 ka7ana7?
juu 7ani7+**ch** x-paqaxti7 ka-7an-a7
ART this+**ALD** 3POS-side IRR-go-FUT
'This one will go on this side?' [T0069: 025]

(639) Negative Particle

a. **jaantuch** laay xlakmaaxtukanta
jaantu+**ch** laa-y x-lak-maaxtu-kan-ta
NEG+**ALD** can-IMPFV PAST-PL-take.out-INS-PF

juu laktaxtoqta naa lhuu
juu lak-taxtoqta naa lhuu
ART PL-thing EMP much(ADV)
'They could not take out the things.' [T0018: 005]

b. juu 7uputulhch kaa 7ulhch;
juu 7u-putun-li+ch kaa 7u-li+ch
REL eat-DESID-PFV+ALD BLV eat-PFV+ALD

juu **jaantuch** kaa **jaantuch**
juu jaantu+**ch** kaa jaantu+**ch**
REL NEG+**ALD** BLV NEG+**ALD**
'He who wanted to eat, I believe he ate; he who did not [want to eat], I believe he didn't [eat].' [T0020: 035]

The clitic +*ch* has two allomorphes: +*ach* and +*chi*. The allomorph +*ach* occurs when the clitic cliticizes to a word or particle that ends in /ch/, as seen in the examples below in (640). The allomorph +*chi* occurs before a following glottal stop, as seen in the examples below in (641).

(640) a. **yuuchach** juu xaak'uch'u
yuuch+**ach** juu xaa-k'uch'u
PRN.3SG+**ALD** ART IPOS-cure
'That is the cure.' [T0009: 010]

b. waa **7anchach** juu seqjun juu maqtili7
waa 7anch+**ach** juu seqjun juu maqtili7
FOC there+**ALD** REL hide(IMPFV) ART wild.animal
'It was there that the wild animal hid.' [T0020: 011]

(641) jaa **chunchi7as** nawiikanch
jaa chun+**chi**+7as nawii-kan+ch
Q like.so+**ALD**+TAGQ make-INS(IMPFV)+ALD

7aksni **soqchi** 7an
7aksni soq+**chi** 7an
when straight+**ALD** go
'Is this how they do it when it goes straight?' [T0069: 168]

The use of the temporal clitic and expressions of time is discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.5.

6.4.3.2 'Just' +ka7

Whereas the clitic +*ch* is ubiquitous in HT, it's semantic counterpart +*ka7* (JST) occurs very seldomly in comparison; in fact, it appears in only nine clauses in the text database. When combined with the perfective aspect, it carries the meaning of 'just' or 'barely', as seen below in (642a). When combined with the imperfective aspect, it means 'still', as seen below in (642b).

(642) a. waa milh**ka7**
waa min-li+**ka7**
FOC come-PFV-**JST**
'He just arrived.' [ELIEX2: 053]

b. xakmaqsqoliy**ka7**
xa-k-maq-sqoli-y+**ka7**
PAST-1SUB-CAUS-whistle-IMPFV+**JST**
'I still played [music]'. [T0054: 052]

The clitic *+ka7* occurs most frequently on verbs, as seen above in (642), and the negative particle *jaantu ~ tuu*, as seen below in (643a). When *ka7* cliticizes to the negative particle, it means 'did not yet V' or 'still did not V'. The clitic *+ka7* occurs much less frequently on nouns, shown in (643b), and adjectives, shown in (643c).

(643) a. porque tuu**ka7** xta7aqpaax
porque tuu+**ka7** x-ta-7aqpaax
because NEG+**JST** PAST-3PL.sub-baptize(IMPFV)
'because they still didn't baptize.' [T0059: 004]

b. nii matii**ka7** 7ixjuuniita saantaaw
nii mati7+**ka7** 7ix-jun-niita saantaaw
COMP none+**JST** PAST-be-PF money
'because there was barely any money.' [T0069: 396]

c. juu waa lakt'ikt'i**ka7** juu waakax
juu waa lakt'ikt'i+**ka7** juu waakax
REL FOC small+**JST** ART cow
'The cows that are still small' [T0020: 008]

The clitic *+ka7* attracts primary stress because it ends in a sonorant consonant.[181] When it cliticizes to a host, the stress pattern of the host changes so that the primary stress falls on the final syllable, as seen in the examples in (644).

[181] Please see Chapter 2, section 2.5 on stress assignment.

(644) a. 7àtzii**ká7**
7atzí7 +**ka7**
girl+**JST**
'unmarried (young) woman' [TPWDB]

b. tz'alh**ká7**
tz'ál +**ka7**
boy+**JST**
'unmarried (young) man' [TPWDB]

c. milh**ká7**
mílh +**ka7**
min-li+**ka7**
come-PFV-**JST**
'He just arrived.' [ELIEX2: 053]

d. xàkmaqsqòliy**ká7**
xakmàqsqolíy +**ka7**
xa-k-maq-sqoli-y+**ka7**
PAST-1SUB-CAUS-whistle-IMPFV+**JST**
'I still played [music]'. [T0054: 052]

6.4.4 Quantifiers as Adverbs

A quantifier may act as an adverb in Tepehua. The most commonly occurring adverbial quantifiers are *lakatz'unin* 'few, a little' and *lhuu* 'many, a lot'; examples are shown below in (645) and (646), respectively. Though these two adverbial quantifiers perform the same function in the clause, they occur in different locations within the clause: *lakatz'unin* occurs clause-finally, while *lhuu* occurs immediately before the verb. In the English free translations of several of these clauses—(646a) and (646c), in particular—"many" acts as an adjective modifying a noun; however, in the HT clauses, *lhuu* is separated from the nouns and occurs in an adverbial position within the clauses.

(645) a. 7anu7 p'in juu 7ulh **lakatz'unin**
7anu7 p'in juu 7u-li **lakatz'unin**
that salsa REL eat-PFV **a.little**
'She ate a little of that salsa.'
Literally: 'That salsa, of which she ate a little.' [T0069: 229]

b. 7akxp'it7ach **lakatz'unin**
7a-k-xp'it-7a+ch **lakatz'unin**
IRR-1SUB-sand-IMPFV+ALD **a.little**
'I'm going to sand it a little.' [T0069: 076]

(646) a. 7alilh laqatam 7aqmuxtuti
7alin-li laqa-tam 7aqmuxtuti
there.is-PFV CL:general-one flood

nii naa **lhuu** xalhii7an juu chaqa7
nii naa **lhuu** xa-lhii7an juu chaqa7
COMP EMP **many** PAST-carry(IMPFV) ART house
'There was a flood that carried away many houses.' [T0018: 002-3]

b. maa naa naa **lhuu** niilh
maa naa naa **lhuu** nii-li
RPT EMP EMP **many** die-PFV

juu lapanak juu 7aksniich
juu lapanak juu 7aksnii+ch
ART person ART then+ALD
'Many people died then.' [T0057: 020]

c. entonces juu 7aksniich maa
entonces juu 7aksnii+ch maa
then ART when+ALD RPT

naa **lhuu** 7aqxixta maa
naa **lhuu** 7aqx-xix-ta maa
EMP **much** FLAT-dry.up-PF RPT
'Then when the river dried up, . . .' [T0058: 012]

When a classified numeral behaves as an adverbial quantifier, it occurs either before the verb, as seen below in (647), or it occurs at the end of the clause, as seen below in (648).

(647) a. **7aqt'utuch** xaktapasay juu chunch
7aq-t'utu+ch xa-k-tapasa-y juu chun+ch
CL:times-three+ALD PAST-1SUB-pass-IMPFV ART thus+ALD
'I passed it like this three times.' [MNB15: 43]

b. **paqt'utuch** xaktzantiilay
paq-t'utu+ch xa-k-tzantiila-y
CL:trips-three+ALD PAST-1SUB-slip-IMPFV
'I slipped three times.' [MNB15: 43]

(648) maalach'ap'ay juu 7alhik **puu7aqxt'uy**
maa-lach'ap'a-y juu 7alhik puu-**7aqx**-t'uy
CAUS-glue-IMPFV ART paper INST-**CL:flat**-two
'He glues the paper in two places.' [MNB13: 96]

6.5 Derived Directional Adverbs (Applicative *lhii-*)

The applicative prefix *lhii-* may affix to a lexical adverb or adjective, in addition to nouns and verbs. When prefixed to an adverb or adjective, it derives a adverb with a directional meaning, as seen in the examples in (649) and (650). In the examples in (649a) and (649b), *lhii-* is prefixed onto the lexical locative adverbs *7ani7* 'here' and *7uwiint'i* 'there', respectively, resulting in derived adverbs with the meanings 'around here' and 'over there'.

(649) a. juu **lhii**7aniich
juu **lhii**-7ani7+ch
ART **APPL**-here+ALD
'around here' [T0054: 054]

b. **lhii**7uwiint'i7as
lhii-7uwiinti+7as
APPL-there+TAGQ
'Over there, right?' [T0066: 029]

In the example in (650), *lhii-* is prefixed to the adjective *maqaqay* 'wide', creating the adverb *lhiimaqaqay*, which roughly means 'width-wise' or 'in the direction of the width'.

(650) kaa laay 7atamaknuunilh waa chunch **lhii**maqaqay
kaa laa-y 7a-tamaknuu-ni-li waa chun+ch **lhii**-maqaqay
BLV can-IMPFV IRR-insert-DAT-PFV FOC like.so+ALD **APPL**-wide
'I think it could go in this way, width-wise.' [T0069: 098]

Finally, the prefixation of *lhii-* to the third person singular pronoun *yuuch* derives the adverb *lhiiyuuch* 'therefore', as seen below in (651). This adverb is most likely lexicalized.

(651) **lhii**yuuch
lhii-yuuch
APPL-PRN.3SG
'therefore', 'that is why' [T0003: 022]

6.6 PREPOSITIONS

There are only two prepositions in HT *laka-*, which expresses locative and comitative relationships (section 6.6.1), and *tuus*, which expresses relationships of extent (section 6.6.2). Other prepositional-like relationships are expressed by relational nouns in HT.[182]

6.6.1 Locative/Comitative laka-

The HT prepositional prefix *laka-* affixes to a head noun and marks locative and comitative noun phrases; examples appear below in (652). If the head noun is definite, the definite article *juu* precedes the preposition. In the following examples, the prepositional phrase is enclosed in brackets, and the preposition

[182] Please see Chapter 4, Section 4.4 for more information on the relational nouns.

appears in bold type. Locative relationships are shown in the examples in (652a) through (652g), while comitative relationships are shown in the examples in (652h) and (652i). Watters (1988) analyzes this preposition as a clitic "that cliticizes onto the head noun of the NP" (p. 473). However, according to the criteria for clitics established by Zwicky and Pullum (1983) that I quoted above (see section 6.4.3), if *laka-* were a clitic, it would be able to cliticize to more than just the head noun in a noun phrase. I analyze it as a prefix rather than an independent particle because it participates phonologically in velar place assimilation, which occurs across morpheme boundaries but not across word or clitic boundaries (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6.5.2). In the example in (652g), the velar consonant of the preposition harmonizes with the uvular consonant in the noun *chaqa7* 'house' to produce *laqachaqa7* 'in the house'.

(652) a.

maa	toqlh	7anpaa	[juu	**laka**jip]$_{PP}$
maa	toqlh	7an-paa	juu	**laka-**jip
RPT	burning	go-REP.PFV	ART	**PREP-**fire

'She jumped into the fire.' [T0054: 074]

b.

juu	kilaachilh	7ani7	maa	[**laka**Miikiixkaan]$_{PP}$
juu	ki-laa-chi-li	7ani7	maa	**laka-**Miikii-xkaan
REL	RT-can-ADL-PFV	here	RPT	**PREP-**Miguel-water

'He who came along Michael's Water (place name).' [T0058: 016]

c.

maa	niita	yaa	[juu	**laka**7uun]$_{PP}$
maa	nii-ta	yaa	juu	**laka-**7uun
RPT	die-PF	standing	ART	**PREP-**air

'He had died standing in the air.' [T0022: 010]

d.

maa	7alakjuuniych	[juu	**laka**tii]$_{PP}$
maa	7alak-jun-ni-y+ch	juu	**laka-**tii
RPT	PL-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD	ART	**PREP-**road

'. . . he told them from the road.' [T0055: 064]

e. waa xtalhii7anch
waa x-ta-lhii7an+ch
FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-take(IMPFV)+ALD

[juu **laka**waylii]$_{PP}$ juu 7atzi7
juu **laka-**waylii juu 7atzi7
ART **PREP-**dance ART girl
'They would take the girl to the dance(s).' [T0063: 021]

f. [**laka**k'aatanch]$_{PP}$ xtalhii7anch
laka-k'aata-n+ch x-ta-lhii7an+ch
PREP-party-PL+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-take(IMPFV)+ALD
'They would take her to parties.' [T0063: 023]

g. lhkutach juu puulhkuy juu **laqa**chaqa7
lhku-ta+ch juu puulhkuy juu **laka**-chaqa7
burn-PF+ALD ART light ART PREP-house
'The light is lit in the house.' [ELIEX4: 081]

h. [**laka**p'inkin]$_{PP}$ laaqoxikan
laka-p'inkin laaqoxi-kan
PREP-alcohol prepare-INS(IMPFV)
'They make it with alcohol.' [T009: 008]

i. tzukulh trawajalana7 [juu **laka**ropa]$_{PP}$
tzuku-li trawajala-nV7 juu **laka-**ropa
begin-PFV work-INF ART **PREP-**clothing
'He began to work with/in clothing.' [T0054: 022]

When the preposition *laka-* affixes to a possessed nominal, it is truncated to *la-* and it precedes the possessive prefix, as seen in the examples below in (653).

(653) a. juu **la**xkuchiiluu
juu **laka-**x-kuchiiluu
ART **PREP-**3POS-knife
'with her knife.' [ELIEX3: 011]

b. juu **la**kilaqachaqan
juu **laka-**kin-laqachaqan
ART **PREP-**1POS-town
'in my town' [T0003: 013]

c. juu **la**kimpututunti
juu **laka-**kin-pututu-nti
ART **PREP-**1POS-round-NOM2
'on my ball' [MNB13: 97]

d. juu **la**xlakaytat laqachaqan
juu **laka-**x-lakaytat laqachaqan
ART **PREP-**3POS-center town
'in the center of town' [T0055: 021]

e. juu **la**xlakaytat qay k'iwin
juu **laka-**x-lakaytat qay k'iw-in
ART **PREP-**3POS-center big tree-PL
'in the middle of the woods' [T0055: 051]

When the preposition *laka-* precedes a human proper name, it is truncated to *lak-*, as seen in (654). It does not truncate to *lak-* when it precedes a place name, as seen in the example above in (652b).

(654) a. 7aksnii maqalhtajuu **lak**don Juaquin juu t'uun
7aksnii maqalhtajuu **laka-**don Juaquin juu t'uun
when fall.down(PFV) **PREP-**mister Juaquin ART earth
'When the land came down at Don Juaquin's [place].' [T0058: 006]

b. waa **lak**José Pollo
waa **laka-** José Pollo
FOC **PREP-** José Pollo
'[I was] at José Pollo's [place].' [T0066: 024]

Two prepositions may occur in the same clause, as seen below in the examples in (655).

(655) a. ch'ixt'aqlich juu lapanak
ch'i=xt'aq-li+ch juu lapanak
tie=cover-PFV+ALD ART person

laxchaqa7 juu **laka**laasuu
laka-x-chaqa7 juu **laka-**laasuu
PREP-3POS-house ART **PREP-**rope
'The person tied up his house with rope.' [ELIEX1: 108]

b. maa x7alhtanant'ajun juu **la**xtaanqaa
maa x-7alhtanan-t'ajun juu **laka-**x-taanqaa
RPT PAST-walk-AMB(IMPFV) ART **PREP-**3POS-bottom

juu **la**kilakakapenan
juu **laka-**ki-lakakapen-an
ART **PREP-**1POS-coffee.field-PL
'He would go walking around down below in my coffee fields.'[T0022: 029]

There are PREP-N combinations that have been lexicalized, as seen in the following examples in (656). This is not an exhaustive list of lexicalizations formed on *laka-*.

(656) a. lakakuuxtu
laka-kuuxtu
PREP-corn
'cornfield'

b. lakakapen
laka-kapen
PREP-coffee
'coffee field'

c. lakak'iwin
laka-k'iw-in
PREP-wood-PL
'forest'

d. lakamunutpa7
laka-munutpa7
PREP-XXX
'world'

e. lakxkaan
laka-xkaan
PREP-water
'river', 'pond'

f. laktalhpa
laka-talhpa
PREP-hill
'mountain'

Note that the possessive prefix *precedes* the lexicalized form, as seen above in the second prepositional phrase in (655b), repeated below in (655b′). In this prepositional phrase, the preposition occurs twice: the truncated form *la-* precedes the possessive prefix *ki-*, which in turn precedes the lexicalized PREP-N form *lakakapen* 'coffee field'.

(655b′) juu laki**lakakapen**an
juu laka-ki-**lakakapen**-an
ART PREP-1POS-**coffee.field**-PL
'in my coffee fields.' [T0022: 029]

6.6.2 Extent tuus

The preposition *tuus* is translated as English 'until' or 'up to' and Spanish 'hasta', as seen below in the examples in (657). Watters (1988) named this the "extent" preposition because it "marks its complement as the spatial or temporal extent of the state or event" (p. 478). Also, according to Watters, *tuus* differs from the preposition *laka-*, in that *tuus* is not a clitic, and it precedes its entire complement noun phrase, including articles and demonstratives. However, the only examples of *tuus* found in my Huehuetla Tepehua database occur before *chaway* 'now, today' (657a) and *7ani7* 'here' (657b), both of which act a nouns

rather than adverbs in these examples, and both of which are the sole members of their respective noun phrases. Thus, I have no eveidence regarding the position of *tuus* within a larger noun phrase.

(657) a. [**tuus** chaway]$_{PP}$ jaantuch talhaway juu xqatii
tuus chaway jaantu+ch talhawa-y juu xqatii
PREP today NEG+ALD flood-IMPFV ART creek
'Up till now [until today], the creek does not flood.' [T0058: 057-58]

b. [**tuus** 7ani7]$_{PP}$ maalach'apakan juu serrote
tuus 7ani7 maa-lach'apa-kan juu serrote
PREP here CAUS-hit-INS(IMPFV) ART saw
'The saw hits it up to here.' [T0069: 139]

Chapter 7: Numbers

Topics covered in this chapter include cardinal and ordinal numbers (sections 7.1 and 7.2, respectively), numeral classifiers and body parts used as classifiers (section 7.3), numeral inflection (section 7.4), and methods of counting units of days (section 7.5).

7.1 CARDINAL NUMBERS

The Huehuetla Tepehua numeral system is vigesimal (i.e., it is based on the number twenty). A list of HT numbers from one to 111 appears in Table 24. Primary stress falls on the final syllable of the word unless marked otherwise. The numbers one through 39 are bound stems and cannot occur without a numeral classifier.[183] Numbers greater than 39 may appear without a classifier, at least in the exercise of counting. At the time of my fieldwork (1999-2001), most Tepehua speakers could count from one to ten in HT, but almost no one could count higher than ten. There is evidence (Bower 1948) that HT speakers used to be able to count at least to 1000, but no one that I met more than 50 years later was able to count above 111. In fact, I met only two men who could consistently count higher than ten; they both have since passed away. Fluent speakers use the HT numbers one through five daily, and they use Spanish borrowings for numbers greater than five. I never heard anyone use a number greater than ten except during elicitation tasks.

[183] See section 7.3 for information on the numeral classifiers.

Table 24: HT Numerals 1-111

1	tam
2	t'uy
3	t’utu
4	t’ati
5	kiis
6	chaaxan
7	tujun
8	tzajin
9	najátz
10	kaw
11	kaw-tam ten-one
12	kaw-t'uy ten-two
13	kaw-t’utu ten-three
14	kaw-t'ati ten-four
15	kaw-kiis ~ koo-kiis ten-five
16	kaw-chaaxan ten-six
17	kaw-tujun ten-seven
18	kaw-tzajin ten-eight
19	kaw-najátz ten-nine

57	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-tujun two-twenty-ten-seven
58	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-tzajin two-twenty-ten-eight
59	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-najatz two-twenty-ten-nine
60	t'utum-p'uuxam three-twenty
61	t'utum-p'uuxam-tam three-twenty-one
62	t'utum-p'uuxam-t’uy three-twenty-two
63	t'utum-p'uuxam-t’utu three-twenty-three
64	t'utum-p'uuxam-t’ati three-twenty-four
65	t'utum-p'uuxam-kiis three-twenty-five
66	t'utum-p'uuxam-chaaxan three-twenty-six
67	t'utum-p'uuxam-tujun three-twenty-seven
68	t'utum-p'uuxam-tzajin three-twenty-eight
69	t'utum-p'uuxam-najatz three-twenty-nine
70	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw three-twenty-ten
71	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-tam three-twenty-ten-one
72	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-t’uy three-twenty-ten-two
73	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-t’utu three-twenty-ten-three
74	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-t’ati three-twenty-ten-four
75	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-kiis three-twenty-ten-five

20	p'uuxam
21	p'uuxam-tam twenty-one
22	p'uuxam-t'uy twenty-two
23	p'uuxam-t’utu twenty-three
24	p'uuxam-t'ati twenty-four
25	p'uuxam-kiis twenty-five
26	p'uuxam-chaaxan twenty-six
27	p'uuxam-tujun twenty-seven
28	p'uuxam-tzajin twenty-eight
29	p'uuxam-najátz twenty-nine
30	p'uuxam-kaw twenty-ten
31	p'uuxam-kaw-tam twenty-ten-one
32	p'uuxam-kaw-t'uy twenty-ten-two
33	p'uuxam-kaw-t’utu twenty-ten-three
34	p'uuxam-kaw-t'ati twenty-ten-four
35	p'uuxam-kaw-kiis twenty-ten-five
36	p'uuxam-kaw-chaaxan twenty-ten-six
37	p'uuxam-kaw-tujun twenty-ten-seven
38	p'uuxam-kaw-tzajin twenty-ten-eight
39	p'uuxam-kaw-najátz twenty-ten-nine

76	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-chaaxan three-twenty-ten-six
77	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-tujun three-twenty-ten-seven
78	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-tzajin three-twenty-ten-eight
79	t'utum-p'uuxam-kaw-najatz three-twenty-ten-nine
80	t’ati-p'uuxam four-twenty
81	t’ati-p'uuxam-tam four-twenty-one
82	t’ati-p'uuxam-t’uy four-twenty-two
83	t’ati-p'uuxam-t’utu four-twenty-three
84	t’ati-p'uuxam-t’ati four-twenty-four
85	t’ati-p'uuxam-kiis four-twenty-five
86	t’ati-p'uuxam-chaaxan four-twenty-six
87	t’ati-p'uuxam-tujun four-twenty-seven
88	t’ati-p'uuxam-tzajin four-twenty-eight
89	t’ati-p'uuxam-najatz four-twenty-nine
90	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw four-twenty-ten
91	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw-tam four-twenty-ten-one
92	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw-t’uy four-twenty-ten-two
93	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw-t’utu four-twenty-ten-three
94	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw-t’ati four-twenty-ten-four
95	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw-kiis four-twenty-ten-five

40	t'u-p'uuxam two-twenty
41	t'u-p'uuxam-tam two-twenty-one
42	t'u-p'uuxam-t’uy two-twenty-two
43	t'u-p'uuxam-t’utu two-twenty-three
44	t'u-p'uuxam-t’ati two-twenty-four
45	t'u-p'uuxam-kiis two-twenty-five
46	t'u-p'uuxam-chaaxan two-twenty-six
47	t'u-p'uuxam-tujun two-twenty-seven
48	t'u-p'uuxam-tzajin two-twenty-eight
49	t'u-p'uuxam-najatz two-twenty-nine
50	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw two-twenty-ten
51	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-tam two-twenty-ten-one
52	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-t’uy two-twenty-ten-two
53	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-t’utu two-twenty-ten-three
54	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-t’ati two-twenty-ten-four
55	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-kiis two-twenty-ten-five
56	t'u-p'uuxam-kaw-chaaxan two-twenty-ten-six

96	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw-chaaxan four-twenty-ten-six
97	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw-tujun four-twenty-ten-seven
98	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw-tzajin four-twenty-ten-eight
99	t’ati-p'uuxam-kaw-najatz four-twenty-ten-nine
100	kiis-p'uuxam five-twenty
101	kiis-p'uuxam-tam five-twenty-one
102	kiis-p'uuxam-t’uy five-twenty-two
103	kiis-p'uuxam-t’utu five-twenty-three
104	kiis-p'uuxam-t’ati five-twenty-four
105	kiis-p'uuxam-kiis five-twenty-five
106	kiis-p'uuxam-chaaxan five-twenty-six
107	kiis-p'uuxam-tujun five-twenty-seven
108	kiis-p'uuxam-tzajin five-twenty-eight
109	kiis-p'uuxam-najatz five-twenty-nine
110	kiis-p'uuxam-kaw five-twenty-ten
111	kiis-p'uuxam-kaw-tam five-twenty-ten-one

Numbers may precede and modify a noun, as seen below in (658); they may stand alone as an anaphoric expression, as seen in (659); or they may stand alone as a complete predicate, as seen below in (660). In the first example, the number *pumatam* ‘one’ modifies the noun *lapanak* ‘person’.

(658) [juu **pumatam** lapának] niilh
juu puma-tam lapanak nii-li
ART CL:human-one person die-PFV
'One person died.' [T0009: 001]

In example (659), the number *laqat'uy* 'two' stands alone as the object of the verb, and it anaphorically refers to the beer that was mentioned earlier in the discourse.

(659) qotlich **laqat'uy**
qot-li+ch laqa-t'uy
drink-PFV+ALD CL:general-two
'I drank two (beers).' [T0066: 055]

In the present tense, a number can stand alone as a complete predicate, as seen in (660a). This example bears nominal morphology: *x-* 'third person possessor' and *-7an* 'plural possessor', indicating that it is a predicate nominal.[184] The third person and plural possessive morphology co-index the argument of the predicate. As in other HT predicate nominal constructions, a copula is used for past tense constructions, as seen in (660b).

(660) a. xpumat'utu7an
x-puma-t'utu-7an
3POS-CL:human-three-PL.POS
'they are three (people)'
'there are three of them' [T0063: Notes, p. 1]

b. xpumat'utu7an xtajuuniita
x-puma-t'utu-7an x-ta-jun-niita
3POS-CL:human-three-PL.POS PAST-3PL.SUB-be-PF
'They were three (people).'
'There were three of them.' [Q7]

[184] For more information on predicate nominals and predicate adjectives, see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3.

When the predicate's argument is first person, the copula is optional in the present tense, as demonstrated below in (661). The (a) example bears nominal possessive morphology and there is no copula, while the (b) example has a copula, but no possessive morphology.

(661) a. kimpumat'utu7an
kin-puma-t'utu-7an
1POS-CL:human-three-PL.POS
'We are three (people).'
'There are three of us.'

b. pumat'utu juntaw
puma-t'utu jun-ta-w
CL:human-three be-PF-1SUB.PL
'We are three (people).'
'There are three of us.' [Q7]

An overt nominal may co-occur with the predicate constructions, as seen in (662). However, once a nominal head is added to the clause, the nominal possessive morphology is no longer required, as seen in (662b).

(662) a. xlaqat'utu7an chiila7
x-laqa-t'utu-7an chiila7
3POS-CL:general-three-PL.POS chicken
'There are 3 chickens.'

b. laqat'utu chiila7
laqa-t'utu chiila7
CL:general-three chicken
'(There are) 3 chickens.' [Q7]

When the argument of the predicate nominal numeral construction is '*two* people', a suppletive stem *t'iyun* is used, seen below in (663). This lexeme is unique in that there is no independent classifier, and the vowel and semi-vowel of the number two *t'uy* are metathesized. Even though the human classifier *puma-*

does not occur, this stem can be used only to enumerate humans. Though the expected form—pumat'uy—is accepted during elicitation tasks (see (663d) below), it does not appear in naturally occurring speech.

(663) a. x**t'iyun**7an
x-**t'iyun**-7an
3POS-two-PL.POS
'They are two people.'
'There are two of them.' [T0063: Notes, p. 1]

b. x**t'iyun**7an xtajuuniita
x-**t'iyun**-7an x-ta-jun-niita
3POS-two-PL.POS PAST-3PL.SUB-be-PF
'They were two people.'
'There were two of them.' [Q7]

c. juu 7anu7 x**t'iyun**7an lapanak
juu 7anu7 x-**t'iyun**-7an lapanak
ART that PAST-two-PL.POS people

waa xta7asaanan
waa x-ta-7asaanan
FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-play.instrument(IMPFV)
'Those two people played instruments.' [T0063: 004]

d. kimpumat'uy7an
kim-puma-t'uy-7an
1POS-CL:human-two-PL.POS
'We are two people.'
'There are two of us.' [Q7]

7.2 ORDINAL NUMBERS

Ordinal numbers are quite difficult to elicite because they are not used very often (maybe not at all), and most people do not know them. Ordinal numbers other than 'first' are morphologically formed on classified numbers, as seen below in (664). The human classifier *puma-* is used in the (a) example, and

this number can refer only to human entities. The general classifier *laqa-* is used in the (b) example, and this number can refer to all entities, including humans.

(664) a. xlhii**puma**t'uych
x-lhii-**puma**-t'uy+ch
3POS-APPL-**CL:human**-two+ALD
'second (person)'

b. xlhii**laqa**t'uych
x-lhii-**laqa**-t'uy+ch
3POS-APPL-**CL:general**-two+ALD
'second' [Q7]

The morphological pattern shown in (664) is used to derive the ordinal numbers 'second' through 'tenth'. I did not find an HT speaker who could form ordinal numbers higher than 'tenth', so I do not know if this pattern can be used to derive higher ordinals. A list of the HT ordinal numerals 'second' through 'tenth', formed with the general classifier *laqa-*, appears in (665). All of the these derived ordinal numbers may be used both adjectivally and adverbially, as seen in examples (666) and (667) below.

(665)	a.	xlhiilaqat'uych	'second'
	b.	xlhiilaqat'utuch	'third'
	c.	xlhiilaqat'atich	'fourth'
	d.	xliilaqakiisch	'fifth'
	e.	xlhiilaqachaxaanch	'sixth'
	f.	xlhiilaqatajuunch	'seventh'
	g.	xlhiilaqatz'ajinch	'eighth'
	h.	xlhiilaqanajatzich	'ninth'
	i.	xlhiilaqakawch	'tenth'

In the following examples in (666), the ordinal number is used as an adjective modifying the noun *ki7asqat'a* 'my child' in a predicate nominal construction.

(666) a. juu yuuch waa **xlhiilaqat'uych** ki7asqat'a
juu yuuch waa x-lhii-laqa-t'uy+ch ki-7asqat'a
ART 3PRN.SG FOC 3POS-APPL-CL:general-two+ALD 1POS-child
'S/he is my second child.'

b. juu yuuch waa **xlhiilaqat'utuch** ki7asqat'a
juu yuuch waa x-lhii-laqa-t'utu+ch ki-7asqat'a
ART 3PRN.SG FOC 3POS-APPL-CL:general-three+ALD 1POS-child
'S/he is my third child.' [Q7]

The ordinal number is used as an adverb in the examples in (667).

(667) a. juu yuuch **xlhiipumat'uych** xachiiwinin
juu yuuch x-lhii-puma-t'uy+ch xa-chiiwinin
ART 3PRN.SG 3POS-APPL-CL:human-two+ALD PAST-speak(IMPFV)
'S/he spoke second.'

b. juu yuuch **xlhiipumat'utuch** xachiiwinin
juu yuuch x-lhii-puma-t'utu+ch xa-chiiwinin
ART 3PRN.SG 3POS-APPL-CL:human-three+ALD PAST-speak(IMPFV)
'S/he spoke third.' [Q7]

The concept of 'first' in HT is expressed by means of three different words: the derived form *laqatamka7* may be used only adjectivally, while the lexical forms *p'ulhnan* and *laqasii* may be used only adverbially. Below in example (668), *laqatamka7* 'first (ADJ)' is used in the (a) example in which the ordinal number behaves as an adjective modifying the noun *ki7asqat'a* 'my child' in a predicate nominal construction. Note that there is no form meaning 'first' that is derived using the morphological template shown above in (664) and (665) that is used for the other ordinal numbers. The lexical form *p'ulhnan* 'first (ADV)' is used adverbially in the (b) example in (668).

(668) a. juu yuuch waa **laqatamka7** ki7asqat'a
juu yuuch waa laqa-tam-ka7 ki-7asqat'a
ART 3PRN.SG FOC CL:general-one-JST 1POS-child
'S/he is my first child.' [Q7]

b. juu yuuch **p'ulhnan** xachiiwinin
juu yuuch p'ulhnan xa-chiiwinin
ART 3PRN.SG first PAST-speak(IMPFV)
'S/he spoke first.' [Q7]

Though the adjectival form *laqatamka7* is derived (and easily analyzed), this form is lexicalized and the process that derived it is not a productive one in HT. Its morpheme breakdown is shown in (668a). Note that this morphological pattern is quite different from the pattern exemplified by the other derived ordinal numbers, shown above in (664); however both patterns include a numeral classifier and a cardinal number.

The two adverbial lexemes, *p'ulhnan* and *laqasii*, differ slightly in meaning: *p'ulhnan* can mean 'first' (669a), 'at first' (669b), and 'before' (669c), while *laqasii* can mean only 'first', shown in (670).

(669) a. too waa kintalhiijuunilh **p'ulhnan**
too waa kin-ta-lhiijun-ni-li **p'ulhnan**
NEG FOC 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-order-DAT-PFV first
'No, they ordered (drinks) for me first.' [T0066: 052]

b. juu **p'ulhnan** tuulay 7ixchiwinin
juu **p'ulhnan** tuu+la-y 7ix-chiwin-nVn
ART first NEG-can-IMPFV PAST-speak-PL.INF

juu maqalhqama7 juu lhiilaawaan naa qox
juu maqalhqama7 juu lhii-laawaan naa qox
ART Tepehua ART APPL-Spanish EMP well
'Before (at first), the Tepehua could not speak Spanish very well.'
[T0057: 092]

c. jaantuch chun tachu **p'ulhnan**
jaantu+ch chun tachu **p'ulhnan**
NEG+ALD thus like first
'It's not like it was before.' [T0059: 036]

(670) a. **laqasii** 7anu7 7anawiit'ich juu wayti
laqasii 7anu7 7a-nawii-t'i+ch juu wayti
first um PL-make-2SG.SUB.PFV+ALD ART food
'First, um, make the food.' [T0066: 245]

b. **laqasii** nawiiy
laqasii nawii-y
first make-IMPFV
'He does it first.' [ELIEX3: 060]

7.3 NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

Huehuetla Tepehua has a rich system of numeral classifiers; however, today the numeral classification system is falling into disuse, with more and more HT speakers using only the two most common classifiers: the general classifier *laqa-* and the human classifier *puma-*. The HT classifier system is prototypical (Aikhenvald 2000) in many respects: a classifier forms a constituent with a number or quantifier, and it serves to categorize the entity or action that the number or quantifier modifies according to its shape, humanness, or some other criteria; there is a 'generic' classifier that can be used instead of a more specific one; there is no obligatory plural agreement marking on nouns or verbs; and there are both sortal and mensurative classifiers.

In the exercise of counting, HT classifiers are obligatory on the numbers one through 39, and they are optional beginning with the number 40. According to Aikhenvald (2000), it is quite common for numeral classifier to be used obligatorily with "small" numbers and optionally with "larger" numbers (p. 100). Given that only the native HT numbers one through five occur in my field recordings, I am unable to determine if the classifiers are obligatory on numbers greater than five in contexts *other* than counting.

The HT numeral classifier system has been described previously by Bower (1948); however, I found the meanings associated with many of the classifiers to be slightly different than those given in Bower 1948. Additionally, I found several classifiers that Bower did not mention.[185] I suspect that the numeral classifier system was once larger and more productive than either Bower or I found it to be. The classifiers and their usage are presented in section 7.3.1 and the use of body part prefixes as classifiers is discussed in section 7.3.2.

7.3.1 Numeral Classifiers and Their Usage

The semantics and typology of the HT numeral classifier system is presented in section 7.3.1.1, the syntactic behavior of the classifiers is discussed in section 7.3.1.2, and the pragmatics of the use of classifiers is examined in 7.3.1.3.

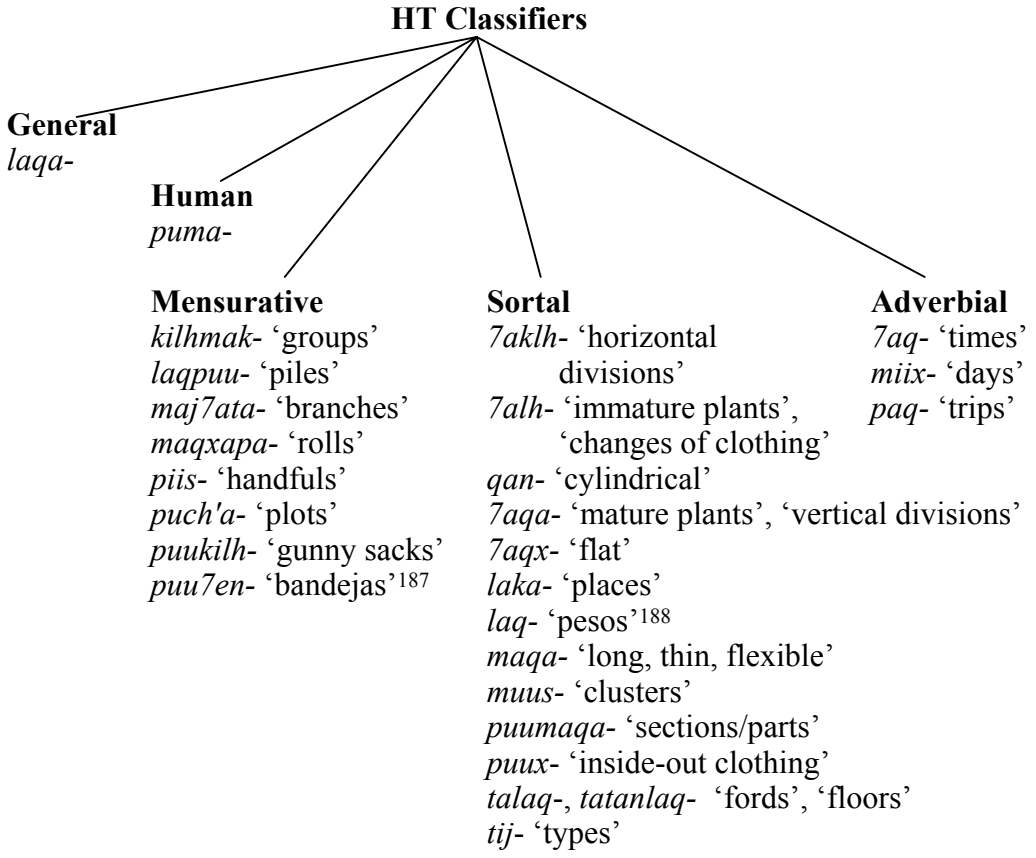
7.3.1.1 Semantics and Typology of Numeral Classifiers

Many researchers have made typologies of the classification of nouns, including Allan (1977), Aikhenvald (2000, 2004), and Grinevald (2000). I have not strictly adopted any one of these typologies, but rather I have been influenced by aspects of each of them in the categorization of the HT classifiers. The HT classifiers can be divided into five groups: (i) the general classifier *laqa-*, which can be used in place of any of the other classifiers; (ii) the human classifier *puma-*, which is the default classifier to use with any human entity; (iii) classifiers that measure entities (the Mensuratives); (iv) classifiers that sort entities based on their inherent characteristics (the Sortals); and (v) classifiers that function only

[185] Bower (1948) lists only nine distinct numeral classifiers, while I have found 26 (see Table 2).

adverbially (the Adverbials).[186] Figure 4 demonstrates the categorization of the classifiers. A complete, alphabetical list of the classifiers is given in Table 25.

Figure 4: Categorization of HT Numeral Classifiers



[186] The name 'adverbial' is somewhat misleading because it implies that the other classifiers do not function adverbially, which is not the case. Rather, these three classifiers function *only* adverbially, and not adjectivally or anaphorically.

[187] A *bandeja* is a unit of measure in Mexico that is used to weigh dry, pourable substances like coffee beans or black beans. It used to be a small, square box; today the box has been replaced by a large, oval-shaped tuna can that is believed to hold the same amount that the box did.

[188] The monetary unit of Mexico.

Table 25: HT Numeral Classifiers, Alphabetical Listing

Classifier	**Gloss/Meaning**	**Categorization**
7aklh-	horizontal division of N	Sortal
7alh-	immature plants or bushes; change(s) of clothing	Sortal
qan-	rigid, cylindrical N	Sortal
7aq-	number of times action of verb was performed	Adverbial
7aqa-	mature trees, bushes, plants; vertical division	Sortal
7aqx-	flat N	Sortal
kilhmak-	groups or teams of people	Mensurative
laka-	places	Sortal
laq-	pesos	Sortal
laqa-	general, all-purpose classifier that can be used in place of any other classifier	General
laqpuu-	piles of N (ADJ); places (ADV)	Mensurative
maj7ata-	branch, armful	Mensurative
maqa-	long, thin, flexible N	Sortal
maqxapa-	a roll of N	Mensurative
miix-	days	Adverbial
muus-	cluster, bunch	Sortal
paq-	number of trips made, completed outcome of verb	Adverbial
piis-	handfuls of N or bundles of N tied with string	Mensurative

puch'a-	plots or fields of N	Mensurative
puma-	human N	Human, Sortal
puukilh-	gunny sack, a measure of about 25 kg	Mensurative
puumaqa-	sections, parts, or pieces of a whole N	Sortal
puu7en-	pitcher-sized (bandeja, jicarada) container of N	Mensurative
puux-	inside-out articles of clothing	Sortal
talaq- ~ tantalaq-	floor, ford	Sortal
tij-	different types or classes of N	Sortal

What follows is a brief discussion—with examples—of each of the classifiers listed in Table 25.

The sortal classifier *7aklh-* refers to horizontal divisions or sections of a noun, as seen in the examples in (671). Bower (1948) transcribes this classifier as *k'aklh-* 'pieces' (p. 21). In the (a) and (b) examples, the classifier appears on a number; in the (c) example it appears on the quantifier *chuux* 'how many'; and in the (d) example, it appears on the quantifier *lhuu* 'many'.

(671) a. **7aklh**t'uy lht'aqálaak'íw
7aklh-t'uy lht'aqálaa-k'íw
CL**:horizontal**-two board-wood
'two pieces of a board, cut horizontally' [MNB15: 42]

b. waa **7aklh**tam lapanak **7aklh**tam maqtili7
waa **7aklh**-tam lapanak **7aklh**-tam maqtili7
FOC **CL:horizontal**-one person **CL:horizontal**-one wild.animal
'It is half human, half animal.' [either the top half or the bottom half is human] [MNB16: 50]

c. taas **7aklh**chuuxch
taas **7aklh**-chuux+ch
Q **CL:horizontal**-how.many+PUNT

juu 7alin juu lht'aqalaak'iw?
juu 7alin juu lht'aqalaa-k'iw
REL there.are(IMPFV) ART board-tree
'How many pieces of board are there?' [Q7]

d. naa **7aklh**uu juu lht'aqalaak'iw
naa **7aklh**-lhuu juu lht'aqalaa-k'iw
EMP **CL:horizontal**-many ART board-tree
'There are a lot of pieces of board.' [Q7]

The sortal classifier *7alh-* refers to an immature plant or bush, as seen in (672), and it corresponds to Bower's (1948) *galh-* [qaɬ-], "things that approximate a hill of growing things" (p. 21). This classifier has an antonym *7aqa-*, which refers to mature plants, as seen in the examples in (677). The example in (672e) demonstrates that the replacement of *7alh-* with the general classifier *laqa-* results in a change of meaning.

(672) a. **7alh**tam jaak
7alh-tam jaak
CL:im.plant-one banana
'one immature banana tree' [MNB15: 30]

b. **7alh**t'uy kapén
7alh-t'uy kapén
CL:im.plant-two coffee
'two immature coffee plants' [MNB15: 30]

c. taas **7alh**chuuxch juu 7alin
taas **7alh**-chuux+ch juu 7alin
Q **CL:im.plant**-how.many+PUNT REL there.is(IMPFV)

juu jaak?
juu jaak
ART banana
'How many immature banana plants are there?' [Q7]

d. naa **7alh**uu juu 7alin juu jaak
naa **7alh**-lhuu juu 7alin juu jaak
EMP **CL:im.plant**-many REL there.is(IMPFV) ART banana
'There are a lot of immature banana trees.' [Q7]

e. **laqa**tam jaak
laqa-tam jaak
CL:general-one banana
'one banana'
NOT: one immature banana plant [Q7]

Strangely, the same classifier *7alh-* is also used to indicate a change of clothing, as seen below in (673). Bower (1948) does not include this meaning.

(673) a. **7alh**tam puumpu7
7alh-tam puumpu7
CL:change-one clothing
'one change of clothing'

b. **7alh**t'uy puumpu7
7alh-t'uy puumpu7
CL:change-two clothing
'two changes of clothing' [Q7]

The sortal classifier *qan-* is used to count rigid, cylindrical nouns that are longer than they are wide, as seen in (674) and (675). Similarly, Bower (1948) says that *gan-* [qan-] is "used for round slender things" (p. 21).

(674) a. **qan**t'uy k'iw
qan-t'uy k'iw
CL:cylinder-two tree
'two sticks'

b. **qan**tam jaak
qan-tam jaak
CL:cylinder-one banana
'one banana'

c. **qan**kiis makqeliilii
qan-kiis mak-qeliilii
CL:cylinder-five hand-digit
'five fingers' [MNB15: 29]

(675) maa talaxtaqnilhch juu xtaqanqat7an
maa ta-laxtaqni-li+ch juu x-taqanqat-7an
RPT 3PL.SUB-contract-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-illness-PL.POS

juu **qan**tam **qan**tam lapanak
juu **qan-**tam **qan-**tam lapanak
ART **CL:cylinder**-one **CL:cylinder**-one people
'The people, one-by-one, contracted the illness.' [T0057: 019]

The adverbial classifier *7aq-* refers to the number of times that the action of the verb was performed, though not necessarily completed (see *paq-* in examples (695) and (696)). Examples of *7aq-* are shown below in (676); this classifier does not appear in Bower 1948. In the (b), (c), and (d) examples, the classified number modifies the verb.[189]

(676) a. **7aq**t'utu
7aq-t'utu
CL:times-three
'three times', 'thrice' [MNB15: 43]

[189] The syntactic behavior of the classifiers is presented in more detail in section 7.3.1.2.

b. **7aq**t'uych xakmasqatiy
7aq-t'uy+ch xa-k-masqati-y
CL:times-two+ALD PAST-1SUB-try-IMPFV
'I tried twice' [T0069: 005]

c. 7aksnii ktanuuya7 waa **7aq**tam
7aksnii k-tanuu-ya7 waa **7aq**-tam
when 1SUB-enter-FUT FOC **CL:times**-one
'When I start at the same time.' [T0066: 072]

d. **7aq**tami7an
7aq-tam-i-7an
CL:times-one-EPE-go
'Go one more time [referring to playing a song]' [T0066: 101]

The sortal classifier *7aqa-* indicates a fully-grown, mature tree or plant, as seen in the examples in (677). Its antonym *7alh-* 'immature plant' is shown in example (672). The classifier *7aqa-* is not listed in Bower 1948.

(677) a. **7aqa**tam jaak
7aqa-tam jaak
CL:mat.plant-one banana
'one mature banana tree.'

b. **7aqa**kiis k'iw
7aqa-kiis k'iw
CL:mat.plant-five tree
'five mature trees.'

c. taas **7aqa**chuuxch juu 7alin
taas **7aqa**-chuux+ch juu 7alin
Q **CL:mat.plant**-how.many+ALD REL there.is(IMPFV)

juu jaak?
juu jaak
ART banana
'How many mature banana trees are there?'

d. naa **7aqa**lhuu juu 7alin juu jaak
naa **7aqa**-lhuu juu 7alin juu jaak
EMP **CL:mat.plant**-many REL there.is(IMPFV) ART banana
'There are many mature banana trees.' [Q7]

The classifier *7aqa-* can also indicate a vertical division, as seen in (678). This is most likely a semantic extension from its 'mature tree' reading, since most mature trees are vertical.

(678) **7aklh**t'uy lht'aqalaak'iw
7aklh-t'uy lht'aqalaa-k'iw
CL:vertical-two board-tree
'two pieces of board, vertically cut from the same board'

The sortal classifier *7aqx-* refers to flat entities, as seen in the examples in (679) and (680). This classifier is homophonous with the body part prefix *7aqx-* meaning 'shoulder'. The example in (679f) demonstrates that *7aqx-* cannot be used to count a non-flat noun. According to Bower (1948), the classifier *ʔagx-* [ʔaqx-] refers to "complete, separate things" (p. 21).

(679) a. **7aqx**t'utu chiiwx
7aqx-t'utu chiiwx
CL:flat-three rock[190]
'three flat stones' [MNB15: 40]

b. **7aqx**tam 7alhik
7aqx-tam 7alhik
CL:flat -one paper
'one piece of paper' [MNB15: 31]

c. **7aqx**t'utu lht'aqalaak'íw
7aqx-t'utu lht'aqalaa-k'íw
CL:flat-three board-wood
'three boards' [MNB15: 31]

[190] The word *chiiwx* refers to a stone or rock of any shape, but my consultant specifically said that he meant flat stones, like those used to make a walkway and that we know the stones referred to here are flat because of the classifier *7aqx-*.

d. taas **7aqx**chuuxch juu 7alin juu 7alhik?
taas **7aqx**-chuux+ch juu 7alin juu 7alhik
Q **CL:flat**-how.many+ALD REL there.is(IMPFV) ART paper
'How many sheets of paper are there?' [Q7]

e. naa **7aqx**lhuu
naa **7aqx**-lhuu
EMP **CL:flat**-many
'There are many.' [Q7]

f. ** 7aqxt'utu jaak
7aqx-t'utu jaak
CL:flat-three banana
(Intended reading: 'three bananas') [Q7]

In the example in (680), the classified number is prefixed with the locative prefix *puu-*, and it acts as an adverbial modifier.

(680) maalach'ap'ay juu 7alhik puu**7aqx**t'uy
maa-lach'ap'a-y juu 7alhik puu-**7aqx**-t'uy
CAUS-glue-IMPFV ART paper LOC-**CL:flat**-two
'He glues 2 pieces of paper together.'
[on top of each other or end to end] [MNB13: 96, Q7]

The mensurative classifier *kilhmak-* refers to groups or teams of people as seen in (681). Bower (1948) transcribes this classifier as *kiilhmaa-* (p. 21).

(681) a. **kilhmak**t'uy
kilhmak-t'uy
CL:groups-two
'two groups of people', 'two teams' [MNB15: 30]

b. **kilhmak**t'uy xataqamanan juu qamanti
kilhmak-t'uy xa-ta-qamanan juu qaman-ti
CL:groups-two PAST-PL.SUB-play(IMPFV) ART play-NOM
'Two teams would play the game.' [Q7]

c. **kilhmak**lhuu t'aku7
kilhmak-lhuu t'aku7
CL:groups-many woman
'many groups of women.' [Q7]

The sortal classifier *laka-* refers to a 'place' or 'location', as shown in the examples in (682); it is cognate with the Totonac classifier *laka-*, which also means 'places' or 'areas' (Beck 2004: 27; Levy 2004: 280; McQuown 1990: 136). This classifier is homophonous with the HT locative prepositional prefix *laka-* (see Chapter 6, section 6.6.1). Bower (1948) does not include the classifier *laka*.[191] Below in (682b) the classified number modifies the noun *laqachaqan* 'town', while in (682c), it modifies the verb *toolay* 'lives'.

(682) a. **laka**t'uy
laka-t'uy
CL:places-two
'two places', 'two locations' [MNB14: 23]

b. **laka**t'uy laqachaqan wii
laka-t'uy laqachaqan wii
CL:places-two town seated(IMPFV)
'He lives in two towns.' [Q7]

c. waa **laka**tam **laka**tam toolay
waa **laka**-tam **laka**-tam toola-y
FOC **CL:place**-one **CL:place**-one live-IMPFV
'He goes living in one place after another.' [MNB13: 12]

According to Bower (1948), the classifier *laq-*, was used only for counting pesos or reales, an older monetary unit that was still used by the Tepehua at the

[191] The locative preposition in most of the Totonacan languages is *nak* (Beck 2004: 13; McQuown 1990: 125; Reid and Bishop 1974: 100) or *naka* (MacKay 1999: 435), but it is *laka-* in HT, *laka:* in Tlachichilco Tepehua (Watters 1988: 473), and [laka] in the Yecuatla dialect of Misantla Totonac (MacKay 1999: 435). The question is this: is the preposition *laka(a)* an innovation in these languages based on a Proto-Totonacan classifier *laka-*, or does the preposition *laka(a)* reflect the Proto-Totonacan locative preposition, while the Totonac *nak* is the innovation?

time that she published her article. More than 50 years later, I did not encounter any use of reales, but I did find the sortal classifier *laq-* to be used specifically to count pesos, as seen in the examples in (683).

(683) a. **laq**p'úuxamkáw péexuu
laq-p'uuxam-kaw péexuu
CL:peso-twenty-ten peso
'thirty pesos' [MNB15: 39]

b. waa naa maa xtaqnikan **laq**kiis peexuu
waa naa maa xtaq-ni-kan **laq**-kiis peexuu
FOC EMP RPT give-DAT-INS(IMPFV) **CL:peso**-five peso
'Then they gave him five pesos.' [T0055: 043]

The classifier *laqa-*, shown in the examples in (684), (685), and (686), functions as a general classifier that can be used with any noun. It is the most commonly occurring classifier in my database, and it is the classifier that is normally used during the exercise of counting. Furthermore, *laqa-* (along with *puma-*, the human classifier) is one of the only two classifiers that is regularly used by younger speakers. Bower (1948) calls this classifier the "general prefix" (p. 20).

(684) a. **laqa**t'uy 7amaaxtaqnuuti
laqa-t'uy 7amaaxtaqnuuti
CL:general-two pile
'two piles' [MNB15: 30]

b. lhiitamawlh **laqa**tam xlaqpuutanut
lhii-tamaw-li **laqa**-tam x-laqpuutanut
APPL-buy-PFV **CL:general**-one 3POS-mask
'He bought himself a mask.' [T0055: 048]

c. **laqa**t'uy walhtiilaa kapen
laqa-t'uy walhtiilaa kapen
CL:general-two cuartillo coffee
'two cuartillos of coffee' [MNB15: 30]

d. **laqa**t'uy maalhkiyu7
laqa-t'uy maalhkiyu7
CL:general-two month
'(in) two months' [MNB15: 35]

The general classifier *laqa-* may be used with human entities, as seen in (685), even though there is a more specific human classifier *puma-* (see example (699) below).

(685) a. ta**laqa**chuux lápanák
ta-laqa-chuux lápanák
3PL.SUB- **CL:general**-how.many people

xtamin?
x-ta-min
PAST-3PL.SUB-come(IMPFV)
'How many people would come?' [ELIEX1: 055]

b. **laqa**t'utu lápanák
laqa-t'utu lápanák
CL:general-three people
'three people' [Q7]

The general classifier *laqa-* may be used to classify other, non-human nouns for which a more specific classifier exists. For example, *laqa-* is used in (686a) even though *laq-* is the classifier that is used specifically for counting pesos (see examples (683) above), and *laqa-* is used in (686b) even though *qan-* is the classifier typically used with cylindrical nouns (see example (674) above).

(686) a. **laqa**tam peexuu
laqa-tam peexuu
CL:general-one peso
'one peso' [MNB15: 30]

b. **laqa**t'utu jaak
laqa-t'utu jaak
CL:general-three banana
'three bananas' [Q7]

The mensurative classifier *laqpuu-* is homophonous with the body part prefix meaning 'face' or 'eye'. The classifier *laqpuu-* refers to a 'place' when it is used as an adverb, as seen in example (687a), but it refers to 'piles' of a noun when it is used as an adjective, as seen in example (687b).[192]

(687) a. tuulay waa **laqpuu**tam xtoolay
tuu+la-y waa **laqpuu**-tam x-toola-y
NEG+can-IMPFV FOC **CL:pile**-one PAST-stay-IMPFV
'He could not stay (live) in one place.' [MNB13: 12]

b. **laqpuu**t'uy lhii7ut
laqpuu-t'uy lhii7ut
CL:pile-two fruit
'two piles of fruit' [Q7]

The mensurative classifier *maj7ata-* indicates a 'branch' or an 'armful' of a particular noun, as seen in the examples in (688).[193] Though the (b) example might lead one to believe that this is a sortal classifier, it is clear from the (a) example that it is actually mensurative. Comparison of the (c) example with the (b) example demonstrates how the meaning changes if the general classifier *laqa-* is used instead of *maj7ata-*.

[192] See section 7.3.1.2 for more information on the syntactic behavior of the classified numerals.
[193] Given the phonological rule of velar spirantization before a uvular (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.5), I propose that this classifier was either **makqata-* or **makq'ata-* at an earlier stage (i.e., before the loss of the uvular stops).

(688) a. lhii7iiych **maj7ata**tam 7atz'in
lhii7ii-y+ch **maj7ata**-tam 7atz'in
take-IMPFV+ALD **CL:branch**-one tall.grass
'He takes an armful of tall grass.'

b. **maj7ata**t'uy kapen
maj7ata-t'uy kapen
CL:branch-two coffee
'two branches of (a) coffee (bush)' [Q7]

c. **laqa**t'uy kapen
laqa-t'uy kapen
CL:general-two coffee
'two coffee beans' [Q7]

The sortal classifier *maqa-* is used to categorize nouns that are long, thin, and flexible, such as snakes, rope, thread, hair, cables, intestines, worms, and the like. Examples are shown in (689). This classifier is not listed in Bower 1948.

(689) a. **maqa**tam xuunuuk
maqa-tam xuunuuk
CL:flexible-one rope
'one rope'

b. **maqa**tam siijunti
maqa-tam siijunti
CL:flexible-one thread
'one thread', 'one fiber'

c. **maqa**t'uy luw
maqa-t'uy luw
CL:flexible-two snake
'two snakes'

The mensurative classifier *maqxapa-* refers to things that are rolled or bundled up, as seen in the examples in (690). This classifier is not mentioned in Bower 1948.

(690) a. **maqxapa**tam k'iw
maqxapa-tam k'iw
CL:roll-one tree
'one roll of firewood'

b. **maqxapa**t'uy 7alhik
maqxapa-t'uy 7alhik
CL:roll-two paper
'two rolls of paper'

c. **maqxapa**t'uy paatz'oqo
maqxapa-t'uy paatz'oqo
CL:roll-two pencil
'two rolls of pencils'

d. taas **maqxapa**chuuxch juu puumpu7 juu 7alin?
taas **maqxapa**-chuux+ch juu puumpu7 juu 7alin
Q **CL:roll**-how.many+ALD ART clothing REL there.is(IMPFV)
'How many rolls of clothing are there?'

e. **maqxapa**t'uy puumpu7
maqxapa-t'uy puumpu7
CL:roll-two clothing
'Two rolls of clothing.' [Q7]

The adverbial classifier *miix-*, which Bower (1948) transcribes as *mix-,* is used for counting days. When used alone with a number, the resulting meaning is 'in X days', as seen in (691a). When combined with the temporal clitic *+ch(ich)*, the meaning is 'X days ago', as seen in (691b).

(691) a. **miix**kíís
miix-kiis
CL:days-five
'in five days'

b. **miix**kíischich
miix-kiis+chich
CL:days-five-+ALD
'five days ago' [MNB15: 34]

My younger consultants (< 70 years old) would accept the use of *miix-* only with numbers that correspond to weeks for them, i.e., 'seven days' for 'one week' (692a) and 'fifteen days' for 'two weeks' (692b). They rejected the use of this classifier with other numbers, as seen in (692c), saying that this usage was strange, but that the meaning was understandable.

(692) a. **miix**tujún
miix-tujun
CL:days-seven
'in seven days' ≈ 'in one week'

b. **miix**kookiis
miix-kaw-kiis
CL:days-ten-five
'in fifteen days' ≈ 'in two weeks'

c. ?? **miix**kíís
miix-kiis
CL:days-five
(Intended reading: 'in five days')
(Rejected by younger speakers; accepted by older speakers.)

Nevertheless, older speakers (> 70 years old) readily accepted *miix-* followed by any number except the number one (693b), presumably because the lexical items *lhi7* 'tomorrow' and *kutanch* 'yesterday' are used instead. For more information on counting days, see section 7.5.

(693) a. **miix**t'uy (wilhchan)
miix-t'uy (wilhchan)
CL:days-two (day)
'in two days'
(Rejected by younger speakers; accepted by older speakers.)
[MNB15: 34]

b. ** **miix**tam
miix-tam
CL:days-one
(Intended reading: 'in one day') [MNB15: 35]

The sortal classifier *muus-* refers to 'clusters' or 'bunches' of fruit or flowers growing together, as seen in the examples in (694). This classifier is not mentioned in Bower 1948.

(694) a. **muus**tam jaak
muus-tam jaak
CL:cluster-one banana
'one bunch of bananas'

b. **muus**tati kapen
muus-tati kapen
CL:cluster-four coffee
'four clusters of coffee (beans)' [Q7]

The adverbial classifier *paq-* refers to the number of completed trips or tasks indicated by the action of the verb, for example the number of trips someone makes to carry water (695), the number of times a fire was lit (696a), or the number of cleared plots of land (696b). Like the classifier *7aq-* in example (676), the classifier *paq-* behaves as an adverb, modifying a verb rather than a noun. These two classifiers are so similar, both phonologically and semantically, that it is possible that they are variants of each other. In fact, one speaker used them interchangeably and claimed that they were the same.

(695) a. **paq**t'utuch xalaay
paq-t'utu+ch xa-laa-y
CL:trips-three+ALD PAST-can-IMPFV

juu 7atzi7 juu 7ixkaan
juu 7atzi7 juu 7ix-xkaan
ART girl ART 3POS-water
'The girl would make three water trips.'
'The girl would get water three times.'

b. taas **paq**chuuxch xa7iiy
taas **paq**-chuux+ch xa-7ii-y
Q **CL:trips**-how.many+ALD PAST-bring-IMPFV

juu 7ixkaan juu 7atzi7
juu 7ix-xkaan juu 7atzi7
ART 3POS-water ART girl
'How many water trips would the girl make?'
'How many times would the girl bring water?'

c. naa **paq**lhuuch xalaay
naa **paq**-lhuu+ch xa-laa-y
EMP **CL:trips**-many+ALD PAST-can-IMPFV
'She would make many trips.' [Q7]

(696) a. **paq**t'utuch xaxaway juu jip
paq-t'utu+ch xa-xawa-y juu jip
CL:trips-three+ALD PAST-light-IMPFV Art fire
'He would light the fire three times.' [MNB15: 43]

b. juu lapanak **paq**t'uych xamaaxtuy
juu lapanak **paq**-t'uy+ch xa-maaxtu-y
ART person **CL:trips**-two+ALD PAST-take.out-IMPFV

juu xlhiitay
juu x-lhiitay
ART 3POS-plot
'The man would clear two plots.' [Q7]

The mensurative classifier *piis-* categorizes either a handful of loose entities (e.g., beans) or a handful of an entity that is bundled together and tied

with string, as in (697). Bower (1948) provides virtually the same meaning: "bundles or bunches tied up" (p. 21). There is some overlap in meaning between *piis-* and *maqxapa-*, as seen in comparison of (697c) with (690a).

(697) a. **piis**tam stapu
piis-tam stapu
CL:bundle-one bean
'one bundle of beans (in pods)'
'one handful of loose beans' [MNB15: 30]

b. **piis**tam xaanti
piis-tam xaanti
CL:bundle-one flower
'one nosegay of flowers' [MNB15: 30]

c. **piis**t'uy k'iw
piis-t'uy k'iw
CL:bundle-two tree
'two bundles of firewood' [Q7]

d. taas **piis**chuuxch juu xalhiit'an
taas **piis**-chuux+ch juu xa-lhiit'an
Q **CL:bundle**-how.many+ALD REL PAST-bring(2SUB.IMPFV)

juu stapu?
juu stapu
ART bean
'How many bundles/handfuls of beans would you bring?' [Q7]

e. naa **piis**lhuu
naa **piis**-lhuu
EMP **CL:bundle**-many
'A lot.' [Q7]

The mensurative classifier *puch'a-* refers to a field or plot, as seen below in (698). According to Bower (1948), *puuch'aa-* is used when counting "pieces put together," and she gives the example "puuch'aat'uy k'iw *two pieces of wood nailed together*" (p. 21). My informants rejected this example and all others like

it that I tried. The (c) and (e) examples show that *puch'a-* cannot be used with a lexical noun that refers specifically to a tree; instead it occurs with nouns that refer to a cultivated field or plot of land, as seen in the other examples in (698).

(698) a. **púch'a**t'úy lhiitáy
puch'a-t'uy lhiitay
CL:plot-two plot
'two plots'

b. **púch'a**t'úy xalhiitáy 7aláxux
puch'a-t'uy xa-lhiitay 7aláxux
CL:plot-two IPOS-plot orange
'two plots of orange trees'

c. ** **púch'a**t'úy 7aláxux
puch'a-t'uy 7aláxux
CL:plot-two orange
(Intended reading: 'two plots of orange trees') [MNB15: 29]

d. **puch'a**t'uy xalhiitay k'iw
puch'a-t'uy xalhiitay k'iw
CL:plot-two IPOS-plot tree
'two plots of trees'

e. ****puch'a**t'uy k'iw
puch'a-t'uy k'iw
CL:plot-two tree
(Intended reading: 'two plots of trees')

f. **puch'a**kiis xaawti
puch'a-kiis xaawti
CL:plot-five cornfield
'five cornfields'

g. taas **puch'a**chuuxch xaawti juu 7alin?
taas **puch'a**-chuux+ch xaawti juu 7alin
Q **CL:plot**-how.many+ALD cornfield REL there.is(IMPFV)
'How many cornfields are there?' [Q7]

The sortal, human classifier *puma-* is used only to count human entities, as seen in (699). It is the second most commonly occurring numeral classifier in my database, after the general classifier *laqa-*. According to Bower (1948), it can be used to count animals as well as humans; however, my consultants rejected the use of *puma-* with any noun that was not human, as seen in examples (699b) and (699c).

(699) a. **púma**t'utu lápanák
puma-t'utu lápanák
CL:human-three people
'three people' [MNB15: 30]

b. ** **puma**t'uy maqtili7
puma-t'uy maqtili7
CL:human-two wild.animal
(Intended reading: 'two wild animals') [Q7]

c. ** **puma**kiis 7atapakxat
puma-kiis 7atapakxat
CL:human-five animal
(Intended reading: 'five animals') [Q7]

d. taas **puma**chuux lapanák katamina7?
taas **puma**-chuux lapanák ka-ta-min-a7
Q **CL:human**-how.many people IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
'How many people will come?' [Q7]

e. naa **puma**lhuu katamina7
naa **puma**-lhuu ka-ta-min-a7
EMP **CL:human**-many IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
'Many people will come.' [Q7]

f. taas **puma**chuuxch lapanak
taas **puma**-chuux+ch lapanak
Q **CL:human**-how.many person

juu jaantu xatamin?
juu jaantu xa-ta-min
REL NEG PAST-PL.SUB-come(IMPFV)
'How many people would not come?' [Q7]

The mensurative classifier *puukilh-* measures 'arrobas', a measure of about 25 kilograms that is typically measured using a gunny sack or burlap bag. Examples are shown in (700). The noun that is measured must be a pourable solid, which explains the ungrammaticality of (700d). This classifier can be analyzed as *puu-kilh* (LOC-mouth) 'inside the mouth' or 'via the opening'. Bower 1948 does not list this classifier.

(700) a. **puukilh**t'uy t'uun
puukilh-t'uy t'uun
CL:sack-two dirt
'two sacks (arrobas) of dirt' [MNB15: 37]

b. **puukilh**kiis kapen
puukilh-kiis kapen
CL:sack -five coffee
'five sacks (arrobas) of coffee' [MNB15: 36]

c. **puukilh**kiis xaanti
puukilh-kiis xaanti
CL:sack -five flower
'five sacks of (dried) flowers' [MNB15: 37]

d. ** **puukilh**kiis puumpu7
puukilh-kiis puumpu7
CL:sack -five clothing
'five sacks of clothing' [MNB15: 37]

The sortal classifier *puumaqa-* classifies parts or pieces of a whole noun, as seen below in (701). Bower (1948) specifies that *puumaga-* [puːmaqa-] refers

to "sections of a whole *round* noun" (p. 21).[194] However, example (701d) indicates that the noun does not have to be round. According to my consultants, the main criteria for the use of this classifier is that the parts come from the *same* whole.

(701) a. **puumaqa**t'uy xapawáti
puumaqa-t'uy xapawáti
CL:piece-two bread
'two pieces of bread (from the same loaf)' [MNB15: 30]

b. **puumaqa**t'utu jaak
puumaqa-t'utu jaak
CL:piece-three banana
'three pieces of a banana' [MNB15: 30]

c. **puumaqa**kíis 7aláxux
puumaqa-kíis 7aláxux
CL:piece-five orange
'five sections of orange' [MNB15: 30]

d. **puumaqa**t'uy lhtaqálaak'íw
puumaqa-t'uy lhtaqálaa-k'íw
CL:piece-two board-tree
'two boards cut from the same original board' [MNB15: 42]

The mensurative classifier *puu7en*- measures pourable solids, as seen in the examples in (702). It is semantically similar to *puukilh*-, shown in example (700), and some speakers used these two classifiers interchangeably. Bower (1948) says that *puug'in*- [pooq'in-] is "used for counting multiples of three cuartillas of corn" (p. 21). My consultants called the containers that correspond to *puu7en*- 'bandejas' and 'jicaradas', both of which are roughly the size of a half-gallon pitcher.

[194] Emphasis mine.

(702) a. **puu7en**tam sakán
puu7en-tam sakán
CL:bandeja-one nixtamal
'one bandeja of boiled corn' [MNB15: 30]

b. **puu7en**kiis kapén
puu7en-kiis kapén
CL:bandeja-five coffee
'five containers of coffee beans' [MNB15: 38]

The sortal classifier *puux-* refers to articles of clothing that are turned inside-out, as see below in (703). Bower (1948) does not mention this classifier.

(703) a. **puux**t'uy
puux-t'uy
CL:reversed-two
'two articles of clothing inside-out'

b. **puux**t'uy 7ay7uun
puux-t'uy 7ay7uun
CL:reversed-two traditional.pants
'two pairs of inside-out pants'

c. **puux**t'uy tuuch'iti
puux-t'uy tuuch'iti
CL:reversed-two traditional.skirt
'two inside-out skirts' [Q7]

The sortal classifier *talaq-* and its free variant *tántalaq-* categorize 'floors' or 'levels' of a building and 'fords' of a river, seen below in (704a). The presence of an overt noun clarifies the usage, as seen in (704b) and (704c). Comparison of the examples in (704) with those in (705) demonstrates that there is an extreme change in meaning if *talaq-* is replaced by the general classifier *laqa-*. The classifier *tantalaq-* has exactly the same meaning as *talaq-*, as seen in (706), and neither classifier is mentioned in Bower 1948.

(704) a. **talaq**t'uy
talaq-t'uy
CL:floor/ford-two
'two fords (of a river)', 'two floors' [MNB13: 41]

b. **talaq**t'uy xkaan
talaq-t'uy xkaan
CL:ford-two water
'two fords of a river' [Q7]

c. **talaq**t'uy chaqa7
talaq-t'uy chaqa7
CL:floor-two house
'two-story house' [Q7]

(705) a. **laqa**t'uy xkaan
laqa-t'uy xkaan
CL:general-two water
'two rivers', 'two bodies of water' [Q7]

b. **laqa**t'uy chaqa7
laqa-t'uy chaqa7
CL:general-two house
'two houses'

(706) a. **tantalaq**t'uy xkaan
tantalaq-t'uy xkaan
CL:ford-two water
'two fords of a river' [Q7]

b. **tantalaq**t'uy chaqa7
tantalaq-t'uy chaqa7
CL:floor-two house
'two-story house' [Q7]

The sortal classifier *tij-* indicates that the classified nouns are of different types or classes, as seen in (707). Bower (1948) transcribes this classifier as *tiih-* and states that it is "used for things different from others as to color and class" (p. 21).

(707) a. **tij**t'utu puumpú7
tij-t'utu puumpú7
CL:type-three clothing
'three (different) types of clothing' [MNB15: 29]

b. **tij**t'úy 7atapákxat
tij-t'uy 7atapákxat
CL:type-two animal
'two types of animal' [MNB15: 29]

c. **tij**t'úy xqooy
tij-t'uy xqooy
CL:type-two dog
'two types of dog' (can refer to breeds, sizes, colors, etc.) [Q7]

d. taas **tij**chuuxch xqooy juu 7alin?
taas **tij**-chuux+ch xqooy juu 7alin
Q **CL:type**-how.many+ALD dog REL there.is(IMPFV)
'How many types of dog are there?' [Q7]

e. naa **tij**lhuu xqooy
naa **tij**-lhuu xqooy
EMP **CL:type**-many dog
'[There are] many types of dog.' [Q7]

7.3.1.2 Morphosyntax of Numeral Classifiers

When a classifier categorizes its prototypical referent, the noun may be omitted, as seen in example (708), where both *pumat'uy lapanák* and *pumat'uy* mean 'two people'.

(708) a. **puma**-t'uy lapanák
CL:human-two people
'two people'

b. **puma**-t'uy
CL:human-two
'two people'

However when a classifier categorizes a noun that is not its prototype, omission of the noun results in a change in meaning, as seen in example (709), where *7ant'uy lapanák* means 'two people', but *7ant'uy* does not.

(709) a. **qan-**t'uy lapanák
CL:cylinder-two people
'two people'

b. **qan-**t'uy
CL:cylinder-two
'two cilindrical things'
NOT: 'two people'

Similarly, omission of the noun when the classifier is the general classifier *laqa-* can result in a lack of meaning, as seen in example (710). While *laqat'uy lapanák* means 'two people', *laqat'uy* does not.

(710) a. **laqa**-t'uy lapanák
CL:general-two people
'two people'

b. **laqa**-t'uy
CL:general-two
'two X'
NOT: 'two people'

Classified numerals and quantifiers play three different syntactic roles: they may behave as (i) an adjective, (ii) an anaphoric expression, or (ii) an adverb. Three of the classifiers (*7aq-*, *miix-,* and *paq-*) occur *only* as adverbs. All of the other classifiers may occur in any of the three syntactic positions.

When the classified numeral or quantifier behaves as an adjective, it precedes the head noun of a noun phrase, as seen below in (711).[195] In (711a), the

[195] For more information on adjectives and quantifiers, see Chapter 5, sections 5.1 and 5.2, respectively.

classified numeral *laqkiis* modifies the head noun *peexuu*. In (711b) the classified quantifier *pumachuux* modifies the head noun *lapanák*.

(711) a. waa naa maa xtaqnikan [**laqkiis** peexuu]$_{NP}$
waa naa maa xtaq-ni-kan laq-kiis peexuu
FOC EMP RPT give-DAT-INS(IMPFV) **CL:peso**-five peso
'Then they gave him five pesos.' [T0055: 043]

b. taas [**pumachuux** lapanák]$_{NP}$ katamina7?
taas puma-chuux lapanák ka-ta-min-a7
Q **CL:human**-how.many people IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
'How many people will come?' [Q7]

Classified numerals and quantifiers can occur as anaphors that refer to some previously mentioned noun. According to Aikhenvald (2004), "all classifiers are used anaphorically, that is, as proforms, for tracking referents in discourse" (p. 110). In (712c), the classified quantifier *pumalhuu* is an anaphoric expression that refers back to the noun *lapanák* that was mentioned in the question in (711b); in (712b), the classified number *laqat'uy* anaphorically refers to the beer that is the topic of the conversation from which this example is taken; and in (712c), *laqlhuu* (a predicate adjective) anaphorically refers back to some pesos (money) that were previously mentioned in the discourse.

(712) a. naa **pumalhuu** katamina7
naa puma-lhuu ka-ta-min-a7
EMP **CL:human**-many IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
'Many people will come.' [Q7]

b. qot'lich **laqat'uy**
qot'-li+ch laqa-t'uy
drink-PFV+ALD **CL:general**-two
'I drank two [beers].' [T0066: 055]

c. 7entoons tuuka7 **laqlhuu** 7ixjuuniita
7entoons tuu+ka7 laq-lhuu 7ix-jun-niita
then/so NEG+JST **CL:peso**-many PAST-be-PF
'So it was not expensive (inexpensive).' [T0069: 389]

When the classified numeral or quantifier behaves as an adverb, it occurs either immediately before the verb [CL-NUM V], as seen in (713), or at the end of the sentence [V . . . CL-NUM], as seen in (714).[196]

(713) a. **7aqt'utuch** xaktapasay juu chunch
7aq-t'utu-ch xa-k-tapasa-y juu chun+ch
CL:times-three-ALD PAST-1SUB-pass-IMPFV ART thus+ALD
'I would pass it like this three times.' [MNB15: 43]

b. **paqt'utuch** xaktzantiilay
paq-t'utu+ch xa-k-tzantiila-y
CL:trips-three+ALD PAST-1SUB-slip-IMPFV
'I would slip three times.' [MNB15: 43]

(714) maalach'ap'ay juu 7alhik **puu7aqxt'uy**
maa-lach'ap'a-y juu 7alhik puu-7aqx-t'uy
CAUS-glue-IMPFV ART paper LOC-**CL:flat**-two
'He glues the paper in two places.' [MNB13: 96]

Finally, when counting mensurative nouns for which there is no classifier that corresponds to the container, a specific word order is used in which the nominal that refers to the container occurs in the adjectival position between the number and the noun, as seen below in (715). Examples of this word order are shown in (716).

(715) NUMBER { CONTAINER / ADJECTIVE } HEAD NOUN

[196] See Chapter 6 for more information on adverbs.

(716) a.

NUMBER	CONTAINER	HEAD NOUN
laqakiis	puuwaaqaax	kapen
laqa-kiis	puuwaaqaax	kapen
CL:general-five	guaje[197]	coffee

'five guajes of coffee' [MNB15: 38]

b.

		NUMBER	CONTAINER	HEAD NOUN
juu	x7ulaata	tam	p'aqlati	tuumiin
juu	x-7ulaa-ta	tam	p'aqlati	tuumiin
REL	PAST-put-PF	one	chest	money

'The one who had a chest of money' [T0054: 060]

In a similar construction, a descriptive adjective occurs in the adjectival position between the number and the head noun. The numeral classifier may be either the general classifier, as seen in (717a), or a more specific classifier that describes the form of the head noun, as seen in (717b).

(717) a.

laqat'uy	<u>lakst'ak'alh</u>	chiiwx
laqa-t'uy	lak-<u>st'ak'alh</u>	chiiwx
CL:**general**-two	PL-<u>flat</u>	rock

'two flat rocks'

b.

7aqxt'uy	<u>lakst'ak'alh</u>	chiiwx
7aqx-t'uy	lak-<u>st'ak'alh</u>	chiiwx
CL:**flat**-two	PL-<u>flat</u>	rock

'two flat rocks' [MNB15: 40]

7.3.1.3 Pragmatics of Numeral Classifiers

HT nouns are not rigidly divided into different classes; instead, different classifiers can be used to highlight different characteristics of the noun that are relevant to a given context. Aikhenvald (2000) notes that when differernt classifiers are used with the same noun, the resulting noun phrases show varying degrees of semantic similarity, as will be seen in the HT examples below.

[197] A *guaje* is a round container that is used to store tortillas. In the past, the Tepehua made *guajes* from hollow, dried gourds (*qaax)*, but today most *guajes* are made of plastic.

In (718) the noun is *lapanak* 'person'.[198] The classifier in example (a), *puma-*, is the default human classifier. Although the same noun *lapanak* also appears in (b), the classifier *qan-* modifies a long, cylindrical noun; here the use of *qan-* instead of *puma-* communicates the fact that the people are lying down, more dead than alive. The example in (c) also contains the human noun *lapanak,* and here it is modified by the classifier *7aklh-*, which indicates that the noun is divided along a horizontal axis. The use of the classifier *7aklh-* indicates that the division between the human half and the animal half is horizontal, not vertical, and this information is more important to the context than the fact that the noun *lapanak* is human.

(718) a.

juu	**puma**tam	lapának	niilh
juu	**puma**-tam	lapának	nii-li
ART	CL:**human**-one	person	die-PFV

'One person died.' [T0009: 001]

b.

maa	talaxtaqnilhch	juu	xtaqanqat'an
maa	ta-laxtaqni-li+ch	juu	x-taqanqat-7an
RPT	3PL.SUB-contract-PFV+PUNT	ART	3POS-illness-PL.POS

juu	**qan**tam	**qan**tam	lapanak
juu	**qan-**tam	**qan-**tam	lapanak
ART	CL:**cylinder**-one	CL:**cylinder**-one	person

'The people contracted the illness one by one.' [T0057: 019]

c.

waa	**7aklh**tam	lapanak	**7aklh**tam	maqtili7
waa	**7aklh**-tam	lapanak	**7aklh**-tam	maqtili7
FOC	CL:**horizontal**-one	person	CL:**horizontal** -one	wild.animal

'It is half person, half wild animal.' [MNB16: 50]

[198] The only difference between *lapának* 'person' and *lapanák* 'people' is in the stress of the two words.

The six examples in (719) demonstrate the use of various classifiers that describe arrangements or measurements of the noun *k'iw* 'tree'. All of these examples are of sortal classifiers with the exception of examples (e) and (f), which are mensurative. The examples in (a) and (b) use the general classifier *laqa-* and the cylindrical classifier *qan-*, respectively, in order to form the noun phrase 'two trees'. The classifier in (c), *tij-*, indicates 'types' of trees, and *kinka-* in (d) indicates that the trees are pointy.[199] The classifiers in examples (e) and (f)—*puch'a-* and *maqxapa-,* respectively—measure the noun by 'plots' and 'rolls'.

(719) a. **laqa**-t'uy k'iw
CL:**general**-two tree
'two trees'

b. **qan-**t'uy k'iw
CL:**cylinder**-two tree
'two trees'

c. **tij**-t'uy k'iw
CL:**types-**two tree
'two types of tree'

d. **kinka**-t'uy k'iw
CL:**point**-two tree
'two pointy trees'

e. **puch'a**-t'uy k'iw
CL:**plot**-two tree
'two plots of trees'

f. **maqxapa**-t'uy k'iw
CL:**roll**-two tree
'two rolls of firewood'

[199] The prefix *kinka-* is a body part prefix. The use of parts as classifiers is discussed in section 7.3.2.

The examples in (720) form a set using the compound noun *lht'aqalaa-k'iw,* meaning 'board'. In (a) the classifier *7aqx-* simply indicates that the board is flat, while the classifiers in (b), (c), and (d) indicate the form of the division between the parts of the board. In (b) *puumaqa-* indicates that the parts all come from the same board, though it does not actually specify information about the shape of the division. The arrows in the drawing in Figure 5 indicate that the division can be in any part of the retangle. The classifier *7aqa-* in example (c) indicates that the division in the board is vertical, as seen in the drawing in Figure 6. Finally, the classifier *7aklh-* in (d) indicates that the division is horizontal, as seen in the drawing in Figure 7.

(720) a. **7aqx**-t'uy lht'aqala-k'iw
CL:general-two flat-tree
'two boards'

b. **puumaqa**-t'uy lht'aqalaa-k'iw
CL:pieces-two flat-tree
'two parts of a board' (cut from the same board)

c. **7aqa**-t'uy lht'aqalaa -k'iw
CL:vertical-two flat-tree
'two vertical sections of board' (cut from the same board)

d. **7aklh**-t'uy lht'aqalaa-k'iw
CL:horizontal-two flat-tree
'two horizontal sections of board' (cut from the same board)

Figure 5: *puumaqa-*

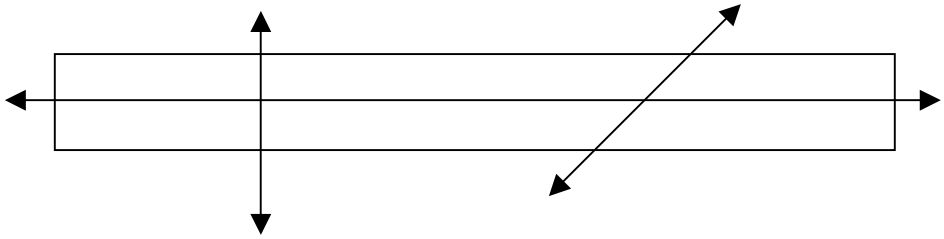


Figure 6: *7aqa-*

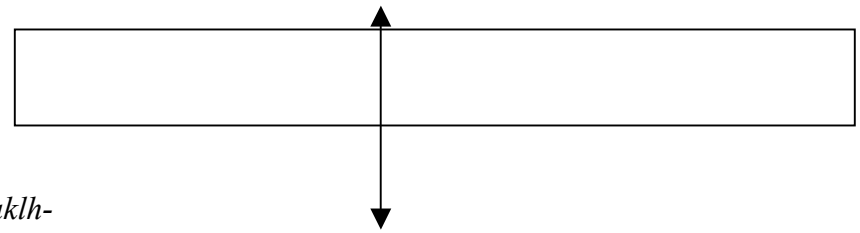
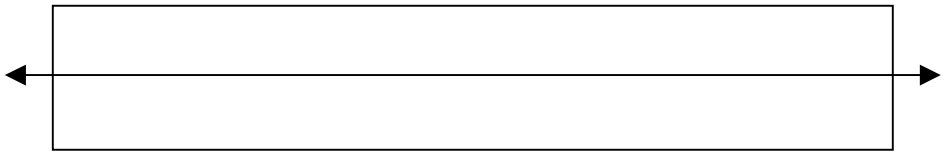


Figure 7: *7aklh-*



The examples in (721) are all based on the noun *kapen* 'coffee'. Here the classifiers in examples (a) through (e) are sortal, while the example in (f) is mensurative. The general classifier is shown in (a), *laqat'ati kapen* 'four coffee beans'. In (b) *7alh-* referes to an immature plant that is just beginning to grow; in (c) *7aqa-* refers to a mature plant that is already fully grown and ready for harvesting; in (d) *máj7ata-* refers to a branch of the plant, and in (e), *muus-* indicates a cluster of the fruit of the plant. The classifier *puu7en-* in (f) measures the coffee beans by *bandejas*, which is the unit used to measure coffee (and other pourable, dry, non-count nouns) in the Mexican market place.

(721) a. **laqa**-t'ati kapen
CL**:general**-four coffee
'four coffee beans'

b. 7**alh**-t'ati kapen
CL**:im.plant**-four coffee
'four immature coffee bushes'

c. **7aqa**-t'ati kapen
CL:mat.plant-four coffee
'four mature coffee bushes'

d. **makqata**-t'ati kapen
CL:branch-four coffee
'four branches of a coffee bush'

e. **muus**-t'ati kapen
CL:cluster-four coffee
'four clusters of coffee beans'

f. **puu7en**-t'ati kapen
CL:bandeja-four café
'four bandejas of coffee beans'

7.3.2 Body Parts and Numeral Classifiers

Body part prefixes[200] can and do occur on numerals in HT. When this happens, the meaning is a literal combination of the body part and the number, as seen in the examples in (722). However, for any part-numeral construction, there is a corresponding analytical construction involving a classified numeral and a lexical body part, as seen in (723). I cannot say which expression is the more commonly occurring in natural speech, but I did find the analytical expressions to be more readily accepted during elicitation tasks.

(722) a. **lakpuu**-tam
eye-one
'one eye' or 'one-eyed' [MNB13: 13]

b. **lakpuu**-t'uy
eye-two
'two eyes' [MNB13: 13]

[200] The HT class of Body Part Prefixes is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.1.8) and Chapter 4 (section 4.2.8).

c. **ch'an**-t'ati
foot-four
'four feet' [Q7]

(723) a. laqa-tam laqchulh
CL:general-one eye
'one eye' or 'one-eyed' [Q7]

b. laqa-t'uy laqchulh
CL:general-two eye
'two eyes' [Q7]

c. laqa-t'ati ch'aja7
CL:general-four foot
'four feet' [Q7]

According to Levy (2004), *all* of the classifiers in Papantla Totonac historically come from the class of parts, and the two classes (classifiers and parts) are semantically distinct. The situation in HT is not so cut-and-dried because there is very little clear semantic overlap between the classifiers and the HT body part prefixes, even though there is a great deal of homophony due to the sound symbolic phonemic alternations to which the body parts are subject.[201] Thus, there are far more examples of dissimilarity between the HT classifiers and body parts than there are examples of similarity. The dissimilarities are shown in Tables 26, 27, and 28. Table 26 is a list of HT classifiers that bear no similarities (either homophonously or semantically) to any of the members of the parts class. The classifiers in Table 27 are homophonous with members of the class of body parts, but have different, unrelated meanings. Finally, the body part prefixes in Table 28 bear no similarities to any of the classifiers.

[201] All of the body part prefixes that have a /k/ or /q/ and some of the parts that have a /ʔ/ participate in phonemic alternations that are symbolic of size and/or affection, e.g. *7aq-* ~ *7ak-* 'head' ~ 'small head' or 'head (spoken affectionately)' (Smythe Kung 2006c).

Table 26: Prefix is a Classifier, Not a Part

Prefix	Part Meaning	Classifier Meaning
7aklh-	---	horizontal division of N
7alh-	---	immature plant; change of clothing
7aqa-	---	mature plant; vertical division
kilhmak-	---	group or team of people
maj7ata-	---	branch
maqa-	---	long, thin, flexible N
maqxapa-	---	roll of N
miix-	---	day or week
paq-	---	trip
piis-	---	handful of N
puch'a-	---	plot of N
puma-	---	human
puumaqa-	---	part of N
puu7en-	---	bandeja of N
puux-	---	inside-out clothing
qan-	---	cylindrical N
talaq- ~ tatanlaq-	---	floor of a building; ford of a river
tij-	---	type of N

Table 27: Homophonous Prefix, but Different Meaning

Prefix	Part Meaning	Classifier Meaning
7aq-	head	# times action of V completed
laka-	body	place
laq-	body	peso
laqa-	body	general
laqpuu-	face, eye	pile of N

Table 28: Prefix is a Part, Not a Classifier

Prefix	Part Meaning	Classifier Meaning
7ak-	head	---
ka-	nose, tip	---
lak-	body	---
lakpuu-	face, eye	---
muuntz'a-	forehead	---
tamp'us-	belly	---
tzoqot-	knee	---

Though there are many semantic differences between the classifiers and the class of parts, there are some similarities, shown in Tables 29 and 30. Table 29 lists three instances in which phonologically identical or similar body parts and classifiers have transparently related meanings. Table 30 is a list of body parts which may be used as classifiers while still retaining their part meaning.

Table 29: Part & Classifier Have Related Meanings

Prefix	Part Meaning	Classifier Meaning
7aqx-	shoulder, upper back	flat
muusa-, muus-	groin	cluster
puu-, puukilh-	innards, insides	gunny sack, abt 25 kg

Table 30: Part Can Be Used as Classifier

Part Prefix	Part & Classifier Meaning
ch'an-	foot, paw
kapii-	palate (of mouth)
katu-	ear
kik-	mouth, beak, edge
kilhtu-	edge
lakapaa-	head
laqxtan	cheek, jaw
laqxtii-	crown of the head
mak- ~ maq-	hand
maqaxtu-	elbow, corner

muunti-	forehead
paaka-	armpit, wing
piixtu-	neck
qaatu-	thigh
staa-	back
tampuu-	belly
tan-	front of trunk of body
tasa-	tooth
tii-	tail, butt, hip

7.4 NUMERAL INFLECTION

Numeral inflection includes a prefix to indicate '(an)other' (section 7.4.1) and a suffix to indicate 'each' (section 7.4.2).

7.4.1 (An)other *7a-*

A classified number can be prefixed with *7a-* to indicate 'the other # N,' '# other N,' or 'another # N' as seen below in (724). This prefix is likely related to the plural nominal prefix *7a-* and the plural verbal prefix *7a-*.[202]

(724) a. **7a**pumakaw lapának
7a-puma-kaw lapának
CL:other-CL:human-ten person
'another ten people', 'ten other people', 'the other ten people'
[MNB15: 38]

b. **7a**qant'uy k'íw
7a-qan-t'uy k'iw
CL:other-CL:cylinder-two tree
'another two sticks', 'two other sticks', 'the other two sticks'
[MNB15: 38]

c. **7a**míixkookíis
7a-miix-kaw-kiis
CL:other-CL:days-ten-five
'another 15 days' [MNB15: 39]

[202] Please see Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.1 and Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.5, respectively.

d. puus juu **7a**laqatam wilhchan
puus juu **7a**-laqa-tam wilhchan
well ART **CL:other**-CL:general-one day
'Well, the other day . . .' [T0058: 001]

7.4.2 Each *–(V)n*

When numbers are used to refer to a situation in which each person receives a quantity of the noun, the number is affixed with the plural nominal suffix *–(V)n*.[203] In this instance, the suffix has three allomorphs: *–n*, *-an*, and *–in*. If the number ends in a vowel, it is suffixed with *–n*; if it ends in the consonant /n/, it is suffixed with *–an*; and if it ends in a consonant other than /n/, it is suffixed with *–in*. Examples are shown in (725).

(725) a. laqtam**in** peexuu pumatam**in**
laq-tam-**Vn** peexuu puma-tam-**Vn**
CL:peso-one-**PL** peso CL:human-one-**PL**
'one peso for each person'

b. laqt'iyu**n** (peexuu)
laq-t'iyu-**n** (peexuu)
CL:peso-two-**PL** (peso)
'two pesos each'

c. laqt'utu**n**
laq-t'utu-**n**
CL:peso-three-**PL**
'three pesos each'

d. laqt'ati**n**
laq-t'ati-**n**
CL:peso-four-**PL**
'four pesos each'

[203] See Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.2 for more information on this plural nominal suffix.

e. laqkiis**in**
laq-kiis-**Vn**
CL:peso-five-**PL**
'five pesos each'

f. laqchaxan**an**
laq-cháxan-**Vn**
CL:peso-six-**PL**
'six pesos each'

g. laqtujun**an**
laq-tújun-**Vn**
CL:peso-seven-**PL**
'seven pesos each'

h. laqtzajin**an**
laq-tzajin-**Vn**
CL:peso-eight-**PL**
'eight pesos each'

i. laqnajatz**in**
laq-nájatz-**Vn**
CL:peso-nine-**PL**
'nine pesos each'

j. laqkaw**in**
laq-kaw-**Vn**
CL:peso-ten-**PL**
'ten pesos each' [MNB15: 31, Q7]

7.5 COUNTING UNITS OF DAYS

In HT there are two ways to count units of days (i.e., 'days from now'). The first method involves the use of the adverbial classifier *miix*- that was described above in section 7.3.1.1 (see the discussion above examples (691), (692), and (693)). An additional example appears below in (726).

(726) **miix**chaaxan
miix-chaaxan
CL:days-six
'in 6 days' [MNB 15: 34]

The second method for counting 'days from now' involves the use of the general classifier *laqa-* and the lexical noun *wilhchan* 'day', as seen below in (727). This construction seems to be replacing the *miix*-construction, given that it is more commonly used by the younger speakers (< 70 years old) than the *miix*-construction is. The *laqa-# wilhchan* construction appears to be modeled on the construction that is used to express other units of time, such as 'months' and 'years', as seen in (728).

(727) a. **laqa**t'ati wilhchan
laqa-t'ati wilhchan
CL:general-four day
'in 4 days' [Q7]

b. **laqa**kiis wilhchan 7aklaqtz'inaan
laqa-kiis wilhchan 7a-k-laqtz'in-a7-n
CL:general-five day IRR-1SUB-see-FUT-2OBJ
'I'll see you in 5 days' [Q7]

(728) a. **laqa**t'ati maalhkiyu7
laqa-t'ati maalhkiyu7
CL:general-four month
'in 4 months' [Q7]

b. **laqa**t'ati k'aata
laqa-t'ati k'aata
CL:general-four year
'in 4 years' [Q7]

The primary means of expressing of the passage of days (i.e., 'days ago') is by the addition of the temporal clitic +*ch(ich)* ALD to either of the two constructions listed above. The allomorph +*chich* occurs on the *miix*-construction,

which is shown in (729), and the allomorph +*ch* occurs on the *laqa*-construction, which is shown in (730).

(729) a. miixkiis**chich**
miix-kiis+**chich**
CL:days-five+**ALD**
'five days ago' [MNB15: 34]
(accepted by older speakers, rejected by younger speakers)

b. míixtujun**chich**
miix-tujun+**chich**
CL:days-seven+**ALD**
'one week ago', 'seven days ago' [MNB15: 34]

(730) a. laqat'utu**ch** wilhchán
laqa-t'utu+**ch** wilhchán
CL:general-three+**ALD** day
'three days ago.' [Q7]

b. laqat'ati**ch** wilhchán
laqa-t'ati+**ch** wilhchán
CL:general-four+**ALD** day
'four days ago.' [Q7]

In the *laqa*-construction, the copula *jun* 'be' can be used instead of the temporal clitic +*ch*, as shown below in (731).

(731) a. laqakiis wilhchan **xajun**
laqa-kiis wilhchán xa-**jun**
CL:general-five day PAST-**be**.IMPFV
'five days ago'

b. laqat'uy k'aata **xajun**
laqa-t'uy k'aata xa-**jun**
CL:general-two year PAST-**be**.IMPFV
'two years ago' [Q7]

HT has lexemes to express the concepts of yesterday (*kutanch* ~ *kutanchich*), tomorrow (*lhi7*), and three days (*t'uuxam*). Note that when *t'uuxam*

occurs alone, it means ‘in three days’ or ‘the day after tomorrow’, but when it occurs with the temporal clitic +*chich*, it means ‘three days ago’ or ‘the day before yesterday’, as seen in (732).

(732) a. t'uuxam
‘in three days’, ‘the day after tomorrow’ [MNB15: 30]

b. t'uxaam**chich**
t'uxaam+chich
three.days+ALD
‘three days ago’ , ‘the day before yesterday’ [MNB15: 34]

Chapter 8: Syntax

This chapter discusses the syntax of Huehuetla Tepehua, including the following topics: the word order of the major clausal constituents (section 8.1), focus (section 8.2), interrogation or question formation (section 8.3), negation (section 8.4), comparative and superlative constructions (section 8.5), and complex clauses (section 8.6).

8.1 Word Order of Major Clausal Constituents

In this section, I examine the word order of the major clausal constituents—subject, object, and verb—in HT. The order of the words in specific types of phrase are discussed in the relevant chapters on verbs, nouns, modifiers, adverbs, and numbers—chapters 3 through 7, respectively (e.g., the word order within a noun phrase is discussed in Chapter 4: Nouns and Nominal Morphology).

While in the field, I found that during elicitation, the word order of my probe clause—be it in Spanish or Tepehua—would influence the word order of the HT clause of my consultant's response. Thus, when I elicited the example shown in (733a) with SVO word order, my consultant gave me an HT clause with SVO word order. When I then tested all six possible word orders, my consultant accepted all of them and claimed there was no difference in meaning. The example is shown in its entirety below in (733).

(733) Variable WO

a. SVO

[juu 7anu7 lapanak]$_{SUB}$ [jaantu 7uy]$_{VERB}$ [juu qajin]$_{OBJ}$
juu 7anu7 lapanak jaantu 7u-y juu qajin
ART that person NEG eat-IMPFV ART turtle
'That person does not eat the turtle.' [NVP99/MNB7: 469]

b. SOV

[juu 7anu7 lapanak]$_{SUB}$ [juu qajin]$_{OBJ}$ [jaantu 7uy]$_{VERB}$

c. VSO

[jaantu 7uy]$_{VERB}$ [juu 7anu7 lapanak]$_{SUB}$ [juu qajin]$_{OBJ}$

d. VOS

[jaantu 7uy]$_{VERB}$ [juu qajin]$_{OBJ}$ [juu 7anu7 lapanak]$_{SUB}$

e. OSV

[juu qajin]$_{OBJ}$ [juu 7anu7 lapanak]$_{SUB}$ [jaantu 7uy]$_{VERB}$

f. OVS

[juu qajin]$_{OBJ}$ [jaantu 7uy]$_{VERB}$ [juu 7anu7 lapanak]$_{SUB}$
'That person does not eat the turtle.' [NVP99/MNB7: 469]

The fact that all of the word orders shown in (733) are acceptable is problematic given that case is not marked on nouns in HT. However, given the pragmatics of the clausal constituents, it is not difficult to determine that *juu 7anu7 lapanak* 'that person' must be the subject and *juu qajin* 'the turtle' must be the object since it highly improbable that a turtle would eat a person. Word order is not needed to determine the syntactic roles in this example.

However, the pragmatics of clausal constituents are not always so enlightening, and it is easy to find a clause in which the meaning of the constituents does not pragmatically or culturally influence the assignment of syntactic roles. Two such clauses are shown below in (734). I want to point out that the clauses in (734) were volunteered by a speaker with whom I did not

perform word order tests; I elicited the verb and requested that he give me an example clause using the verb. In each of these examples, the verb *saa* 'hit' co-occurs with two nominals that are culturally equal.[204] It is neither more nor less likely that John would hit a man than it is that a man would hit John. The clausal pragmatics do not help to determine the syntactic roles of subject and object; therefore a fixed word order is needed, and this word order is VSO.

(734) *Fixed VSO WO*

a. [saalhch]$_{\text{VERB}}$ [juu lapanak]$_{\text{SUB}}$ [juu Xiiwaan]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
saa-li+ch juu lapanak juu Xiiwaan
hit-PFV+ALD ART person ART John
'The person hit John.' [AVH00]

b. [lakasaamaa]$_{\text{VERB}}$ [juu Xiiwaan]$_{\text{SUB}}$ [juu Piitalu7]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
laka-saa=maa juu Xiiwaan juu Piitalu7
BODY-hit=lying(PFV) ART John ART Pedro
'John hit Pedro.' [NVP05]

To further check the word order, I took the clause in (734a), and I rearranged its constituents to create six different clauses; I read all six HT clauses to a native speaker and asked him to translate them into Spanish. The results are shown in (735). When the verb was clause-initial, the clause-final nominal was interpreted to be the object, as seen in (735) a) and (735b). When the verb was in

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[204] By culturally equal, I mean that one nominal is not expected to hit the other, unlike the examples shown here in (i) and (ii) in which it is culturally expected that an adult would hit a child, but not that a child would hit an adult. Note that the word order is VSO in (i), but VOS in (ii).

(i) [tiitalaalh]$_{\text{VERB}}$ [juu lapanak]$_{\text{SUB}}$ [juu 7ixasqat'a]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
tii-ta-laa-li juu lapanak juu 7ix-7asqat'a
BUTT-INCH-can-PFV ART person ART 3POS-child
'The man hit his child on the bottom.' [AVH00]

(ii) [saanilh]$_{\text{VERB}}$ [juu 7ixtzi7 Loolaa]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ [juu lapanak]$_{\text{SUB}}$
saa-ni-li juu 7ix-tzi7 Loolaa juu lapanak
hit-DAT-PFV ART 3POS-girl Lola ART person
'The man hit Lola's daughter.' [AVH00]

medial position, the clause-final nominal again was interpreted to be the object, as seen in (735c) and (735d). However, when the verb was in clause-final position, either nominal could be interpreted as the object, as seen in the pair of clauses shown in (735e) and (735f).

(735) a. VSO

[saalhch]$_{\text{VERB}}$ [juu lapanak]$_{\text{SUB}}$ [juu Xiiwaan]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
saa-li+ch juu lapanak juu Xiiwaan
hit-PFV+ALD ART person ART John
'The person hit John.' [WOQ]

b. VSO

[saalhch]$_{\text{VERB}}$ [juu Xiiwaan]$_{\text{SUB}}$ [juu lapanak]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
'John hit the person.' [WOQ]

c. SVO

[juu lapanak]$_{\text{SUB}}$ [saalhch]$_{\text{VERB}}$ [juu Xiiwaan]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
'The person hit John.' [WOQ]

d. SVO

[juu Xiiwaan]$_{\text{SUB}}$ [saalhch]$_{\text{VERB}}$ [juu lapanak]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
'John hit the person.' [WOQ]

e. OSV/SOV

[juu lapanak] [juu Xiiwaan] [saalhch]$_{\text{VERB}}$
'John hit the person.'
'The person hit John.' [WOQ]

f. SOV/OVS

[juu Xiiwaan] [juu lapanak] [saalhch]$_{\text{VERB}}$
'John hit the person.'
'The person hit John.' [WOQ]

In analyzing the statistical frequency of various word order possibilities in Huehuetla Tepehua, I looked only at clauses from natural discourse (i.e., clauses from the text database), and I did not include any of the examples that came from elicitation sessions. Of the 1393 entries in the text database, only 940 predications

were used to determine basic word order. The remaining entries were not used because they were clausal fragments, one-word questions or answers, nonverbal predicates (i.e., present tense predicate nominal or adjectival constructions that do not require a copula), incomprehensible utterances, or solitary discourse markers, or they were uttered entirely in Spanish.

Of the 940 usable clauses, 371 were intransitive and 569 were transitive. Since there were so few samples with which to work, I looked at word order in both transitive and intransitive clauses. Tables 31 through 34 describe the statistical frequency of the word orders that I found.

Table 31 shows the various possible word orders in an intransitive clause. The first column shows the possible word order combinations in an intransitive clause: V-only, VS, and SV. The second column shows the statistical frequency of all three types of intransitive clause. Of the 371 intransitive clauses 61.7% consisted of a verb only. The subject followed the verb in 30.5% of the clauses, and it preceded the verb in only 7.8% of the clauses. The third column subtracts the V-only examples, and shows the frequency of the VS and SV examples. Of the 142 intransitive clauses that contain an overt subject, 79.6% show the VS word order, while only 20.4% show the SV word order. Thus, there is a strong tendency for a subject nominal to follow an intransitive verb.

Table 31: Word Order in Intransitive Clauses

Total intransitive clauses: 371
Total intransitive clauses with 1 argument: 142

WO	**% of Intransitive Clauses**	**% of Intransitive Clauses with 1 nominal argument**
V only	229/371 = 61.7 %	
V S	113/371 = 30.5 %	113/142 = 79.6%
S V	29/371 = 7.8 %	29/142 = 20.4%

Table 32 shows the various possible word orders in a transitive clause, including verb-only clauses, clauses with just one other constituent (either the subject or the object), and clauses with two constituents (both the subject and the object). The first column shows all of the possible word order combinations in a transitive clause: V-only, VO, OV, VS, SV, SVO, VSO, OVS, VOS, OSV, and SOV. The second column shows the statistical frequency of all 11 types of transitive clause. Out of 569 transitive clauses of naturally occurring speech, 45.7% consisted of a verb only. The next most frequently occurring transitive clause type consisted of a verb followed by an object; this word order occurred in 31.1% of the sample. In comparison, none of the other word orders represented in Table 32 is statistically significant, and the frequencies of clauses with two overt arguments are extremely low. The contents of this table are broken down further in Tables 33 and 34 below.

Table 32: Word Order in Transitive Clauses

Total transitive clauses = 569

WO	**% Transitive Clauses**
V only	260/569 = 45.7%
V O	177/569 = 31.1%
O V	49/569 = 8.6%
V S	28/569 = 4.9%
S V	17/569 = 3%
S V O	15/569 = 2.6%
V S O	13/569 = 2.3%
O V S	5/569 = 0.9%
V O S	4/569 = 0.7%
O S V	1/569 = 0.2%
S O V	0

Table 33 shows the percentages of transitive clauses with one overt constituent in addition to the verb. The possible word order combinations are shown in the first column: VO, OV, VS, SV. The numbers in the second column are the same as the ones in Table 32 for these word orders; these percentages show the statistical frequency of these transitive clause types compared to all other transitive clause types. The third column shows the statistical frequency of transitive clauses with just two constituents compared to other two-constituent transitive clauses, of which there are 271. These numbers show that when just one argument co-occurs with the verb, it is usually the object, not the subject. As for the word order in these single-argument transitive clauses, there is a strong tendency towards the VO order, which occurs in 65.3% of the clauses. The other orders occur much less frequently: the OV order occurs in only 18.1% of the clauses, the VS order occurs in only 10.3%, and the SV order occurs in only 6.3% of the clauses. The fact that there are many more two-constituent clauses

containing an object than there are clauses containing a subject is not surprising since, cross-linguistically, it is typically the case that a nominal representing new information is introduced into the discourse as an object.

Table 33: WO in Transitive Clauses with One Additional Constituent

Total transitive clauses: 569
Total transitive clauses with 1 argument: 271

WO	**% of Transitive Clauses**	**% of Transitive Clauses with 1 Nominal Argument**
V O	177/569 = 31.1%	177/271 = 65.3%
O V	49/569 = 8.6%	49/271 = 18.1%
V S	28/569 = 4.9%	28/271 = 10.3%
S V	17/569 = 3%	17/271 = 6.3%

Table 34 shows the percentages of transitive clauses with two overt arguments; of the 569 transitive clauses, only 38 contain two overt arguments. The possible word order combinations are shown in the first column: SVO, VSO, OVS, VOS, OSV, and SOV. The numbers in the second column are the same as the ones in Table 32 for these word orders; these percentages show the statistical frequencies of these transitive clause types compared to all other transitive clause types. The third column shows the statistical frequencies of only transitive clauses with two additional arguments. Again there is a strong tendency for the object to follow the verb, as seen in the SVO (39.5%), VSO (34.2%), and VOS (10.5%) orders; the object precedes the verb in the OVS order in 13.2% of the clauses. Note that of the two possible verb-final word orders, OSV occurs only once and SOV does not occur at all.

Table 34: Major Constituent WO in Transitive Clauses

Total transitive clauses: 569
Total transitive clauses with 2 arguments: 38

WO	**% Transitive Clauses**	**% Transitive Clauses with 2 Nominal Arguments**
S V O	15/569 = 2.6%	15/38 = 39.5%
V S O	13/569 = 2.3%	13/38 = 34.2%
O V S	5/569 = 0.9%	5/38 = 13.2%
V O S	4/569 = 0.7%	4/38 = 10.5%
O S V	1/569 = 0.2%	1/38 = 2.6%
S O V	0	0

After considering the statistics shown above in Tables 31 through 34, it is clear that, (i) given the high percentage of clauses in which the only major constituent is a verb, the other constituents (i.e., the subject and object) are not obligatory in HT; (ii) when there is only one nominal constituent (be it subject or object) there is a strong tendency for it to follow the verb, (i.e., there is a strong tendency for the verb to occur in a non-final position in the clause with an overt nominal); (iii) there is also a strong tendency for the object to follow the verb; and (iv) when there are two nominal constituents in addition to the verb, there is a strong tendency for the object to occur in clause-final position.

Pragmatically neutral clauses collected during elicitation follow the VSO word order; word order tests indicate that both VSO and SVO are dominant orders; and statistical analysis indicates a slight preference for the SVO word order, followed closely by the VSO order. Thus, HT has VX word order, where X may be a subject or an object. Furthermore, it is clear that HT is strongly influenced by pragmatics, including focus, which is the topic of the following section (8.2). In the rest of this section, I first discuss examples of the five three-

constituent word orders found in HT natural discourse, then I examine the order of pronouns in HT discourse.

The example in (736) shows the most statistically frequent narrative word order: SVO. This story is about a poor man who tries to sell pig excrement in a neighboring town. This is the first reference in the text to the townspeople *juu lapanak*. Pragmatically, word order is not necessary to disambiguate the grammatical roles.

(736) SVO

pero	[juu lapanak]$_{SUB}$	[tzukulhch	7utaynin]$_{VERB}$
pero	juu lapanak	tzuku-li+ch	7utay-nin
but	ART people	begin-PFV+ALD	smell-PL.INF

[juu	xaakamiti	juu	7ani7	x7ilht'i	p'aax]$_{OBJ}$
juu	xa-7akamiti	juu	7ani7	x-7ilht'i	p'aax
ART	IPOS-odor	ART	um	3POS-excrement	pig

'But the people began to smell the odor of the pig excrement.'

[T0055: 023-24]

The example in (737) shows the second most frequent narrative word order: VSO. This narrative is about a flood that occurred in the village the year before the time of telling. Once again the pragmatics of the clause influence the determination of the syntactic roles of the constituents.

(737) VSO

[tamaqatz'anqaa]$_{VERB}$	[juu	lapanak]$_{SUB}$	[juu	xlaktaxtoqta]$_{OBJ}$
ta-maqatz'anqaa	juu	lapanak	juu	x-lak-taxtoqta
3PL.SUB-lose(PFV)	ART	people	ART	3POS-PL-thing

'The people lost their things.' [T0018: 006]

The clause in example (738) shows the third most frequent word order: OVS. Again, there is only one possible interpretation of the grammatical roles; while a donkey can take two sacks, the reverse is not possible. Furthermore, the

sacks are more important to the context than the donkey because they illustrate the quantity of pig excrement that the poor man took to sell.

(738) OVS

[laqat'uy	kuuxtaa]$_{OBJ}$	[lhii7alhch]$_{VERB}$	[juu	xpuurruu]$_{SUB}$
laqa-t'uy	kuuxtaa	lhii7an-li+ch	juu	x-puurruu
CL:general-two	sack	take(PFV)-PFV+ALD	ART	3POS-donkey

'His donkey took two sacks (of pig excrement).' [T0055: 016]

The example in (739) shows the fourth most frequent word order: VOS. This narrative tells how the Tepehua people came to live in Huehuetla. Again, word order is not necessary to determine the grammatical roles of the constituents because people can wash clothes, but clothes cannot wash people.

(739) VOS

maa	[laay	katamaqpaya7]$_{VERB}$	[juu	xpuumpu7an]$_{OBJ}$
maa	laa-y	ka-ta-maqpa-ya7	juu	x-puumpu7-7an
RPT	can-IMPFV	IRR-3PL.SUB-wash-FUT	ART	3POS-clothes-PL.POS

[juu	lapanak]$_{SUB}$
juu	lapanak
ART	people

'The people would be able to wash their clothes.' [T0057: 025]

The example in (740) shows the only textual example of the OSV word order. I should note that when I transcribed and translated this text with the help of don Nicolás, he claimed that this clause was somewhat awkward. Furthermore, the pragmatics of the constituents once again influence the determination of their syntactic roles.

(740) OSV

[juu xburruu]$_{OBJ}$ [juu yuuch]$_{SUB}$
juu x-burruu juu yuuch
ART 3POS-donkey ART PRN.3SG

[tzakaach maa maak'uk'aa]$_{VERB}$
tzakaa+ch maa maak'uk'aa
heavily+ALD RPT load(PFV)
'He heavily loaded his donkey.' [T0055: 088]

With respect to the order of pronouns, elicited examples indicate that they may occur pre- or post-verbally, as seen in the examples below in (741).

(741) a. [juu yuuch]$_{SUB}$ [kaana7]$_{VERB}$ [juu sabat]$_{ADV}$
juu yuuch ka-7an-a7 juu sabat
ART PRN.3SG IRR-go-FUT ART Saturday

b. [kaana7]$_{VERB}$ [juu yuuch]$_{SUB}$ [juu sabat]$_{ADV}$

c. [juu sabat]$_{ADV}$ [kaana7]$_{VERB}$ [juu yuuch]$_{SUB}$
'*He* will go on Saturday.' [PDLMA05]

Statistical analysis of the pronouns occurring in natural discourse is summarized in Tables 35 through 38. Table 35 shows the occurrence of all pronouns, including those acting as subjects, objects, and pronominal predications. Out of 107 total pronominal clauses, the pronoun precedes some other clausal element (be it a verb, copula, noun, adjective, adverb, or relative clause) in 61.7% of them. In 28% of the clauses, the pronoun followed some other clausal element, and 10.3% of the clauses consisted of a pronoun only. These percentages show a strong tendency for the pronoun to precede the predicate.

Table 35: Pronominal Order (Pronoun = Predicate, Subject, or Object)

WO	**Total Clauses = 107**
Prn X	66/107 = 61.7%
X Prn	30/107 = 28%
Prn Only	11/107 = 10.3%

Table 36 shows the word order of pronouns acting in the grammatical role of subject of a verb (but not a copula). When acting as the subject, the pronoun precedes the verb in 55.6% of the clauses, and it follows the verb in 44.4% of the clauses. Here, the difference in statistical frequencies is not as dramatic as that found in Table 35, though there is a slight tendency for the pronoun to occur pre-verbally.

Table 36: Pronominal Order when Pronoun is Subject

WO	**Total Clauses = 27**
Prn V	15/27 = 55.6%
V Prn	12/27 = 44.4%

However, the opposite word order is found when the pronoun acts as object of the clause. Table 37 below shows the word order frequencies when the pronoun is the object of a transitive verb. It precedes the verb in only 43.7% of the clauses, and it follows the verb in 56.3% of them. Thus, when the pronoun is an object, there is a slight tendency for it to *follow* the verb.

Table 37: Pronominal Order when Pronoun is Object

WO	**Total Clauses = 16**
Prn V	7/16 = 43.7%
V Prn	9/16 = 56.3%

Finally, the statistical word order frequencies of pronominal predications are shown in Table 38. In these clauses, the pronoun precedes the other clausal element (which may be a noun, adjective, adverb, relative clause, or copula) in 83% of the examples, while it follows the other element in only 17%. Thus, there is a strong tendency for the pronoun to *precede* its predication when the predication is nonverbal.

Table 38: Pronominal Order in Nonverbal Pronominal Predications and Copular Constructions

X = noun, adjective, adverb, relative clause, copula

WO	**Total Clauses = 53**
Prn X	44/53 = 83%
X Prn	9/53 = 17%

The word order of the major constituents in a matrix clause is summarized as follows: when there is neither context nor pragmatic cues (e.g., elicited data), the volunteered word order is VSO, and the order SVO is readily accepted by speakers. All other orders are problematic in such situations. However, in texts that have ample context and pragmatic cues, the order SVO is somewhat more

frequent than the order VSO, and all other word orders (except SOV) are possible, though considerably less frequent than SVO or VSO.

8.2 FOCUS

Huehuetla Tepehua has two strategies by which a clausal element may be focused. I use the term 'focus' here to mean prominence rather than contrastive emphasis. The first strategy involves syntactic focus constructions, specifically left-dislocation and clefting (section 8.2.1). The second strategy is morphosyntactic, involving the use of the focus particle *waa* (section 8.2.2).

8.2.1 Focus Constructions

In HT, when a clausal constituent is focused, it occurs in the clause-initial position. Several different constructions in HT may be analyzed as focus constructions, including left-dislocation, topicalization, clefting, and answers to questions. The first three constructions are addressed in this section, and focused answers are discussed in sections 8.2.2 and 8.3 below.

In an HT left-dislocation construction, a focused noun or noun phrase occurs in the clause initial position, and it is co-referential with a pronoun in the matrix clause. Examples are shown in (742); here the clause-initial noun (phrase) is enclosed in square brackets, and subscripted <i> indicates co-reference. In all of the examples of left-dislocation that I have found, the clause-initial noun (phrase) is co-referential with the subject of the clause. I have found no examples in which it is co-referential with the object of the clause.

(742) *Left-dislocation*

a. [juu xmaalhka]$_{\mathbf{i}}$, yuuch$_{\mathbf{i}}$ juu niimaa
juu x-maalhka yuuch juu niimaa
ART 3POS-measure PRN.3SG ART this
'Its measurement, *it* is this.'[205] [T0069: 055]

b. puus, [juu 7anu7 luw]$_{\mathbf{i}}$, maa yuuch$_{\mathbf{i}}$ laktiitaymay
puus, juu 7anu7 luw, maa yuuch lak-tiitayma-y
well ART that snake RPT PRN.3SG PL-chase-IMPFV

juu t'akuunin maa papaaninch juu mati7 sasqat'a7an
juu t'aku7-nin maa papa7-nin+ch juu mati7 s-7asqat'a-7an
ART woman-PL RPT man-PL+ALD REL none 3POS-child-PL.POS
'Well, that snake, *it* chases women and men who have no children.'
[T0003: 005-6]

c. [juu laay ch'apay juu luw]$_{\mathbf{i}}$,
juu laa-y ch'apa-y juu luw
ART can-IMPFV grab-IMPFV ART snake

yuuch$_{\mathbf{i}}$ juu kintata7, juu tam tapopaan
yuuch juu kin-tataa juu tam tapopaan
PRN.3SG ART 1POS-old.man ART one male.witch
'The one who can grab the snake, *he* is an old man, a witch.'
[T0003: 024-025]

In an HT topicalized construction, a noun, noun phrase, or pronoun that is the topic of the clause occurs in clause-initial position. When the topic is also the subject of the matrix clause, it is separated from the rest of the clause by the complementizer *nii*, as seen below in the examples in (743). I assum that *nii* intervenes between the subject and the verb in order to distinguish a topicalized construction from a normal clause with SVO word order. In these examples, the topicalized element is enclosed in square brackets, and the complementizer appears in bold type.

[205] I would like to thank Jim Watters for suggesting this analysis to me.

(743) *Subject Topicalization*

a. 7entons [juu 7anuuch purowii xkumwarii]
7entons juu 7anu7+ch purowii x-kumwarii
then ART that+ALD pitiful 3POS-compadre

nii maa naa waa xkilhpatiych
nii maa naa waa x-kilhpati-y+ch
COMP RPT EMP FOC PAST-be.poor-IMPFV+ALD
'Well, that pitiful compadre, he was very poor.' [T0055: 010-11]

b. [juu maqtili7] **nii** waa xlhii7an juu p'aax
juu maqtilii **nii** waa x-lhii7an juu p'aax
ART wild.animal **COMP** FOC PAST-take(IMPFV) ART pig
'The wild animal, it would take pigs.' [T0020: 006]

c. [waa yuuch] **nii** lhuuch kalhii7ana7 juu k'iw
waa yuuch **nii** lhuu+ch ka-lhii7an-a7 juu k'iw
FOC PRN.3SG **COMP** much+ALD IRR-take-FUT ART wood
'This one, it will take a lot of wood.' [T0069: 276]

I have found only one clear instance in which an object is topicalized, shown below in (744). Here there is no morphosyntactic indicator of topicalization; instead intonation in the form of a pause after *7ani7,* as well as object-initial word order, indicates that the object has been topicalized.

(744) *Object Topicalization*

[yuuch juu 7ani7], kch'uk'upaklht'iyuta p'ulan
yuuch juu 7ani7 k-ch'uk'u=paklht'iyu-ta p'ulhnan
PRN ART this 1SUB-cut.open=XXX[206]-PF first
'This one here, I cut open first.' [T0069: 057]

Finally, a subject, object or adverb may be clefted in HT. The clefted element occurs in clause-initial focus position, and it is followed by the main predication in the form of a relative clause. Examples of clefted subjects are shown in (745), examples of clefted objects are shown in (746), and examples of

[206] XXX indicates that the meaning of this morpheme is not know. Please see the List of Abbreviations at the beginning of this grammar.

clefted adverbs are shown in (747). In these examples, the relative clause is enclosed in square brackets, and subscripted <i> indicates co-reference between the focused element and the following relative clause. Note that in all of the examples in (746), the clefted object is preceded by the focus particle *waa*, which is discussed in the next section.

(745) *Cleft Constructions Relativized on a Subject*

a. maa yuuch$_i$ [juu laay kalhii7alh ma7ata]$_{RC_i}$
maa yuuch juu laa-y ka-lhii7an-li maqata
RPT PRN.3SG REL can-IMPFV IRR-take-PFV far
'*He* is the one [who can take it far away].' [T0003: 026]

b. 7ani7, yuuch$_i$ [juu palaych lhiijun]$_{RC_i}$
7ani7 yuuch juu palay+ch lhiijun
this PRN.3SG REL better+ALD order(IMPFV)
'This, it is [what makes it (a snake bite) better].' [T0009: 013]

(746) *Cleft Constructions Relativized on an Object*

a. 7anu7 p'in$_i$ [juu 7ulh lakatz'unin]$_{RC_i}$
7anu7 p'in juu 7u-li lakatz'unin
that salsa REL eat-PFV a.little
'She ate a little of that salsa.'
Literally: 'It was that salsa [that she ate a little bit of].' [T0069: 229]

b. naach waa yuuch$_i$
naa+cch waa yuuch
EMP+ALD FOC PRN.3SG

[juu x7amaapalhkan juu lakalhiisaan]$_{RC_i}$
juu x-7a-maapala-kan juu laka-lhiisaan
REL PAST-PL.INO-pay-INS(IMPFV) ART PREP-gig
'It is [what they were paid at (music) gigs].' [T0063: 033]

c. waa yuuch$_i$ wachu7 [juu talakask'inpalay]$_{RC_i}$
waa yuuch wachu7 juu ta-lakask'in-pala-y
FOC PRN.3SG also REL 3PL.SUB-want-REP-IMPFV
'It, also, is [what they want].' [T0066: 045]

d. waa lhiiway$_i$ [juu 7upaa]RC$_i$
waa lhiiway juu 7u-paa
FOC meat REL eat-REP.PFV
'*Meat* is [what she ate again].' [T0069: 226]

e. waa lhiiwaych$_i$ [juu x7uy]RC$_i$
waa lhiiway+ch juu x-7u-y
FOC meat+ALD REL PAST-eat-IMPFV
'*Meat* is [what it would eat].' [T0020: 040]

(747) *Cleft Constructions Relativized on an adverb*

a. *Temporal Adverb*
7aksch$_i$ [juu xalaktantamaakxtukan]RC$_i$
7aks+ch juu xa-lak-tan-tamaakxtu-kan
when+ALD REL PAST-PL-TORSO-take.out-INS(IMPFV)
'Then is [when they were taken out.]'
'It was then [that they were taken out.]' [T0063: 078]

b. *Manner Adverb*
puus kaa 7aqtz'iyanch chunch$_i$
puus kaa 7aqtz'iyan+ch chun+ch
well BLV always+ALD like.so+ALD

[juu 7uuniit'a juu 7uxint'i]RC$_i$
juu jun-niita juu 7uxint'i
REL be(2SUB)-PF(2SUB) ART PRN.2SG
'Well, I think like that is [how *you* have always been].'
'Well, I think it is like that [that you have always been].' [T0054: 028]

d. *Manner Adverb*
puus chunch$_i$ [juu noonkan
puus chun+ch juu najun-kan
well like.so+ALD REL say-INS(IMPFV)

juu 7anch juu lakilaqachaqan]RC$_i$
juu 7anch juu laka-ki-laqachaqan
ART there ART PREP-1POS-village
'Well, like that is [how they talk there in my village].'
'Well, it is like that [that they talk in my village].' [T0003: 033]

d. *Locative Adverb*

7ani7$_i$ [juu xatz'o7a]RC$_i$
7ani7 juu xa-tz'o7-7a
here REL PAST-mark-IMPFV
'Here is [where you marked it].'
'It is here [that you marked it].' [T0069: 108]

e. *Locative Adverb*

waa 7anchach$_i$ [juu seqjun juu maqtili7]RC$_i$
waa 7anch+ach juu seqjun juu maqtili7
FOC there+ALD REL hide(IMPFV) ART wild.animal
'There is [where the wild animal hides.]'
'It is there [that the wild animal hides.]' [T0020: 011]

8.2.2 Focus Particle *waa*

The HT focus particle *waa* precedes a pragmatically emphasized element in a clause without directly influencing the element's location within the clause. It serves to highlight or draw attention to a clausal constituent. It most commonly occurs before a verb, before a predicate nominal or adjective, and before the answer to a *wh*-word question. However, it also occurs before other clausal elements, as will be seen below.

The most obvious place in which one finds a focused element is in the answer to a *wh*-word question. The focused constituent of the answer is the part of the clause or phrase that plays the same grammatical role as the *wh*-word in the corresponding question, as seen in the examples below in (748) through (751).[207] These answers are actually doubly focused because they are preceded by *waa* and they occur in clause-initial focus position. In the question in (748a), one person asks another where he was. The answer in (748b), *lak José Pollo* 'at José Pollo's

[207] Please see Section 8.3 of this chapter for more information on interrogative structures.

place', is preceded by the focus particle *waa*, which appears in bold type. In this question and answer pair, the *wh*-word of the question corresponds to the focused locative adverb of the answer.

(748) a. tanchach juu xt'anuun?
tanch+ach juu x-tanuun
where+ALD REL PAST-inserted(IMPFV)
'Where were you?' [T0066:022]

b. **waa** lak José Pollo
waa laka-José Pollo
FOC PREP-José Pollo
'At José Pollo's [place].' [T0066: 024]

In the question in (749a), the speaker asks what someone did. In the answer in (749b), the predicate that answers the question is preceded by the focus particle *waa.*

(749) a. 7entons taas t'aalaaych juu yuuch?
7entons taas t'aa-laa-y+ch juu yuuch
then how COM-can-IMPFV+ALD ART PRN.3SG
'Then what did *he* do?' [T0054: 001]

b. **waa** maaqeswaalhch juu 7atzi7
waa maa-qeswaa-li+ch juu 7atzi7
FOC CAUS-be.scared-PFV+ALD ART girl
'He scared the girl.' [T0054: 003]

In the question in (750a), one compadre asks another where he went. The second compadre's answer in (750b) does not actually answer *where* he went, but rather *what* he did; again the predicate that answers the question is preceded by the focus particle *waa*.

(750) a. tanch xak'ilaay, jii kumwarii
tanch xa-ki-laa-y jii kumwarii
where PAST-RT(2SUB)-can-IMPFV VOC compadre

maa juuniych juu xkumwarii
maa jun-ni-y+ch juu x-kumwarii
RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
'"Where did you go, compadre?" his compadre says to him.'
[T0055:006-7]

b. **waa** kist'aa juu x7ilht'i p'aax
waa k-ki-st'aa juu x-7ilht'i p'aax
FOC 1SUB-RT-sell(PFV) ART 3POS-excrement pig
'I went and sold pig excrement.' [T0055: 008]

The question in (751a) asks what a group of people is doing. The answer in (751b) has two parts: first the group answers 'nothing', but then the group answers the question with a predication. The focus particle precedes the predicate, the second part of the answer.

(751) a. tiijuuch juu nawiiyat'it?
tiijuu+ch juu nawii-y-at'it
what+ALD REL do-IMFPV-2PL.SUB
'What are you all doing?' [T0055: 058]

b. jaantuch tu7u7, **waa** k7astaknantawch
jaantu+ch tu7u7 **waa** k-7astaknan-ta-w+ch
NEG+ALD something **FOC** 1SUB-rest-PF-1PL.SUB+ALD
'Nothing, we are resting.' [T0055: 059]

Though most answers to *wh*-word questions include the focus particle *waa*, it is not a requirement of the grammar, as can be seen in the examples below in (752) and (753). Even though the focus particle does not occur in the clause in (752b), the adverbial answer to the question does occur in the clause-initial focus position.

(752) a. tanch jii kinkiin?
tanch jii kin-kiin
where VOC 1POS-aunt
'Where, aunt?' [T0054: 035]

b. 7ani7 kimaaqeswaat'i
7ani7 ki-maa-qeswaa-t'i
here 1OBJ-CAUS-be.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV
'Here you scared me.' [T0054: 036]

(753) a. tiis junkanch juu yuuch?
tiis jun-kan+ch juu yuuch
how say-INS(IMPFV)+ALD ART PRN.3SG
'What is this one called?' [T0066: 123]

b. xaachoola7
xaa-choola7
IPOS-turkey
'The turkey.' [T0066: 124]

The use of the focus particle *waa* is not limited to focusing the answer of a *wh*-word question. It can be used to pragmatically focus any constituent or adjunct in any declarative clause that introduces new information or a new idea to the discourse. When it appears in a clause that is *not* an answer to a question, it precedes the clausal element in situ; that is, a focused clausal constituent is not required to occur in clause-initial focus position in this construction if it is not the answer to a question. The following examples demonstrate that *waa* may focus in situ a predicate (754); a noun or a predicate nominal (755), a predicate adjective (756), an adverb (757), a prepositional phrase (758), and a number (759).

(754) *Predicate Focus*
a. **waa** takiknawiin 7uu **waa** lajk'ik'nawii?
waa ta-kiknawii-n 7uu **waa** lak-kiknawii
FOC 3PL.SUB-flatter(PFV)-2OBJ or **FOC** PL-flatter(PFV)
'Did they flatter you or did you flatter them?' [T0066:051]

b. juu 7aks maa **waa** xminta pumatam lapanak
juu 7aks maa **waa** x-min-ta puma-tam lapanak
ART then RPT **FOC** PAST-come-PF CL:human-one person
'Then one person had come . . .' [T0022: 035]

d. kalaalh nii **waa** t'amak'oomp'ut'unch
ka-laa-li nii **waa** tamakajun-putun+ch
IRR-can-PFV COMP **FOC** stay(2SUB)-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD
'You can if you want to stay.' [T0055: 065]

e. entonces juu Sireenaa **waa** talhqamalhchi
entonces juu Sireenaa **waa** talhqaman-li+ch
then ART goddess **FOC** get.angry-PFV+ALD
'Then the goddess got angry.' [T0057: 084]

(755) *Nominal Focus*

a. maa **waa** t'aku7
maa **waa** t'aku7
RPT **FOC** woman
'It was a woman.' [T0020:029]

b. maa **waa** xaakanit lapanak
maa **waa** xaa-7akanit lapanak
RPT **FOC** IPOS-flesh person
'It was human flesh.' [T0020: 037]

c. **waa** xukxpu7?
waa x-7ukxpu7
FOC 3POS-face
'Her face?' [T0054: 078]

d. pero **waa** xch'ajaach chiila7
pero **waa** x-ch'aja7+ch chiila7
but **FOC** 3POS-foot+ALD chicken

xjuuniita juu xch'aja7
x-jun-niita juu x-ch'aja7
PAST-be-PF ART 3POS-foot
'But her feet were chicken feet.' [T0063: 054-55]

(756) *Adjectival Focus*

a. **waa** lakt'ikt'ika7 juu waakax
waa lakt'ikt'i-ka7 juu waakax
FOC small-JST ART cow
'The cows were still small.' [T0020:008]

b. juntaa **waa** puut'ikst'i laktalhpa
juntaa **waa** puut'ikst'i lak-talhpa
where **FOC** narrow PL-hill
'Where the hills are narrow.' [T0022: 052]

c. **waa** lakatz'unin juu maqalhqamaan.
waa lakatz'unin juu maqalhqamaa-n
FOC few ART Tepehua-PL
'The Tepehua people were few.' [T0057: 055]

d. porque juu 7ani7 laqachaqan **waa** lakat'ikst'i,
porque juu 7ani7 laqachaqan **waa** lakat'ikst'i,
because ART here village **FOC** small

xjuuniita lakat'ikst'i
x-jun-niita lakat'ikst'i
PAST-be-PF small
'Because the town here was small, it was small.' [T0057: 086]

(757) *Adverbial Focus*

a. *Locative Adverb*

maa xt'oonpalay juu maqtili7
maa x-t'ajun-pala-y juu maqtili7
RPT PAST-be-REP-IMPF ART wild.animal

juu **waa** niinch laqachaqan, taa wii xkaan
juu **waa** niin+ch laqachaqan taa wii xkaan
REL **FOC** near+ALD town where sitting(IMPFV) water
'There was an animal that was near the town, by the water.'
[T0020:002]

b. *Non-ideophonic Manner Adverb*

waa chunch 7anawiit'i, tachu nawiiy sexta
waa chunch 7a-nawii-t'i tachu nawii-y sexta
FOC like.so IRR-do-2SG.SUB.PFV how do-IMPFV guitar
'Do it like this, the way you do the sexta guitar.' [T0066: 134]

c. *Ideophonic Manner Adverb*

waa	xk'ululu	xukxumaa	juu	xkaan
waa	xk'ululu	x-7ukxu=maa	juu	xkaan
FOC	ID:trickle	PAST-go.down=lying(PFV)	ART	water

'The water trickled down.' [T0057: 059]

d. *Temporal Adverb*

waa	tz'iisin	7akminaaw
waa	tz'iisin	7a-k-min-a7-w
FOC	early	IRR-1SUB-come-FUT-1PL.SUB

'We will come early.' [T0069: 241]

(758) *Prepositional Focus*

a.

maa	xta7amaqpanan	juu	papaanin
maa	x-ta-7a-maqpa-nVn	juu	papa7-nin
RPT	PAST-3PL.SUB-PL.INO-wash-INO(IMPFV)	ART	men-PL

juu	kaa	**waa**	lakak'iwin	xtat'ajun
juu	kaa	**waa**	laka-k'iw-in	x-ta-t'ajun
REL	BLV	**FOC**	PREP-tree-PL	PAST-3PL.SUB-live(IMPFV)

'The men who were living in the woods would wash.' [T0022: 002-3]

b.

waa	laktalhpa	taa	xaqamanuukan.
waa	laka-talhpa	taa	xaqama=nuu-kan
FOC	PREP-hill	where	drag=insert-INS(IMPFV)

'They are dragged into the cave.'
LIT: 'Into a hill is where they are dragged.' [T0063: 044]

(759) *Number Focus*

a.

waa	laqatam	juu	7ixwootoon
waa	laqa-tam	juu	7ix-wootoon
FOC	CL:general-one	ART	3POS-knot

'It has only one knot.'
LIT: 'Its knot is only one.' [T0069: 353]

b.

waa	laqat'uy	lht'aqalak'iw	kaa	wachu7	palata
waa	laqa-t'uy	lht'aqalak'iw	kaa	wachu7	palata
FOC	CL:general-two	board	BLV	also	more

'There are two more boards also, I think.' [T0069: 070]

Though the HT particle *waa* serves to focus a particular member of a clause, it does not occur in every clause. In fact, only 17% of the 1393 records (including questions and answers) in the HT text database include the focus particle.

Above I mentioned that the focus particle does not influence the word order of the clause. Though it is possible to find examples of clauses that both contain the focus particle *waa* and deviate from the standard VO word order, such as the clause in (760a), these examples are less numerous than those which contain the focus particle and exhibit the standard word order, as in (760b).

(760) *CF WO*

a.

		OBJ		VERB
juu	maa	x7asqat'a7an	**waa**	xta7uy
juu	maa	x-7asqat'a-7an	**waa**	x-ta-7u-y
ART	RPT	3POS-child-PL.POS	**FOC**	PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPFV

'They would eat their children.' [T0059: 003]

b.

		VERB		OBJ
maa	**waa**	x7ukanch	juu	ki7asqat'a7an
maa	**waa**	x-7u-kan+ch	juu	ki-7asqat'a-7an
RPT	**FOC**	PAST-eat-INS(IMPFV)+ALD	ART	1POS-child-PL.POS

'They would eat our children.' [T0059: 028]

According to Jim Watters (p.c.), the Tepehua focus particle *waa* is most likely cognate with the Totonac copula *wan* 'become'. Typologically, it is not unusual for a focus particle to be historically derived from a copula (Drubig 2000),[208] and the HT focus particle does indeed seem to act like a copula in predicate nominal and adjectival constructions, such as those shown above in the examples in (755a), (755b), and (756). Furthermore, there are a two examples,

[208] I must thank Jim Watters for pointing this reference out to me.

shown below in (761), in which the focus particle occurs clause-finally and not preceding a focused element. In these examples *waa* seems to behave more like a copula than like a focusing element.

(761) *Focus Particle in Clause-final Position*

a. juu xqatii naa naa lhuu **waa**.
ART creek EMP EMP much **FOC**
'The creek rose a lot.' [T0058: 003]

b. pero juu 7anu7 lapanak juu xaqalhii7an
pero juu 7anu7 lapanak juu x-xaqa-lhii7an
but ART that person REL PAST-pull=take(IMPFV)

jaantu qoxiyaa lapanak **waa**.
jaantu qoxiyaa lapanak **waa**
NEG good person **FOC**
'But that person who was pulling them along is not a good person.'
[T0063: 038-39]

Further evidence that the HT focus particle is derived from an older form of the copula is found in third person examples in the irrealis mood. In all irrealis modalities except the conditional modality and the future tense, the copula is *waa* (phonetically identical to the focus particle *waa*). Examples are shown below in (762). In these examples, *waa* is prefixed with the irrealis prefix *ka-*, and in the case of (762c), the negative future prefix *ti-*. However, when the copula is used in the future tense of the irrealis mood or in the conditional modality, it occurs as the standard form *jun*, as seen below in (763).[209]

[209] For more information on the irrealis mood, please see Section 3.1.2.3 of Chapter 3.

(762) *Copula* waa*, Irrealis Mood*

a. *Optative*

klakaskin	nii	**kawaa**	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan
k-lakaskin	nii	ka-**waa**	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan
1SUB-want	COMP	IRR-**be**(IRR)	president	ART	John

'I want John to be/become president.' [BeQ]

b. *Negative Optative*

jaantu	talakask'in	juu	lapanak
jaantu	ta-lakask'in	juu	lapanak
NEG	3PL.SUB-want(IMPFV)	ART	people

nii	**kawaa**	7ukxtin
nii	ka-**waa**	7ukxtin
COMP	IRR-**be**(IRR)	president

'The people do not want him to be/become president.' [ELIEX2: 008]

c. *Negative Future*

jaantu	7ukxtin	**katiwaa**	juu	Xiiwaan
jaantu	7ukxtin	ka-ti-**waa**	juu	Xiiwaan
NEG	president	IRR-NEG.FUT-**be**(IRR)	ART	John

'John will not be president.' [BeQ2]

d. *Dubitative*

jaantu	k'atz'ay	nii	7ukxtin
jaantu	k-k'atz'a-y	nii	7ukxtin
NEG	1SUB-know-IMPFV	COMP	president

kawaa	juu	Xiiwaan
ka-**waa**	juu	Xiiwaan
IRR-**be**(IRR)	ART	John

'I don't know if John is/will be president.'
'I doubt that John will be president.' [BeQ2]

e. *Permission, Possibility*

kaa	laay	**kawaa**	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan
kaa	laa-y	ka-**waa**	7ukxtin	juu	Xiiwaan
BLV	can-IMPFV	IRR-**be**(IRR)	president	ART	John

'John may be president.'
'John can be president.'
'It is possible that John is president.' [BeQ2]

(763) *Copula* jun, *Irrealis Mood*

a. *Future*

7ukxtin	kajuna7	juu	Xiiwaan
7ukxtin	ka-jun-a7	juu	Xiiwaan
president	IRR-be-FUT	ART	John

'John will be president.' [BeQ2]

b. *Conditional*

7ukxtin	kajuna7	juu	Xiiwaan	nii	kalhtajuya7
7ukxtin	ka-jun-a7	juu	Xiiwaay	nii	ka-lhtaju-ya7
president	IRR-be-FUT	ART	John	COMP	IRR-win-FUT

'John will be president if he wins.' [BeQ2]

8.3 INTERROGATIVE STRUCTURES

All questions in HT are characterized by rising intonation. In addition, there are various interrogative pronouns and tags that are used in the formulation of questions.

8.3.1 Yes/No Questions

A yes/no question in HT is always formed using rising intonation. Additionally, there is an interrogative pronoun *jaa* that occurs in the focus position at the beginning of a clause, as seen below in the examples in (764) and (765). The example in (764a) shows a declarative clause, and the example in (764b) shows the corresponding interrogative version of the same clause.

(764) a.

laktamaqstalh	juu	kinkúuxtaa	juu	Karmeeluu.
lak-tamaqsta-li	juu	kin-kuuxtaa	juu	Karmeeluu
PL-load.up-PFV	ART	1POS-sack	ART	Carmelo

Carmelo loaded up my sacks.

b.

jaa	laktamaqstalh	juu	kinkuuxtaa	juu	Karmeeluu?
jaa	lak-tamaqsta-li	juu	kin-kuuxtaa	juu	Karmeeluu
Q	PL-load.up-PFV	ART	1POS-sack	ART	Carmelo

Did Carmelo load up my sacks? [MNB15: 51]

(765) a. **jaa** laay k'alakt'aatamakajuu?
jaa laa-y k-7a-lak-t'aa-tamakajun
Q can-IMPFV 1SUB-PL.INO-DIS-COM-stay(PFV)
'May I stay with them?' [T0055: 061]

b. **jaa** chunchi7as nawiikanch
jaa chun+chi+7as nawii-kan+ch
Q like.so+ALD+TAGQ do-INS+ALD

7aksni soqchi 7an?
7aksnii soq+chi 7an
when straight+ALD go(IMPFV)
'Is this how they do it when they straighten it?' [T0069: 168]

c. **jaa** yuuch juu niimaa?
Q PRN.3SG ART this
'Is it this one?' [MNB15: 41]

More often than not, there is no interrogative pronoun in a yes/no question at all. In these cases, the question is identical to a declarative clause except for the intonation. Examples of yes/no questions without *jaa* are shown below in (766).

(766) a. yuuch juu maqtili7?
PRN.3SG ART wild.animal
'Is he the devil?' [T0054: 011]

b. laklhkulh juu t'aku7?
lak-lhku-li juu t'aku7
DIS-burn-PFV ART woman
'Did the woman burn (to death)?' [T0054: 067

c. jaantu p'aast'ak'a?
jaantu paastak-7a
NEG remember(2SUB)-IMPFV
'Don't you remember?' [T0058: 007]

d. takipuuxkajuun?
ta-ki-puuxkajun-n
3PL.SUB-RT-look.for(PFV)-2OBJ
'They went looking for you?' [T0066: 018]

e. 7alaklhii7unch wachu7?
7a-lak-lhiijun+ch wachu7
PL.INO-PL-order(2SUB.IMPFV)+ALD also
'Do you order, too?' [T0066: 057]

f. t'i7inch?
ti-7an+ch
IMM(2SUB.IMPFV)-go(2SUB)+ALD
'Are you leaving?' [T0066: 280]

g. juu 7aniich xpaqaxti7 ka7ana7?
juu 7ani7+ch x-paqaxti7 ka-7an-a7
ART this+ALD 3POS-side IRR-go-FUT
'Does this one go on the side?' [T0069: 025]

The idiomatic expression *laqen* introduces a rhetorical yes/no question that appears as a complement clause introduced by *nii*. The order is always *laqen nii clause*. In all of the examples of this expression, the verb of the subordinate clause is *najun* or *jun* 'say'. I do not know if this co-occurrence is a coincidence, or if this is the only verb that is licensed to appear in this rather idiomatic expression. Examples are shown below in (767).

(767) a. **laqen** nii tanoompalay nii 7ani7 juu
laqen nii ta-najun-pala-y nii 7ani7 juu
Q**:RHET** COMP 3PL.SUB-say-REP-IMPFV COMP HERE Rel

xtalakasuy juu maqtili7 juu lhii7aniich?
x-talakasu-y juu maqtili7 juu lhii-7ani7+ch
PAST-appear-IMPFV ART devil ART APPL-here+ALD
'Don't you know that they say that the devil used to appear around here?' [T0054: 054]

b. Chiikoonlhaa, **laqen** nii tanoommpalay?
Chiikoonlhaa **laqen** nii ta-najun-pala-y
Chicontla Q**:RHET** COMP 3PL.SUB-say-REP-IMPFV
'Chicontla, don't you know that they say it?' [T0054: 054]

c. laqen nii tantz'iktz'ik jumpalhkan juu xqawaw?
laqen nii tantz'iktz'ik jun-pala-kan juu xqawaw
Q:**RHET** COMP yellow.breast say-REP-INS(IMPFV) ART yellow
'Don't you know that 'yellow breast' [type of bird] is called 'yellow'?'
[T0069: 239]

8.3.2 *Wh*-Questions

All of the interrogative pronouns (i.e., *wh*-words) are listed in Table 39. The interrogative pronoun always occurs in the focus position at the beginning of a clause. The different pronouns have different restrictions regarding what type of clause may follow; therefore, I discuss each interrogative word below.

Table 39: Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative Pronoun	**Gloss**	**Following Clause**
jaa	what, did, pardon	matrix clause
tawanánch	when	matrix clause
taamálh	which	missing data
taanch	where	relative clause, matrix clause
taas	how	matrix clause, relative clause
tííjuuch	what, why	relative clause
tiis	what	matrix clause
tiischawaych	who, whom	relative clause
tiichii ~ tuuchii	who, whom	relative clause
tiix	why	relative clause

In addition to occurring as the generic interrogative pronoun in a yes/no question, *jaa* is also used to introduce an open-ended question whenever there is no more specific interrogative pronoun that may be used. It is followed by a matrix clause. *Jaa* is also the word that is used to ask someone to repeat him- or herself. Examples are shown below in (768).

(768) a. **jaa** mílhiik'átzach **tanch** juu kti7án?
jaa mi-lhii-k'atza+ch **tanch** juu k-ti-7an
Q 2OBJ-APPL-know(IMPFV)+ALD **Q:where** REL 1SUB-IMM-go
'What does it matter to you where I'm going?' [MNB14: 29]

b. **jaa** ktz'oqlh laanii?
jaa k-tz'oq-li laanii
Q 1SUB-mark-PFV really
'Did I really mark it?' [T0069: 106]

c. **jaa**?
'Pardon?', 'What?'

The question word *tawananch* 'when' may be analyzed as *tawanan+ch* 'never+ALD'. It does not appear in any examples in the text database, and I have only one elicited example, shown below in (769). In this example, *tawananch* is followed by a main clause.

(769) **tawananch** xat'an?
tawananch xa-min
when PAST-come(2SUB.IMPFV)
'When would you (habitually) come (here)?' [MNB5: 307]

Similarly, I have only one example of the interrogative pronoun *taamálh* 'which', shown below in (770). Because this is not a full clause, I do not know if this interrogative word is followed by a matrix or subordinate clause.

(770) **taamálh** chaqa7?
which house
'Which house?' [MNB5: 308]

The interrogative pronoun *tanch* 'where' is always followed by a subordinate clause that is introduced by the relativizer *juu*. Examples are shown below in (771). In one example—shown below in (772)—there is no relativizer; this is possibly a performance error.

(771) a. **taanchach** [juu xtanuun]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
taanch+ach juu x-tanuun-n
where+ALD REL PAST-put.in(PFV)-2OBJ
'Where did he put you?' [T0066: 088]

b. **taanch** [juu wii juu papa7]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
where REL seated(IMPFV) ART old.man
'Where is the old man?' [MNB3: 75]

c. **taanch** [juu t'i7ín]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
taanch juu ti-7an
where REL IMM(2SUB)-go(2SUB.IMPFV)
'Where are you going?' [MNB14: 12, 13 (NVP)]

(772) **taanch** xak'ilaay, jii kumwaarii?
taanch xa-ki-laa-y jii kumwaarii
where PAST-RT-can-IMPFV VOC compadre
'Where did you go, compadre?' [T0055: 006]

The interrogative pronoun *taas* 'how' is used in two contexts: (i) to question the manner in which an action is performed, and (ii) when followed by a quantifier, to question a quantity, as in 'how much' or 'how many'. In the first context—that of questioning an action—*taas* is followed by a matrix clause, as seen in the examples in (773).

(773) a. **taas** 7ak'omp'anyalaaych juu niimaa?
taas 7akompanya-laa-y+ch juu niimaa
how acompany(2SUB)-can-IMPFV+ALD ART this.one
'How do you accompany (musically) this one?' [T0066: 061]

b. 7entons, **taas** t'alaaych juu yuuch?
7entons, **taas** t'alaa-y+ch juu yuuch
then, **how** do-IMPFV+ALD ART PRN.3SG
'Then, how does *he* do it?' [T0054: 001]

In the second context in which *taas* occurs—that of questioning a quantity—*taas* is immediately followed by a quantifier, as seen in the examples below in (774) and (775). However, there is some variation regarding the type of clause that it introduces. Though *taas* is usually followed by a subordinate clause that is introduced by the relativizer *juu*, as seen in the examples in (774), there are some examples in which the relativizer is omitted, making the following clause a matrix clause, as seen in the examples in (775).

(774) a. **taas** piischuuxch [juu xalhiit'an
taas piis-chuux+ch juu xa-lhiit'an
QUAN CL:bundle-how.many+ALD REL PAST-bring(2SUB.IMPFV)

juu stapu]$_{RELCL}$?
juu stapu
ART bean
'How many bundles/handfuls of beans would you bring?' [Q7]

b. **taas** 7aqxchuuxch
taas 7aqx-chuux+ch
QUAN CL:flat-how.many+ALD

[juu 7alin juu 7alhik]$_{RELCL}$?
juu 7alin juu 7alhik
REL there.is(IMPFV) ART paper
'How many sheets of paper are there?' [Q7]

c. **taas** maqxapachuuxch [juu puumpu7 juu 7alin]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
taas maqxapa-chuux+ch juu puumpu7 juu 7alin
QUAN CL:roll-how.many+ALD ART clothing REL there.is(IMPFV)
'How many rolls of clothing are there?' [Q7]

d. **taas** pumachuuxch lapanak
taas puma-chuux+ch lapanak
QUAN CL:human-how.many person

[juu jaantu xatamin]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
juu jaantu xa-ta-min
REL NEG PAST-PL.SUB-come(IMPFV)
'How many people did not come?' [Q7]

(775) a. **taas** paqchuuxch xa7iiy
taas paq-chuux+ch xa-7ii-y
QUAN CL:trips-how.many+ALD PAST-bring-IMPFV

juu 7ixkaan juu 7atzi7
juu 7ix-xkaan juu 7atzi7
ART 3POS-water ART girl
'How many water trips would the girl make?'
'How many times would the girl bring water?' [Q7]

b. **taas** pumachuux lapanák katamina7?
taas puma-chuux lapanák ka-ta-min-a7
QUAN CL:human-how.many people IRR-PL.SUB-come-FUT
'How many people will come?' [Q7]

The interrogative pronoun *tiijuuch* corresponds to both 'what' and 'why', and it is always followed by a subordinate clause introduced by the relativizer *juu*. Examples appear below in (776).

(776) a. **tiijuuch** [juu kanawiiya7 juu chaway]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
tiijuuch juu ka-nawii-ya7 juu chaway
what REL IRR-do-FUT ART now
'What will he do now?' [TPWDB]

b. **tiijuuch** [juu lakask'in juu 7ixnati juu 7atz'i7]$_{RELCL}$?
tiijuuch juu lakask'in juu 7ix-nati juu 7atz'i7
why REL want(IMPFV) ART 3POS-mother ART girl
'Why did the girl want her mother?' [TPWDB]

c. **tiijuuch** [juu 7ulh]$_{RELCL}$?
tiijuuch juu 7u-li
what REL eat-PFV
'What did she eat?' [T0069: 225]

The interrogative pronoun *tiis* is used specifically when asking what something or someone is called, as seen in the examples below in (777), in which the interrogative pronoun is followed by a matrix clause. I have one example, shown in (778), in which it is used to ask the time.

(777) a. **tiis** xjunkanch?
tiis x-jun-kan+ch
what PAST-say-INS(IMPFV)+ALD
'What was he called?'
'What was his name?' [T0054: 061]

b. **tiis** junkan juu lhiimaqalhqama7?
tiis jun-kan juu lhii-maqalhqama7
what say-INS(IMPFV) ART APPL-Tepehua
'How is it said in Tepehua?' [T0066: 204]

c. tiis junkanch juu yuuch?
tiis jun-kan+ch juu yuuch
what say-INS(IMPFV) ART PRN.3SG
'What is this one [a song] called?' [T0066: 123]

(778) **tiis** 7ooraach?
tiis 7ooraa+ch
what hour+ALD
'At what time?' [T0066: 285]

There are two distinct interrogative pronouns that correspond to 'who': (i) *tiischawaych* and (ii) *tiichii ~ tuuchii.* I do not have a sense of what determines

the use of one over the other. *Tiischawaych* 'who' can be analyzed as *tiis=chaway+ch* 'what=now+ALD'. It is followed by a subordinate clause introduced by the relativizer. Examples appear in (779).

(779) a. **tiischawaych** [juu xachin juu tz'iis]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
tiischawaych juu xa-chin juu tz'iis
who REL PAST-arrive(IMPFV) ART night
'Who arrived last night?' [TPWDB]

b. **tiischawaych** [juu t'aaqot'i]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
tiischawaych juu t'aa-qot-t'i
who REL COM-drink-2SG.SUB.PFV
'With whom did you drink?' [T0066: 292]

c. **tiischawaych**-7ata?
who-2SG.SUB
'Who are you?' [MNB5: 308]

The second interrogative pronoun meaning 'who' is *tiichii*, and it has an alternate form: *tuuchii*. I have only one example in which *tuuchii* appears, so it might be a simple speech error. Examples appear in (780). The interrogative pronoun is followed by a subordinate clause, as seen in (780c).

(780) a. **tiichii** [juu lapanak]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
who REL man
'Who is the man?' [TPWDB]

b. juu 7atz'i7 jaantu mispaay **tiichii** [juu lapanak]$_{\text{RELCL}}$
juu 7atz'i7 jaantu mispaa-y **tiichii** juu lapanak
ART girl NEG know-IMPFV **who** REL man
'The girl does not know who the man is.' [TPWDB]

c. **tuuchiich** [juu lhiit'aqap'aych]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
tuuchii+ch juu lhii-t'aqap'a-y+ch
who+ALD REL APPL-get.drunk-IMPFV+ALD
'For whom are you getting drunk?' [T0066: 097][210]

[210] This clause is a lyric from a Spanish song that the speakers translated into HT.

I have only one example of the interrogative pronoun *tiix* 'why', shown below in (781). This interrogative word is followed by a subordinate relative clause.

(781) **tiix** laqxtuch [juu lhiit'aqap'at'a7un]$_{\text{RELCL}}$?
tiix laqxtu+ch juu lhii-t'aqap'a-tajun
why alone+ALD REL APPL-get.drunk-AMB(2SUB.IMPFV)
'Why do you go around getting drunk all alone?'
'Why are you alone when you go around getting drunk?' [T0066: 090][211]

8.3.3 Omission of Interrogative Pronouns

The omission of the interrogative word *jaa* from yes/no questions is quite common, as discussed above in Section 8.3.1. However, omission of the interrogative pronoun is not limited to yes/no questions; it also occurs to a much lesser extent in either/or, quantity, and open-ended questions, as seen in the examples in (782), (783), and (784), respectively. In all examples, the interrogative nature of the clauses is indicated by rising intonation.

(782) *Either/or*

a. waa takiknawiin 7uu waa laqk'ik'nawii?
waa ta-kiknawii-n 7uu waa lak-kiknawii
FOC 3PL.SUB-flatter(PFV)-2OBJ or FOC PL-flatter(2SUB.PFV)
'Did they flatter you or did you flatter them?' [T0066: 051]

b. p'aax 7uu waakax?
pig or cow
'Pork or beef?' [T0069: 228]

(783) *Quantity*

a. talaqa**chuux** lapanák xtamin?
ta-laqa-**chuux** lapanák x-ta-min
3PL.SUB-CL:general-**how.many**people PAST-3PL.SUB-come(IMPFV)
'How many people came?' [ELIEX1: 055]

[211] This clause is a lyric of a Spanish song that the speakers translated into HT.

(784) *Open-ended*

a. ‘juu ki7asqat'achi?’ maa kanoonaach
juu ki-7asqat'a+chi maa ka-najun-a7+ch
ART 1POS-child RPT IRR-say-FUT+ALD
‘”My child?” he will say.’ [T0059: 012]

b. talaaniych?
ta-lani-y+ch
INCH-read-IMPFV+ALD
‘How does it (a tune) go?’ [T0066: 117]

8.3.4 Tag Questions

A tag question may be formed in one of three ways: (i) using the tag particle *ta7as,* (ii) using the tag clitic *+7as*, or (iii) using the negative particle *jaantu.* The full form of the tag question *ta7as* occurs only clause-finally, as seen below in the examples in (785), and it adds a tag question onto the end of the clause.

(785) a. tataqoxchoqoy **ta7as**
ta-ta-qox-choqo-y **ta7as**
3PL.SUB-INCH-bad-AGAIN-IMPFV **TAGQ**
‘They mess up, don’t they?’ [T0066: 236]

b. juu 7ani7 **ta7as**
ART this.one **TAGQ**
‘This one, right?’ [T0069: 111]

c. kinana7 juu laqxawlh **ta7as**?
ki-nana7 juu lak-xaju-li **ta7as**
1POS-old.lady REL DIS-burn-PFV **TAGQ**
‘The old lady who burned (to death), right?’ [T0054: 059]

d. Pero sí se escuchaba bien, **ta7as**?
‘But, yes, it sounded good, didn’t it?’ [T0066: 195-6]

Though the tag question clitic *+7as* is a reduced form of the full tag *ta7as*, its distribution is different. Whereas *ta7as* occurs only clause-finally, *+7as* cliticizes onto the end of verbs (786), adverbs (787), and the negative particle *jaantu* (788) regardless of their positions within the clause. When the tag question cliticizes onto a verb or adverb, it may be translated as a tag question, e.g., 'didn't it?', 'doesn't it?', or as 'right?' in English and '¿verdad?' in Spanish. When *+7as* cliticizes onto the negative particle, the result is a negative question, 'didn't + clause'. Neither variant (*ta7as* or *+7as*) is used more frequently than the other, and the choice of which to use seems to lie with the speaker.

(786) *Verb + 7as*

a. k'ilaach'oqoo**7as** juu tz'iisich?
ki-laa-choqo+**7as** juu tz'iisich
RT-can-AGAIN.PFV-**TAGQ** ART last.night
'You went again last night, didn't you?' [T0066: 020]

b. naa laay**7as** ch'uk'uy?
naa laa-y+**7as** ch'uk'u-y
EMP can-IMPFV-**TAGQ** cut-IMPFV
'It can really cut, can't it?' [T0069: 436]

c. maamaatacha**7as**?
maa-maa-ta-chaa+**7as**
CAUS-lying-PF-DIST+**TAGQ**
'He has it over there, doesn't he?' [T0069: 406]

(787) *Adverb + 7as*

a. chunchi**7as** nawiikanch
chun+chi+**7as** nawii-kan+ch
like.so+ALD+**TAGQ** make-INS(IMPFV)+ALD

7aksni soqch 7an
7aksni soqch 7an
when straight+ALD go(IMPFV)
'This is how it is done when it is straightened, isn't it?' [T0069: 168]

b. juu 7ani7 wachuu**7as**
juu 7ani7 wachu7+**7as**
ART this.one also+**TAGQ**
'This one, too, right?' [T0069: 249]

c. lhii7uwiint'i**7as**
lhii-7uwiinti+**7as**
APPL-there+**TAGQ**
'Over there, right?' [T0066: 029]

(788) *Negative + 7as*
jaantu**7as** xtaqnilh juu xtuumiin?
jaantu+**7as** xtaq-ni-li juu x-tuumiin
NEG+**TAGQ** give-DAT-PFV ART 3POS-money
'Didn't he give her his money?' [T0054: 015]

The negative particle *jaantu,* or its reduced form *too*, may be used as a negative tag, 'no', as seen in the examples below in (789). It always occurs clause-finally when it is used in this capacity.[212]

(789) a. maa taminqoolhch chuux, **jaantu**?
maa ta-min-qoju-li+ch chuux **jaantu**
RPT 3PL.SUB-come-ALL-PFV+ALD all **NEG**
'They all went, no?' [T0058: 045]

b. juu yuuch, kaa waa chunchach kakana7, **jaantu**?
juu yuuch kaa waa chunch-ach ka-7an-a7 **jaantu**
ART PRN.3SG BLV FOC like.so+ALD IRR-go-FUT **NEG**
'This one, I think it will go like this, no?' [T0069: 068]

c. Laklhiimaacha7, **too**?
Laklhiimaacha7 **jaantu**
San Guillermo **NEG**
'San Guillermo (place name), no?' [T0066: 206]

[212] For more information on negation, please see Section 8.4.

8.4 NEGATION

The HT negative particle *jaantu* [ˈhaːn.tu̯] is used to negate both clauses and phrases. The full form *jaantu* may be truncated to *tuu*. Examples are shown in (790). The two variants occur in free variation.

(790) a.

maa	**jaantu**	laay	7alin	sasqat'a7an
maa	**jaantu**	laa-y	7alin	s-7asqat'a-7an
RPT	**NEG**	can-IMPFV	there.is(IMPFV)	3POS-child-PL.POS

'He/she can not have children.' [T0003: 007]

b.

juu	p'ulhnan	**tuu**	laay	7ixchiwinin
juu	p'ulhnan	**tuu**	laa-y	7ix-chiwin-nin
ART	first	**NEG**	can-IMPFV	PAST-speak-PL.INF

juu	maqalhqama7	juu	lhiilaawaan	naa	qox
juu	maqalhqama7	juu	lhii-laawaan	naa	qox
ART	Tepehuas	ART	APPL-Spanish	EMP	good

'At first, the Tepehua could not speak Spanish very well.'

[T0057: 097]

When *jaantu* has scope over the verb phrase, it occurs in the adverbial position immediately preceding the verb, as seen in the examples above in (790) and below in (791).

(791) a.

juu	doktornin	**jaantu**	tamispaay
juu	doktor-nin	**jaantu**	ta-mispaa-y
ART	doctor-PL	**NEG**	3PL.SUB-know-IMPFV

juu	xlak'uch'un7an
juu	x-lak-k'uch'u-n-7an
ART	3POS-PL-cure-DVB-PL.POS

'The doctors do not know their cures.' [T0009: 014]

b.

pero	juu	xaapay	maa	**jaantu**	xtalh7aman
pero	juu	xaa-pay	maa	**jaantu**	x-talh7aman
but	ART	IPOS-father	RPT	**NEG**	PAST-get.angry(IMPFV)

'But the father would not get angry.' [T0059: 029]

If the verb is modified by a manner adverb, *jaantu* precedes the adverb, which in turn occurs immediately before the verb. Examples are shown in (792); adverbs are underlined.

(792) a. **jaantuch** qox qaasmatkan
jaantu+ch qox qaasmat-kan
NEG+ALD well hear-INS(IMPFV)
'They can not hear well.' [T0066: 059]

b. **jaantuch** chun xalaakan
jaantu+ch chun xa-laa-kan
NEG+ALD like.so PAST-can-INS(IMPFV)
'They would not do it like that.' [T0059: 021]

c. **jaantu** waa lhtuku lhtuku 7anawiit'i
jaantu waa lhtuku lhtuku 7a-nawii-t'i
NEG FOC ID ID IRR-do-2SG.SUB.PFV

juu mimaka7
juu mi-maka7
ART 2POS-hand
'Don't tense up your hand.'
[*lhtuku* 'tense or rigid motion'] [T0066: 130]

The focus particle *waa* may follow *jaantu*, as seen in the example in (793a), or it may precede *jaantu*, as seen in the example in (793b). *Waa* is underlined.

(793) a. xakijuuniy
xa-ki-jun-ni-y
PAST-1OBJ-tell-DAT-IMPFV

"**jaantu** waa 7a7it'i juu waa tz'iisi"
jaantu waa 7a-7an-t'i juu waa tz'iisi
NEG FOC IRR-go-2SG.SUB.PFV ART FOC night
'He would say to me, "Don't go at night."' [T0022: 049]

b. porque maa waa **jaantu** xta7aqpaaxta
porque maa waa **jaantu** x-ta-7aqpaax-ta
because RTP FOC **NEG** PAST-3PL.SUB-baptize-PF
'Because they had not been baptized.' [T0059: 039]

The negative particle may also have scope over a predicate nominal or adjective, as seen in the examples below in (794). If the predication requires a copula, the negative particle precedes the predicated element, rather than the copula, as seen in the example in (794c).

(794) a. **jaantu** lapanak
jaantu lapanak
NEG person
'He was not a person/human.' [T0054: 009]

b. maa **jaantu** qox
maa **jaantu** qox
RPT **NEG** good

nii maa katamaqnii
nii maa ka-ta-maqnii
COMP RPT IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV)
'It is not good for them to kill it.' [T0003: 016]

c. 7ixjuuniita juu lapanak maa **jaantu** lhuu
7ix-jun-niita juu lapanak maa **jaantu** lhuu
PAST-be-PF ART person RPT **NEG** many
'The people were not numerous.' [T0057: 054]

When the negative particle has scope over the entire clause, it occurs at the beginning of the clause, as seen below in the examples in (795). Both the full form and the truncated form may be used in this context; however, when either of the two forms occurs as the first element of the clause, the final high-back vowel [u̥] or [uː] becomes [oː]. Note that the underlying form [jantu̥] occurs as the

second negative in (795c), presumably because it does not occur as the first element in the clause.

(795) a. **jantoo**, 7akxp'it'achi lakatz'unin
jaantu 7a-k-xp'it-7a+ch lakatz'unin
NEG IRR-1SUB-sand-IMPFV+ALD a.little
'No, I should sand it a little bit.' [T0069: 076]

b. **too**, waa kintakiknawii
jaantu waa kin-ta-kiknawii
NEG FOC 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-flatter(PFV)
'No, they flattered me.' [T0066: 048]

c. **too**, **jaantu**, juu yuuch xlakaytat
jaantu **jaantu** juu yuuch x-lakaytat
NEG **NEG** ART PRN.3SG 3POS-middle
'No, no, this one [goes in] the middle.' [T0069: 026]

When a subordinate clause—but not its matrix clause—is negated, the negative particle occurs after the complementizer and before the subordinate verb and the adverb if there is one, as seen in the examples below in (796).

(796) a. juunikalh [nii **jaantu** kalaknawlh]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
jun-ni-kan-li nii **jaantu** ka-lak-najun-li
tell-DAT-INS-PFV COMP **NEG** IRR-PL-say-PFV
'They told him not to talk.' [QMMES]

b. [nii **jaantuch** soq kajuna7]$_{\text{CONDCL}}$
nii **jaantu**+ch soq ka-jun-a7
COMP **NEG**+ALD straight IRR-be-FUT

kalaqoxiyaawch lakapaaxpit
ka-laqoxi-ya7-w+ch laka-paaxpit
IRR-fix-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD PREP-jack.plane
'If it does not straighten out, we can fix it with a jack plane.'
[T0069: 132-133]

When the matrix clause is negated, the negative particle precedes the matrix verb, as seen in the example below in (797).

(797) a. **jaantu** klakask'in [nii 7amiilhp'at'i]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
jaantu k-lakask'in nii 7a-miilhpa-t'i
NEG 1SUB-want(IMPFV) COMP IRR-sing(2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV
'I don't want you to sing.' [QMMES]

b. **jaantu** k'atzay [nii kamaamaa juu tuumiin]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
jaantu k'atza-y nii ka-maamaa juu tuumiin
NEG know-IMPFV COMP IRR-have(PFV) ART money
'He doesn't know if she has the money.' [QMMES]

The negative particle may be used as a tag question, as seen below in the examples in (798). It always occurs at the end of the clause when it is used for this purpose.

(798) a. maa taminqoolhch chuux **jaantu**?
maa ta-min-qoju-li+ch chuux **jaantu**
RPT 3PL.SUB-come-ALL-PFV+ALD all **NEG**
'Everybody came, no?' [T0058: 045]

b. Laklhiimaacha7, **too**?
San Guillermo **NEG**
'San Guillermo (place name), no?' [T0066: 206]

A negative question is formed by means of the negative particle *jaantu* plus the tag question clitic *+7as*, as seen below in (799).[213] Note that the negative particle precedes the verb. I found no examples in the texts in which the truncated form *tuu* is cliticized with the tag question clitic *+7as.*

(799) **jaantu7as** xtaqnilh juu xtuumiin?
jaantu+7as xtaq-ni-li juu x-tuumiin
NEG+Q give-DAT-PFV ART 3POS-money
'Didn't he give her his money?' [T0054: 015]

[213] Please see Section 8.3.4 for more information on tag questions.

The temporal adverbial clitic *+ka7* (JST) may occur on either *jaantu* or *tuu*, producing the translation 'not yet' in English and 'todavía no' in Spanish, as seen in the examples in (800).

(800) a. pero juu p'ulhnan nii **jaantuka7** xaqpaaxkan
pero juu p'ulhnan nii **jaantu**+ka7 x-7aqpaax-kan
but ART first COMP **NEG**+JST PAST-baptize-INS(IMPFV)
'But at first they did not yet baptize.' [T0059: 027]

b. porque **tuuka7** xta7aqpaax
porque **tuu**+ka7 x-ta-7aqpaax
because **NEG**+JST PAST-3PL.SUB-baptize(IMPFV)
'Because they did not yet baptize.' [T0059: 004]

The temporal clitic *+ch* may occur on the untruncated form *jaantu*, as seen below in (801), but it does not cliticize to the truncated form *tuu*.

(801) tuus chaway **jaantuch** talhaway
tuus chaway **jaantu**+ch talhawa-y
PREP now **NEG**+ALD flood-IMPFV
'Up to now, it does not flood.' [T0058: 057]

Finally, the negative particle is used to form certain lexical items, for which there are no more specific lexemes in HT. For example in (802a), *jaantu* combined with *tu7u7* 'something' forms the translational equivalent of 'nothing'. Evidence that these negative polarity items are not fused lexemes in seen in (802b), where the temporal clitic occurs on the end of *jaantu*.

(802) a. **jaantu** tu7u7
NEG something
'nothing' [TPWDB: jaantu tu7u7]

b. pero juu 7ani7 juu chaway
pero juu 7ani7 juu chaway
but ART here ART now

jaantuch tu7u7 7amaaqesqaanan
jaantu+ch tu7u7 7a-maaqesqaa-nVn
NEG+ALD something PL.INO-scare-INO(IMPFV)
'But around here nowadays nothing scares.' [T0054: 058]

c. **jaantu** laqlhuu
NEG expensive
'cheap, inexpensive' [TPWDB: jaantu laqlhuu]

d. **jaantu** k'usi
NEG pretty
'ugly, unattractive' [TPWDB: jaantu k'usi]

8.5 Comparative and Superlative Constructions

Comparative and superlative constructions are formed in the same way in HT, using the marker *palay* 'more', 'better'. The only comparative or superlative examples that I found in natural discourse are from a continuous passage of conversation, shown below in example (803). In these examples, the marker *palay* is shown in bold type, and the quality being compared is shown in italics. The marker of comparison always precedes the quality being compared. Note that none of these examples contains a standard to which the object in question (in this case, a wooden board) is being compared. All other examples in this section are from elicitation.

(803) a. *Speaker 1:*

juu 7ani7 waa **palay** *st'ak'ak'a*,
juu 7ani7 waa **palay** *st'ak'ak'a*
ART this FOC **more** *thin*

juu 7anu7 yaachaa
juu 7anu7 yaa(IMPFV)-chaa
ART that standing-DIST
'This one is thinner, that one standing over there.' [T0069: 325]

b. *Speaker 2:*

jaa **palay** *st'ak'ak'a*?
Q **more** *thin*
'Is it thinner?' [T0069: 326]

c. *Speaker 1:*

palay *st'ak'ak'a*
more *thin*
'It is thinner.' [T0069: 327]

d. *Speaker 1:*

nii jaantu yuuch juu 7anu7 yaachaa,
nii jaantu yuuch juu 7anu7 yaa-chaa
COMP NEG PRN.3SG REL that standing(IMPFV)-DST

laqatam lhii7uwint'i
laqa-tam lhii-7uwint'i
CL:general-one APPL-over.there
'If not that one that is standing there, then the other one over there.' [T0069: 328]

e. *Speaker 2:*

saalaa, kaa **palay** *qoxi*
really BLV **more** *good*
'Really, I think it is better.' [T0069: 329]

f. *Speaker 1:*

saalaa, **palay**
really **more**
'Really, it is better' [T0069: 330]

g. *Speaker 2:*

palay	*qox*	juu	7ani7,	yuuch	juu	7ani7
more	*good*	ART	this	PRN.3SG	ART	this one

'This one is better, this one is.' [T0069: 331]

When a standard for comparison is included, one of two possible constructions may be used. In the first construction, two complete clauses are juxtaposed with each other, as seen below in (804a). The second construction, shown in (804b), includes a standard of comparison, which is preceded by *kuuyuuch* 'than'. Together *kuuyuuch* and the standard (which are underlined) follow the marker and quality being compared. If a copula is needed to bear tense and aspect morphology, it intervenes between the qualitative adjective and the standard of comparison, as seen below in (804c).

(804) a.

juu	Weensis	**palay**	*qonta,*
ART	Laurencio	**more**	*fat*

juu	Kuulaax	**palay**	*lakamakat'íkt'i.*
ART	Nicholas	**more**	*thin*

'Laurencio is fatter than Nicholas.'
'Nicholas is thinner than Laurencio.' [MNB15: 53, QComp]

b.

juu	Kuulaax	**palay**	*lakamakat'ikt'i*
juu	Kuulaax	**palay**	*lakamakat'ikt'i*
ART	Nicholas	more	thin

<u>kuuyuuch</u>	<u>juu</u>	<u>Weensiis</u>.
<u>kuu-yuuch</u>	<u>juu</u>	<u>Weensiis</u>
<u>than</u>	<u>ART</u>	<u>Lawrence</u>

'Nicholas is thinner than Lawrence.' [QComp]

c. juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakat'ikt'i* 7ixjuuniita
juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakat'ikt'i* 7ix-jun-niita
ART Nicholas more thin PAST-be-PF

kuuyuuch juu Weensiis.
kuu-yuuch juu Weensiis
than ART Lawrence
'Nicholas was thinner than Lawrence.' [QComp]

To form the superlative, the standard of comparison is simply omitted, as seen below in (805).

(805) juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakat'ikt'i* (7ixjuuniita)
juu Kuulaax **palay** *lakamakat'ikt'i* (7ix-jun-niita)
ART Nicholas more thin (PAST-be-PF)
'Nicholas is (was) the thinnest.' [QComp]

The form *kuuyuuch* may be substituted with the Spanish *que* 'than', as seen below in (806).[214]

(806) a. juu xqooy **palay** *qay* que miistu7
ART dog **more** *big* than cat
'The dog is bigger than the cat.' [QComp]

b. juu Kuulaax **palay** *jaantu* *7ixqonta* que Weensiis
juu Kuulaax **palay** *jaantu* *7ix-qon-ta* que Weensiis
ART Nicholas **more** *NEG* *PAST-fat-PF* than Lawrence
'Nicholas was less fat than Lawrence.' [QComp]

Finally, when two items are considered to be equal, the adjective *st'alakatz'un* 'equal' acts as marker and quality, and it is followed by *que* 'than'. Examples appear in (807). Note that this adjective—unlike *lakamakat'ikt'i* shown above in examples (804) and (805)—may bear tense and aspect morphology, so a copula is not needed.

[214] I assume that *kuuyuuch* can be analyzed as *kuu-yuuch*, where *yuuch* is the singular third person pronoun. I suspect that *kuu-* is a harmonized borrowing of Spanish *que* [ke], but I do not have concrete evidence to support this suspicion.

(807) a. juu xchaqa7 Kuulaax waa naa *st'alakatz'un*
juu x-chaqa7 Kuulaax waa naa *st'alakatz'un*
ART 3POS-house Nicholas FOC EMP *equal*

que juu xchaqa7 Weensis
que juu x-chaqaa Weensis
than ART 3POS-house Lawrence
'Nicholas' house is the same size as Lawrence's house.' [MNB15: 54]

b. juu xqooy *xt'alakatz'unta* que miistu7
juu xqooy *x-st'alakat'zun-ta* que miistu7
ART dog *PAST-equal-PF* than cat
'The dog is the same size as the cat.' [QComp]

8.6 COMPLEX CLAUSES

A complex clause in HT may involve subordination (section 8.6.1) or coordination (section 8.6.2) of clauses.

8.6.1 Subordination

Subordinate clauses in HT have in common three features: (i) the subordinate clause is always introduced by a complementizer, relativizer, or adverbial relative pronoun,[215] (ii) the verb of the subordinate clause is always finite, and (iii) no particular or special morphology is associated with subordination, either on the matrix or the subordinate verb. Types of subordinate clause found in HT and covered in this section include relative clauses (8.6.1.1), complement clauses (8.6.1.2), adverbial clauses (8.6.1.3), and conditional clauses (8.6.1.4). The word order of the major constituents is the same in the subordinate clause as it is in the matrix clause; that is, the two preferred word orders are VSO and SVO.

[215] Except when a direct quotation functions as a complement of the matrix verb.

8.6.1.1 Relative Clauses

Before discussing HT relative clauses, I want to first explain the notational conventions that I use in the examples in this section. The external head of the relative clause is underlined, the relativizer appears in bold type, and the relative clause is enclosed in square brackets. Note that in HT there is no overt relativized noun or pronoun within the relative clause that is co-referential with the external head noun. In order to avoid confusion, I model this absent relativized element using a zero. In a post-nominal relative clause, the zero is co-indexed with the external head of the relative clause. The schematic shown in (808) of a relative clause in English demonstrates these notational conventions.

(808) The <u>airplane</u> $_i$ [that $\varnothing_i$ landed in New York]$_{RC}$ was an Airbus A380.

head relativizer NP_{REL} relative clause

HT has both post-nominal and headless relative clauses. The post-nominal relative clause always follows the noun that it modifies, as seen below in (809a). The headless relative clause does not modify a nominal, but itself acts as a verbal complement, as seen below in (809b); it may occur either clause-initially or clause-finally. A relative clause is usually introduced by the relativizer *juu*,[216] but it may also be introduced by the locative relative pronoun *juntaa* 'where' or its truncated form *taa.*

[216] The relativizer *juu* is homophonous with the definite article *juu.*

(809) a. *Post-nominal Relative Clause*

maa	xta7amaqpanan	juu	papaanin $_i$
maa	x-ta7amaqpan-nVn	juu	papa7-nin
RPT	PAST-3PL.SUB-wash.clothes-INO(IMPFV)	ART	man-PL

[**juu**	kaa	waa	lakak'iwin	xtat'ajun	$Ø_i$]RC
juu	kaa	waa	lakak'iwin	x-ta-t'ajun	
REL	BLV	FOC	woods	PAST-3PL.SUB-live(IMPFV)	

'The men [that were living in the woods] would wash.'[T0022: 002-003]

b. *Headless Relative Clause*

[**juu**	7uputulhch	$Ø_i$]RC$_i$	kaa	7ulhch;
juu	7u-putun-li+ch		kaa	7u-li+ch
REL	eat-DESID-PFV+ALD		BLV	eat-PFV+ALD

[**juu**	jaantuch	$Ø_i$]RC$_i$	kaa	jaantuch
juu	jaantu+ch		kaa	jaantu+ch
REL	NEG+ALD		BLV	NEG+ALD

'[Whoever wanted to eat it] ate it; [whoever did not] didn't.'
[T0020: 034-035]

In (809a), *papaanin* 'men' is the head of the relative clause; it is the noun that is being modified by the relative clause. The head is co-indexical with the non-overt subject of the dependent verb, 'live', and this grammatical relationship is marked on the dependent verb by the third person plural subject prefix *ta-*. The relativizer *juu* introduces the relative clause.

In (809b), there are actually two relative clauses—*juu 7uputulhch* 'whoever wanted to eat it' and *juu jaantuch* 'whoever did not'—neither of which modifies a head noun or noun phrase; instead the relative clause *juu 7uputulhch* 'whoever wanted to eat it' acts as the subject argument of the matrix verb *7ulhch* 'ate it' and the relative clause *juu jaantuch* 'whoever did not' acts as the subject of the elided verb of the negative verb phrase *jaantuch* 'did not'. There are no

distinct relative pronouns in HT, and the relativizer *juu* introduces both relative clauses.[217]

The Relativization Hierarchy in (810) shows the hierarchy of grammatical roles (in a subordinate clause) that may be relativized in the world's languages.[218] All languages that have relative clauses allow relativization of the subordinate subject. Different languages allow different grammatical roles to be relativized. The grammatical roles in this hierarchy are ordered such that if a languages allows relativization of a particular role, it will also allow relativization of all of the roles to the left of it on the hierarchy. For example, if the possessor in a subordinate clause (in a particular language) may be relativized, then all grammatical roles to the left of the possessor on the hierarchy may also be relativized in that language.

(810) Relativization Hierarchy

subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > possessor

POST-NOMINAL

HEADLESS

In HT, the two types of relative clause (the post-nominal and the headless) behave differently with respect to which grammatical role within the relative (i.e., subordinate) clause may be relativized. In the HT post-nominal relative clause, an oblique argument—and all argument types to the left of it on the hierarchy—may be relativized as a post-nominal relative clause. Of all of the post-nominal relative

[217] The headless relative clause is a subtype of both relative clauses and complement clauses. For more information on complement clauses, please see the next section.
[218] Hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977), as cited in Payne (1997: 335).

clauses, those that are relativized on subjects of the subordinate verb occur far more frequently than those that are relativized on direct objects of the subordinate verb, which in turn occur more frequently than those that are relativized on indirect or oblique objects within the relative clause. I have found no instances of a possessor being relativized in HT. With respect to the headless type of relative clause, these may be relativized only on subjects of the subordinate verb in HT.

I am not aware of any type of hierarchy that ranks the grammatical roles of the head of the relative clause (i.e., the argument in the matrix clause that is co-indexical with the relativized argument in the subordinate clause). The determination of such a hierarchy would require cross-linguistic comparison of many different languages from diverse language families and, thus, is outside the scope of this analysis of the HT relative clause. Suffice to say that in HT, only the subject or the object of the matrix clause may be the head of a relative clause.

Examples of different types of post-nominal relative clause appear in the following examples. These examples are ordered with respect to the grammatical role of the relativized element (i.e., the grammatical role of the "relativized" zero element in the matrix clause). Relativized subjects of subordinate verbs are shown in the examples in (811), relativized objects in (812), relativized indirect objects in (813), and relativized oblique objects in (814). Further examples of headless relativized subjects are shown below in (815).

In each of the examples in (811), the non-overt relativized element is the subject of its relative clause. In the examples in (811a) and (811b), the heads of the relative clauses, *maqtili7* and *yuuch*, respectively, are the subjects of their

respective matrix clauses, as well as the subject of their relative clauses. In (811c), the head of the relative clause *lapanak* 'person' is the *object* of the matrix clause and the *subject* of the relative clause. The matrix clause in (811d) is a fragment in which the speaker cut himself off after the relative clause and began a new clause with the discourse marker *entonces* 'then'; however, since the head of the relative clause, *juu pumatam lapanak* 'one person', occurs in clause-initial position, it would most likely have been the grammatical subject of the clause, given the VSO and SVO word order tendencies in this language.

(811) *Post-nominal Relativized Subjects*

a.

maa	xt'oonpalay	juu	maqtili7 $_i$
maa	x-t'ajun-pala-y	juu	maqtili7
RPT	PAST-be-REP-IMPFV	ART	wild.animal

[**juu**	Ø$_i$	waa	niinch	laqachaqan	taa	wii	xkaan]RC
juu		waa	niin+ch	laqachaqan	taa	wii	xkaan
REL		FOC	near+ALD	town	where	seated(IMPFV)	water

'There was a wild animal [that was near the town, by the pond].' [T0020: 002]

b.

maa	yuuch $_i$	[**juu** Ø$_i$	laay	kalhii7alh	maqata]RC
maa	yuuch	**juu**	laa-y	ka-lhii7an-li	maqata
RPT	PRN.3SG	**REL**	can-IMPFV	IRR-take-PFV	far

'It is *he* [who could take it far away].'[219] [T0003: 026]

[219] This is a clefted focus construction. Please see section 8.2.1.

c. tanajunch juu kintata7 nii
ta-najun+ch juu kin-tata7 nii
3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ ALD ART 1POS-elder COMP

xtalaakilhun toolay
x-ta-laa-kilhun toola-y
PAST-3PL.SUB-RCP-chat(IMPFV) stay-IMPFV

nii xtalaqtz'in
nii x-ta-laqtz'in
COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)

juu lapanak$_i$ [**juu** 7ixajaachiilh Ø$_i$]RC
juu lapanak **juu** 7ix-xajaan-chii-li
ART person **REL** PAST-exit-DST-PFV
'My elders would say, when they sat around chatting,
that they would see the person [that came out of there].'[T0022: 020-022]

d. juu pumatam lapának$_i$
juu puma-tam lapanak
ART CL:human-one person

[**juu** kilaachilh Ø$_i$ 7ani7 maa lakaMiikiixkaan]RC
juu ki-laa-chi-li 7ani7 maa laka-Miikii-xkaan
REL RT-can-ADL-PFV here RPT PREP-Miguel-water
'One person [that came along Michael's Water (place name)] . . .'
[T0058: 015-6]

In each of the examples in (812), the non-overt relativized element is the object of its relative clause. In the first two examples in (812), the head of each relative clause, *kustumwree* 'ritual' in (812a) and *tuumiin* 'money' in (812b), is the object of the matrix clause. In (812c), the head of the relative clause, *p'in* 'salsa', is the subject of the predicate nominal construction that makes up the matrix clause.

(812) *Post-nominal Relativized Objects*

a. juu 7ali7 jaantu talaka7iiy
juu 7ali7 jaantu ta-laka7ii-y
ART others NEG 3PL.SUB-believe-IMPFV

juu kustumwree$_i$ [**juu** talaknawiiy
juu kustumwree **juu** ta-lak-nawii-y
ART ritual **REL** 3PL.SUB-PL-make-IMPFV

juu tz'oq'onun juu maqalhqamaan Ø$_i$]RC
juu tz'oq'on-un juu maqalhqamaa-n
ART Otomi-PL ART Tepehua-PL
'the others do not believe (in) the rituals
[that the Otomi and Tepehua do].' [T0058: 060-61]

b. tzakaank'a talak7ulaatach juu lhuu
tzakaank'a ta-lak-7ulaa-ta+ch juu lhuu
heavily 3PL.SUB-PL-lie-PF+ALD ART much

juu tuumiin$_i$ [**juu** xtakii7alhajutach Ø$_i$]RC
juu tuumiin **juu** x-ta-kii-qalhaju-ta+ch
ART money **REL** PAST-3PL.SUB-RT-steal-PF+ALD
'Heavily they had placed the large amount of the money
[that they had gone and stolen].' [T0055: 054-55]

c. 7anu7 p'in$_i$ [**juu** 7ulh lakatz'unin Ø$_i$]RC
7anu7 p'in **juu** 7u-li lakatz'unin
that salsa **REL** eat-PFV a.little
'She ate a little of that salsa.'[220]
Literally: 'It was that salsa [that she ate a little bit of].' [T0069: 229]

In the example in (813), too, the matrix clause consists of a predicate pronominal construction. The head of the relative clause *yuuch* 'he' is the subject of the predicate nominal.

[220] This is also a clefted focus construction. Please see section 8.2.1.

(813) *Post-nominal Relativized Indirect Object*

puus kaa yuuch$_i$ [**juu** 7ixtaqnitach Ø$_i$]RC
puus kaa yuuch **juu** 7ix-xtaq-ni-ta+ch
well BLV PRN.3SG **REL** PAST-give-DAT-PF+ALD
'Well, I think it was *he* [to whom she had given it].' [T0054: 016]

In the example in (814), the non-overt relativized element is an oblique object within its subordinate clause. The matrix clause consists only of a question word, which is the head of the relative clause and which is co-indexed with the oblique comitative argument that is licensed by the comitative morpheme *t'aa-* on the subordinate verb within the relative clause.

(814) *Post-nominal Relativized Oblique Object*

a. tiischawaych$_i$ [**juu** t'aa7ot'i Ø$_i$]RC?
tiischawaych **juu** t'aa-qot-t'i
Q:who **REL** COM-drink-2SG.SUB.PFV
'With whom was it [that you drank]?' [T0066: 292]

Examples of headless relative clauses appear in (815). As mentioned above, only a subordinate subject may be relativized in a headless relative clause. Furthermore, the headless relative clause, which is also a complement clause, may act only as the subject of the matrix verb, as seen in the examples in (815a) and (815b). The example in (815c) is a fragment in which the speaker is trying to establish the identity of a ghost that used to scare people in the vicinity of his home.

(815) *Headless Relativized Subjects*

a. [**juu** tatamokoonchalhch Ø$_i$ 7anch]RC$_i$
juu ta-tamakajun-chaa-li+ch 7anch
REL 3PL.SUB-stay-DIST-PFV+ALD there

maa taniiqoo
maa ta-nii-qoju
RPT 3PL.SUB-die-ALL.PFV

[**juu** tamilhch Ø$_i$ 7ani7 laqachaqan]RC$_i$
juu ta-min-li+ch 7ani7 laqachaqan
REL 3PL.SUB-come-PFV+ALD here village

tapuutaxtulhch
ta-puutaxtu-li+ch
3PL.SUB-survive-PFV+ALD
'[Those who stayed there] all died. [Those who came to the village here] were saved.' [T0057: 031-32]

b. 7alin juu 7ani7 [**juu** lhiistak'a Ø$_i$ lakatii]RC$_i$
7alin juu 7ani7 **juu** lhiistak-7a laka-tii
there.is ART here **REL** guard-IMPFV PREP-road
'Here there is (someone) [who guards (in) the road].' [T0022: 050]

c. [**juu** x7ulaata Ø$_i$ tam p'aqlati tuumiin]RC$_i$
juu x-7ulaa-ta tam p'aqlati tuumiin
REL PAST-put-PF one chest money
'(The one) [who had a chest of money]' [T0054: 060]

A locative element within the subordinate/relative clause may be relativized to modify a noun in the matrix clause; examples are shown in (816). In this type of relative clause, the relativizing element is not the relativizer *juu*, but rather the locative relative pronoun *juntaa* 'where' or its truncated form *taa*. The relative pronoun (*juntaa* or *taa*) is also co-referential with the noun that is being modified. In this construction *juntaa/taa* fulfills two roles: (i) it introduces the relative clause and (ii) it is the relativized element. In the example in (816a), the relative clause *juntaa ktapaasayaw* 'where we pass' modifies the noun *talhpa*

‘hill’, which is the subject of the matrix clause. In the example in (816b), the relative clause *juntaa xwiilhch juu xkumwarii* ‘where his compadre lived’ modifies the noun *laqachaqan* ‘town’. The matrix verb *chin* ‘arrive there’ is a transitive verb that takes a location as its object; *laqachaqan* is the object of the matrix clause. In the example in (816c), *taa kch’alhkatnanaw* ‘where we worked’ modifies the locative demonstrative pronoun *7anch* ‘there’. And in the example in (816d) the relative clause *taa wii miinana7 Josefa* ‘where old lady Josephine lives’ modifies the locative demonstrative pronoun *7ani7* ‘here’. In this example, the relative clause does not immediately follow the pronoun that it modifies; I believe this is an afterthought construction.

(816) *Locative relative clause*

a. waa 7alin talhpa$_i$ [**juntaa**$_i$ ktapaasayaw]RC
waa 7alin talhpa juntaa k-tapaasa-y-aw
FOC there.is hill where 1SUB-pass-IMPFV-1PL.SUB
‘There is a hill where we pass . . .’ [T0022: 051]

b. juu xburruu juu tuumiin chilhch juu
juu x-burruu juu tuumiin chin-li+ch juu
ART 3pos-donkey ART money arrive.there-PFV+ALD ART

laqachaqan$_i$ [**juntaa**$_i$ xwiilhch juu xkumwarii]RC
laqachaqan **juntaa** x-wiilh+ch juu x-kumwarii
town **where** PAST-seated(IMPFV)+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
‘The donkey and the money arrived in the town
where his compadre lived.’ [T0055: 090]

c. laqtz'ilh wachu7 juu 7anch$_i$,
laqtz'in-li wachu7 juu 7anch
see-PFV also ART there

[**taa**$_i$ kch'alhkatnanaw]RC
taa k-ch'alhkat-nVn-aw
where 1SUB-work-INO(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB
‘He saw him, too, there, where we would work.’ [T0022: 043-44]

d. 7ani7 kimaaqeswat'i,
7ani7 kin-maa-qeswa-t'i
here 1OBJ-CAUS-be.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV

[**taa** wii miinana7 Seepaa]$_{ADVCL}$
taa wii min-nana7 Seepee
where seated(IMPFV) 2POS-old.woman Josefa

minkanch 7ani7
min-kan+ch 7ani7
come-INS+ALD here
'You scared me here, [where old lady Josephine lives],
coming here.' [T0054: 036-037]

8.6.1.2 Complement Clauses

In HT, a finite complement clause may act as an argument of a matrix clause. In general, complement clauses are introduced by the generic complementizer *nii,* and they almost always occur clause-finally, as seen in the examples below in (817). In these examples, the complementizer that introduces the complement clause is in bold type and the complement clause is enclosed in square brackets. The only example that I have found in which the complement clause does not occur at the end of matrix clause is shown below in (817e). Unfortunately, I did not test these clauses to see if they could be moved or not.

(817) a. lhiiyuuch jaantu qox
lhii-yuuch jaantu qox
APPL-PRN.3SG NEG good

[**nii** katamaqniiy juu 7anu7 luw]$_{COMPCL}$
nii ka-ta-maqnii-y juu 7anu7 luw
COMP IRR-3PL.SUB-kill-IMPFV ART that snake
'Therefore, [that they kill that snake] is not good.' [T0003: 022]

b. waa tza tza xtajuuniych
waa tza tza x-ta-jun-ni-y+ch
FOC repeatedly PAST-3PL.SUB-tell-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

[**nii** maa waa x7anch tanxt'ut'unu7
nii maa waa x-7an+ch tan- xt'ut'u-nV7
COMP RPT FOC PAST-go(IMPFV) +ALD torso-nurse-INF

juu xqolit'i]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
juu xqolit'i
ART millipede
'They repeatedly told her [that the millipede was going to nurse].'
[T003: 032]

c. talakask'inch [**nii** 7alaqkiknawii]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
ta-lakask'in+ch **nii** 7a-lak-kiknawii
3PL.SUB-want(IMPFV)+ALD **COMP** PL.INO-PL-flatter(PFV)
'They want [to be flattered].' [T0066: 046]

d. nii yuuch lhiitak'inipalay
nii yuuch lhii-tak'ini-pala-y
COMP PRN.3SG APPL-need-REP-IMPFV

[**nii** 7ak7ensayalaa]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
nii 7a-k-7ensayalaa
COMP IRR-1SUB-practice(PFV)
'Therefore, it is necessary [that I practice].' [T0066: 073]

e. waa lakask'ín [**nii**
waa lakask'in **nii**
FOC wish/want(IMPFV) **COMP**

katz'í7ilh juu 7ixtz'álh]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$ juu Xiwáanaa
ka-tz'í7i-li juu 7ix-tz'álh juu Xiwáanaa
IRR-laugh-PFV ART 1POS-son ART Juana
'Juana wants [her son to laugh].' [ELIEX3: 019]

The majority of the complement clauses that appear in the text database are the direct objects of speech and cognition verbs, as seen in the examples

below in (818) and (819), respectively. The matrix verbs are underlined. However, complement clauses can also function as subjects, as in (817a).

The direct object complement of a verb of speaking is always introduced by the complementizer *nii,* as seen in the examples in (818). Note that the clause in (818c) contains an adverbial clause that modifies the matrix clause, a complement clause that acts as the direct object of the matrix verb, and a relative clause within the complement clause.

(818) a. <u>t'asanikalhch</u>
t'asa-ni-kan-li+ch
call-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD

[**nii** kaxtaqnikanaach juu lhiich'alhkat]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
nii ka-xtaq-ni-kan-a7+ch juu lhiich'alhkat
COMP IRR-give-DAT-INS-FUT+ALD ART job
'Someone yelled to them [that he would give them a job].'
[T0063: 42]

b. waa <u>kijuunilh</u> juu liijuuntuu mimpay
waa ki-jun-ni-li juu liijuuntuu mim-pay
FOC 1OBJ-say-DAT-PFV ART deceased 2POS-father

[**nii** naa qoxich juu serrootii]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
nii naa qoxi+ch juu serrootii
COMP EMP good+ALD ART saw
'Your deceased father told me [that it was a good saw].'
[T0069: 384-385]

c. <u>tanajunch</u> juu kintata7 [nii
ta-najun+ch juu kin-tata7 nii
3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD ART 1POS-elder COMP

xtalaakilhun toolay]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
x-ta-laa-kilhun toola-y
PAST-3PL.SUB-RCP-chat(IMPFV) stay-IMPFV

[**nii** xtalaqtz'in
nii x-ta-laqtz'in
COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)

juu lapanak [juu 7ixajaachiilh]$_{\text{RELCL}}$]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
juu lapanak juu 7ix-xajaan-chii-li
ART person REL PAST-exit-DST-PFV
'My elders would say, when they sat around chatting,
[that they would see the person that came out of there].'[T0022: 020-022]

d. <u>lhiinajunkalh</u> [**nii** kataymaa]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
lhiinajun-kan-li **nii** ka-taymaa
command-INS-PFV **COMP** IRR-follow(PFV)
'They commanded him to follow (them).' [QMMES]

The direct object complement of a verb of cognition may be introduced by the complementizer *nii*, as seen in (819a), or by a more specific adverb acting as a relative pronoun, as seen in the examples in (819b), (819c), and (819d). The example in (819b) contains two complement clauses; in the first one, the speaker began the clause with the adverb *7aksnii* 'when', then started again and replace it with the generic complementizer *nii*. He then began the second complement clause with *7aksnii*. In (819c) the complement clause begins with the adverb *juntaa* 'where'. In (819d) the complement clause begins with the adverb *tanch*

that also means 'where'; this example is interesting because the complement clause consists of a relativized adverbial.[221]

(819) a. 7entons tapaastaklich
7entons ta-paastak-li+ch
then 3PL.SUB-remember-PFV+ALD

[**nii** 7anu7 nii 7alin juu Dios]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
nii 7anu7 nii 7alin juu Dios
COMP um COMP there.is(IMPFV) ART God
'Then they remember [that, um, that there is a God].'
[T0063: 076-077]

b. waa kpaastak'ach [**7aksnii** 7anu7
waa k-paastak-7a+ch **7aksnii** 7anu7
FOC 1SUB-remember-IMPFV+ALD **when** um

nii naa lhuu xminta juu t'uun]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
nii naa lhuu x-min-ta juu t'uun
COMP EMP much PAST-come-PF ART earth

[**7aksnii** maqalhtajuu lak don Juaquin juu t'uun]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
7aksnii maqalhtajuu lak don Juaquin juu t'uun
when slide.down(PFV) PREP don Juaquin ART earth
'I remember [when, um, that a lot of mud had come down],
[when the land slid down at don Juaquin's place].'
[T0058: 004-006]

c. k'atz'ay juu Xiiwaan [**juntaa** t'ajun juu Kuulax]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
k'atz'a-y juu Xiiwaan **juntaa** t'ajun juu Kuulax
know-IMPFV ART John **where** be(IMPFV) ART Nicholas
'John knows [where Nicholas is].' [ELIEX2: 086]

d. jaantu xk'atz'akan [**tanch** [juu minaachaa]$_{\text{RELCL}}$]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
jaantu x-k'atz'a-kan **tanch** juu min-a7-chaa
NEG PAST-know-INS(IMPFV) **where** REL come-FUT-DIST
'They did not know [where it was that (the animal) would come out].'
[T0020: 005]

[221] Please see the previous section on relative clauses for more information about relativized adverbs.

It is quite common in HT for a headless relative clause to be used as a complement clause.[222] This type of complement clause is introduced by the relativizer *juu* instead of the complementizer *nii.* Examples are shown below in (820). The headless relative/complement clause occurs clause-finally, as seen in (820a), or clause-initially, as seen in (820b).

(820) a.

nii[223]	maa	naa	qox	7akamin	[**juu**	7anuuch
nii	maa	naa	qox	7akamin	**juu**	7anu7+ch
COMP	RPT	EMP	good	stink(IMPFV)	**REL**	that+ALD

7ulaata	juu	porowii	juu	lapanak]$_{\text{COMPCL/RELCL}}$
7ulaa-ta	juu	porowii	juu	lapanak
put-PF	ART	pitiful	ART	person

'And [whatever that pitiful person had put there] really stank.'
[T0055: 025-026]

b.

[**juu**	tatamokoonchalhch	7anch]$_{\text{COMPCL/RELCL}}$
juu	ta-tamakajun-chaa-li+ch	7anch
REL	3PL.SUB-remain-DST-PFV+ALD	there

maa	taniiqoo
maa	ta-nii-qoju
RPT	3PL.SUB-die-ALL.PFV

'[Those who stayed there] all died.' [T0057: 031]

Another type of complement clause that occurs quite frequently in HT narratives is the direct quotation that occurs as the direct object of a verb of speech. A direct quotation is *not* introduced by any kind of complementizing or adverbializing element. Examples are shown below in (821). In (821a), the quotation occurs at the end of the clause, and in (821b) it occurs at the beginning of the clause.

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[222] Headless relative clauses are discussed in the previous section on relative clauses.
[223] The complementizer *nii* is also used to link sequential clauses; see the following section on adverbial clauses.

(821) a. xakijuuniy [jaantu waa 7a7it'i
xa-ki-jun-ni-y jaantu waa 7a-7an-t'i
PAST-1OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV NEG FOC IRR-go-2SG.SUB.PFV

juu waa tz'iisi]$_{\text{DIRQUOTE}}$
juu waa tz'iisi
ART FOC night
'He would say to me, ["Don't go at night."]' [T0022: 049]

b. [tanch xak'iilaay jii kumwarii?]$_{\text{DIRQUOTE}}$
tanch xa-kii-laa-y jii kumwarii
where PAST-RT-can-IMPFV VOC compadre

maa juuniych juu xkumwarii
maa jun-ni-y+ch juu x-kumwarii
RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD ART 3POS-compadre
'["Where did you go, Compadre?"] his compadre asks him.'
[T0055: 006-007]

8.6.1.3 Adverbial Clauses

For the purpose of this analysis, an adverbial clause is any non-conditional subordinate clause that acts as an adjunct—and not as a complement—to the matrix verb. In HT, adverbial clauses are those adjunct clauses that express time, location, and motive or purpose. I found no examples of adverbial clauses expressing manner in the texts; I suspect that this is because most of the manner adverbs are ideophonic.

A temporal adverbial clause is introduced either by the generic complementizer *nii* or by the temporal relative pronoun *7aksnii* 'when', as seen in the examples below in (822). Given the phonetic similarity between *7aksnii* and *nii*, it is possible either that the *nii* is a truncation of *7aksnii* or that *7aksnii* may be analyzed as *7aks+nii.* However, while *nii* is used to introduce various types of

complement, adverbial, and conditional clause—and, thus, can be translated in various ways, including 'that', 'when', 'because', and 'if'—*7aksnii* introduces only temporal adverbial clauses and is translated only as 'when'. A temporal adverbial clause may follow its matrix clause, as seen in (822a), (822b), and (822c); it may precede its matrix clause, as seen in (822d); or it may intervene between major clausal constituents, as seen in (822e), where the adverbial clause follows the subject *kintata7* 'my elders' and precedes the direct object complement clause. Subordinating elements appear in bold, and the adverbial clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

(822) *Temporal adverbial clauses*

a.

juu	pumatam	lapanak	niilh
juu	puma-tam	lapanak	nii-li
ART	CL:human-one	person	die-PFV

[**nii**	tz'akalh	juu	luw]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
nii	tz'aka-li	juu	luw
COMP	bite-PFV	ART	snake

'A person died [when a snake bit him].' [T0009: 001-002]

b.

yuuchach	juu	xaak'uch'u
yuuch+ach	juu	xaa-k'uch'u
PRN.3SG+ALD	ART	IPOS-cure

[**7aksnii**	7atz'akanan	juu	juu	tzaapuj]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
7aksnii	7a-tz'aka-nVn	juu	juu	tzaapuj
when	PL.INO-bite-INO(IMPFV)	ART	ART	worm

'*That* is the cure [when the worm bites].' [T0009: 010-011]

c. maa naa naa qox qay maqtili7
maa naa naa qox qay maqtili7
RPT EMP EMP good big wild.animal

y maa waa t'aku7
y maa waa t'aku7
and RPT FOC woman

[**7aksnii** tapaach'uk'ulhch]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
7aksnii ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+ch
when 3PL.SUB-INSIDE-cut.open-PFV+ALD
'It was a great big wild animal, and it was a woman inside
[when they cut it open].' [T0020: 028-030]

d. [**nii** maa tachinchaa]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
nii maa ta-chin-chaa
COMP RPT 3PL.SUB-arrive-DIST(PFV?)

puus juu lapanak maa niitach
puus juu lapanak maa nii-ta+ch
well ART person RPT die-PF+ALD
'[When they arrived there], well, the man had already died.'
[T0022: 013-014]

e. tanajunch juu kintata7 [**nii**
ta-najun+ch juu kin-tata7 **nii**
3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD ART 1POS-elder **COMP**

xtalaakilhun toolay]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
x-ta-laa-kilhun toola-y
PAST-3PL.SUB-RCP-chat(IMPFV) stay-IMPFV

[nii xtalaqtz'in
nii x-ta-laqtz'in
COMP PAST-3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)

juu lapanak [juu 7ixajaachiilh]$_{\text{RELCL}}$]$_{\text{COMPCL}}$
juu lapanak juu 7ix-xajaan-chii-li
ART person REL PAST-exit-DST-PFV
'My elders would say, [when they sat around chatting], that they
would see the person that came out of there.' [T0022: 020-022]

A locative adverbial clause is introduced by the locative relative pronoun *juntaa* 'where', as seen in the examples below in (823). All of the locative adverbial clauses in the database occur at the end of the matrix clause; I did not test the adverbial clauses to see if they could occur in other locations. Note that the adverbial clause *juntaa waa puut'ikst'i laktalhpa* 'where the hills are narrow' in (823c) is actually modifying the relative clause *juntaa ktapaasayaw* 'where we pass' that is modifying the noun *talhpa* 'hill'.

(823) *Locative adverbial clauses*

a.

maa	xta7amaqpanan			juu	papaanin
maa	x-ta-7a-maqpa-nVn			juu	papa7-nin
RPT	PAST-3PL.SUB-PL.INO-wash.clothes-INO(IMPFV)			ART	man-PL

juu	kaa	waa	lakak'iwin	xtat'ajun
juu	kaa	waa	laka-k'iw-in	x-ta-t'ajun
REL	BLV	FOC	PREP-tree-PL	PAST-3PL.SUB-be(IMPFV)

[**juntaa**	junkan	Lakaxaqax]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
juntaa	jun-kan	Lakaxaqax
where	say-INS(IMPFV)	Flint

'The old people who lived in the woods washed
[where it is called Flint].' [T0022: 002-4]

b.

juu	maqanchich	maa
juu	maqanchi+ch	maa
ART	long.time+ALD	RPT

xta7amaqpanan
x-ta-7a-maqpa-nVn
PAST-3PL.SUB-PL.INO-wash.clothes-INO(IMPFV)

juu	lakxkaan	[**juntaa**	Lakaxaqax	xjunkan]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
juu	laka-xkaan	**juntaa**	Lakaxaqax	x-jun-kan
ART	PREP-water	**where**	Flint	PAST-say-INS(IMPFV)

'A long time ago, they washed in the river where they called it Flint.'
[T0022: 019]

c. waa 7alin talhpa [juntaa ktapaasayaw]RC
waa 7alin talhpa juntaa k-tapaasa-y-aw
FOC there.is hill where 1SUB-pass-IMPFV-1PL.SUB

[**juntaa** waa puut'ikst'i laktalhpa]ADVCL
juntaa waa puu-t'ikst'i lak-talhpa
where FOC INSIDE-small PREP-hill
'There is a hill where we pass, where it is narrow in the mountains.'
[T0022: 051-52]

An adverbial clause that expresses motive or purpose is introduced by the generic complementizer *nii*, as seen in the examples below in (824). This type of adverbial clause always occurs at the end of the matrix clause.

(824) *Motive/Purpose with* ***nii***

a. maa jaantu ta7uputunpalay juu xa7akanit
maa jaantu ta-7u-putun-pala-y juu xa-7akanit
RPT NEG 3PL.SUB-eat-DESID-REP-IMPFV ART IPOS-flesh

[**nii** waa lapanak]ADVCL
nii waa lapanak
COMP FOC person
'They did not want to eat the meat anymore [because it was human].'
[T0020: 032]

b. kaa x7uych juu yuuch juu lhiiway
kaa x-7u-y+ch juu yuuch juu lhiiway
BLV PAST-eat-IMPFV+ALD ART PRN.3SG ART meat

[**nii** waa lhiiwaych juu x7uy]ADVCL
nii waa lhiiway+ch juu x-7u-y
COMP FOC meat+ALD ART PAST-eat-IMPFV

[**nii** kaa waa maqtiliich]ADVCL
nii kaa waa maqtili7+ch
COMP BLV FOC wild.animal+ALD
'I think *he* ate the meat [because it was meat that it ate],
[because it was a wild animal].' [T0022: 039-041]

c. maa talhqamalh juu sireenaa
maa talhqama-li juu sireenaa
RPT get.angry-PFV ART goddess

[**nii** waa muujuukalhch juu lapanak
nii waa muujuu-kan-li+ch juu lapanak
COMP FOC throw-INS-PFV+ALD ART people

juu xaaniin lapanak juu lakxkaan]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
juu xaa-nii-n lapanak juu lak-xkaan
ART IPOS-die-DVB people ART PREP-water
'The goddess got angry [because the people threw the dead people into the river].' [T0057: 081-83]

d. naa x7alinch juu xlhiich'alhkat'an
naa x-7alin+ch juu x-lhiich'alhkat-7an
EMP PAST-there.is(IMPFV)+ALD ART 3POS-job-PL.POS

[**nii** maa waa xtalhii7anch]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
nii maa waa x-ta-lhii7an+ch
COMP RPT FOC PAST-3PL.SUB-take(IMPFV)+ALD
'They had (musical) gigs [because they would take her along].' [T0063: 026-27]

e. tz'iink'a [**nii** waa k'aks]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
tz'iink-7a **nii** waa k'aks
be.heavy-IMPFV **COMP** FOC pine.wood
'It's heavy [because it is pine wood].' [T0069: 014]

f. 7awayna7 [**nii** laaych 7atz'uk'u]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
7a-wajin-a7 **nii** laa-y+ch 7a-tzuku
IRR-eat-FUT **COMP** can-IMPFV+ALD IRR-live(2SUB.PFV)
'You must eat in order to live.' [QMMES]

It is quite common for the Spanish conjunction *porque* 'because' to be used either in place of or in addition to the HT complementizer *nii* in order to express purpose or motive, as seen in the examples below in (825). In (825a), *porque* is used instead of the native *nii* to introduce the adverbial clause; in

(825b), *porque* is used with of *nii*; and in (825c), *porque* introduces the first two adverbial clauses, and *nii* introduces the third one.

(825) *Motive/Purpose with* ***porque***

a.

maa	xta7anch	7amaqpanin
maa	x-ta-7an+ch	7a-maqpa-nin
RPT	PAST-3PL.SUB-go(IMPFV)+ALD	PL.INO-wash.clothes-PL.INF

[**porque**	maa	lapanak	juu	tajun]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
porque	maa	lapanak	juu	ta-jun
because	RPT	person	REL	3PL.SUB-be(IMPFV)

'They would go to wash because they were human.' [T0022: 015-16]

b.

maa	waa	tamaqalhch
maa	waa	ta-maqan-li+ch
RPT	FOC	3PL.SUB-throw.out-PFV+ALD

[**porque**	**nii**	maa	waa	xaakanit	lapanak]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
porque	**nii**	maa	waa	xaa-7akanit	lapanak
because	**COMP**	RPT	FOC	IPOS-flesh	person

'They threw it out [because it was human flesh].'

[T0020: 036-37]

c. puus juu maa tataxtuchaalhch juu 7anch
puus juu maa ta-taxtu-chaa-li+ch juu 7anch
well REL RPT 3PL.SUB-leave-DIST-PFV+ALD ART there

[**porque** maa naa lhuu
porque maa naa lhuu
because RPT EMP many

jaantuch xtaminputun
jaantu+ch x-ta-min-putun
NEG+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-come-DESID(IMPFV)

[**porque** maa naa xtaqachaniych
porque maa naa x-ta-qacha-ni-y+ch
because RPT EMP PAST-3PL.SUB-like-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

juu Siikalhan [**nii** maa 7alheeqaych juu 7anch]]]$_{\text{ADVCL}}$
juu Siikalhan **nii** maa 7alheeqay+ch juu 7anch
ART Zicatlán **COMP** RPT spacious+ALD ART there
'Well, those who left there, [because many didn't want to come
[because they liked Zicatlán [because it was spacious there]]].'
[T0057: 026-29]

8.6.1.4 Conditional Clauses

In HT a conditional clause is a subtype of a subordinate clause in that (i) the conditional clause is introduced by a complementizer, (ii) the subordinate verb is fully inflected for person, number, tense, aspect, and mood, and (ii) there is no special morphology that marks subordination. However, a conditional clause differs from the other types of subordinate clause in that the conditional clause is always inflected for irrealis mood, whether hypothetical or counter-factual (93e). A conditional clause may be introduced by the complementizer *nii,* as seen in the examples in (826), or by the conjunction *maas* 'even if', as seen in the examples in (827). The resulting clause has no special structure. In HT, the conditional clause tends to occur at the beginning of the sentence, as seen in most of the

following examples; however, the example in (827b) shows that the conditional clause may follow the matrix clause as well.[224]

(826) a. porque [**nii** kata7uya7]$_{\text{CONDCL}}$
porque **nii** ka-ta-7u-ya7
because **COMP** IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-FUT

jaantuch katitataxtulh
jaantu+ch ka-ti-ta-taxtu-li
NEG+PUNC IRR-NEG.FUT-3PL.SUB-leave-PFV
'Because [if they ate it], they would not be able to leave.'
[T0063: 066-067]

b. [**nii** kamilh]$_{\text{CONDCL}}$ kaa laay 7aktamakawlh
nii ka-min-li kaa laa-y 7a-k-tamakajun-li
COMP IRR-come-PFV BLV can-IMPFV IRR-1SUB-remain-PFV
'If he were to come, I think that I could stay.' [QMMES]

c. [**nii** k'i7uya7 jii Piitalu7]$_{\text{CONDCL}}$
nii ki-7u-ya7 jii Piitalu7
COMP 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-FUT VOC Peter

ka7uyaan juu Siliiyaa maa juuniych
ka-7u-ya7-n juu Siliiyaa maa jun-ni-y+ch
IRR-eat-FUT-2OBJ ART Cecilia RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD
'"[If you eat me, Peter], Cecilia will eat you," it says to him.'
[T0058: 031]

[224] For more information on the irrealis mood and the conditional, please see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2.3.

d. [**nii** maa katamaqnii]$_{\text{CONDCL}}$
nii maa ka-ta-maqnii
COMP RPT IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV)

maa 7aqstu naa naa 7awilhchan
maa 7aqstu naa naa 7awilhchan
RPT same EMP EMP day

maa kaniilhch juu 7anuuch t'aku7
maa ka-nii-li+ch juu 7anu7+ch t'aku7
RPT IRR-die-PFV+ALD ART that+ALD woman
'[If they kill it], that same day the woman will die.' [T0003: 018-020]

e. [**nii** xakmaamaa juu tuumiin]$_{\text{CONDCL}}$
nii xa-k-maamaa juu tuumiin
COMP PAST-1SUB-have(PFV) ART money

kaa laay xaktamawlh
kaa laa-y xa-k-tamaw-li
BLV can-IMPFV PAST-1SUB-buy-PFV
'[If I had had the money], I think that I would have bought it.'
[QMMES]

(827) a. [**maas** kamilh juu Xiiwaan]$_{\text{CONDCL}}$
maas ka-min-li juu Xiiwaan
although IRR-come-PFV ART Juan

juu ki7in 7aktamokoona7
juu ki7in 7a-k-tamakajun-a7
ART PRN.1SG IRR-1SUB-remain-FUT
'Even if Juan were to come, I will stay.' [QMMES]

b. katast'aaya7 juu puukapen [**maas** kaa
ka-ta-st'aa-ya7 juu puukapen **maas** kaa
IRR-3PL.SUB-sell-FUT ART coffee.farm **although** BLV

jaantuch kalakaskilh juu xaatata7]$_{\text{CONDCL}}$
jaantu+ch ka-lakaskin-li juu xaa-tata7
NEG+ALD IRR-want-PFV ART IPOS-grandfather
'They will sell the coffee farm [even if the grandfather were to oppose it].' [QMMES]

8.6.2 Coordination

Coordination in HT is accomplished by means of juxtaposition of clauses or phrases, with or without a coordinator. The coordinators used in HT include the reportative particle *maa,* the complementizer *nii,* and the borrowed Spanish coordinators *y* 'and' and *pero* 'but'. Examples and discussion follow.

A common way to coordinate clauses in HT is to juxtapose two clauses without using a coordinator, as seen in the examples below in (828) and (829). In these examples, each independent clause appears within square brackets. In all of the examples in (828), the two clauses have the same subject, and this subject is marked on each matrix verb. However, in the examples in (829), each clause has a different subject, which is also marked on each matrix verb.

(828) *Juxtaposition of 2 clauses with the same subject:*

a. [ta7alhch]
ta-7an-li+ch
3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD

[tamuku7ulaaqoolhch juu xtuumiin7an]
ta-muku=7ulaa-qoju-li+ch juu x-tuumiin-7an
3PL.SUB-leave=put-ALL-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-money-PL.POS
'[They went off] and [left behind all of their money].' [T0055: 079]

b. [xtamaqniiy] [xta7uych]
x-ta-maqnii-y x-ta-7u-y+ch
PAST-3PL.SUB-kill-IMPFV PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPFV+ALD
'[They would kill it], and [they would eat it].' [T0059: 041]

c. [chaqe7ilh juu xqapawati juu tz'alh]
chaqayi-li juu x-qapawati juu tz'alh
divide-PFV ART 3POS-bread ART boy

[kaxtaqnilhch juu xp'isaqa]
ka-xtaq-ni-li+ch juu x-p'isaqa
TIP-give-DAT-PFV+ALD ART 3POS-younger.sibling
'[The boy divided his bread], and [he gave some to his younger sibling].' [ELIEX1: 021]

(829) *Juxtapositon of 2 clauses with different subjects:*

a. puus [waa maqniilhch] [ka7uyaawch]
puus waa k-maqnii-li+ch ka-7u-ya7-w+ch
well FOC 1SUB-kill-PFV+ALD IRR-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD
'Well, [I killed it], and [we are going to eat it].' [T0059: 013]

b. [juu Susanita p'uxlh laqat'uy 7aalaaxuux]
juu Susanita p'ux-li laqa-t'uy 7aalaaxuux
ART Suzie pick-PFV CL:general-two orange

[juu Otaña waachu7 p'uxlh laqat'uy 7aalaaxuux]
juu Otaña waachu7 p'ux-li laqa-t'uy 7aalaaxuux
ART Otaña also pick-PFV CL:general-two orange
'[Suzie picked two oranges], and [Otaña also picked two oranges].'[Q3I]

c. [tam maqali7 kamaach'ixtaqninch juu tuumiin]
tam maqali7 ka-maa-ch'ixtaq-ni-n+ch juu tuumiin
one rich.person IRR-CAUS-loan-DAT-2OBJ+ALD ART money

[jaantu qoxiyaa tuumiin palata]
jaantu qoxiyaa tuumiin palata
NEG good money better
'[A rich person could loan you money], but [it isn't good money].' [T0054: 024-025]

I have only one clear example in which juxtaposition is used to coordinate two verbs, shown below in (830). Only the first verb is marked for person. Either this is a speech error, or it is not necessary to mark the second (or third) verb in a conjoined verb phrase for person.

(830) taxkoyawlich maasoqoch kamaqalh
ta- xkoyaw-li+ch maa-soqon+ch ka-maqan-li
3PL.SUB-pull-PFV+ALD CAUS-hurry(PFV)+ALD IRR-throw.away-PFV
'They pulled him and made him hurry to throw it away.' [T0055: 028]

Juxtaposition is also used to coordinate two nouns, as seen in the examples below in (831). Each noun is preceded by the definite article *juu*.

(831) *Juxtapositon of 2 nouns*

a. **juu Xiiwaan juu Piitalu7** taqasmatniy
juu Xiiwaan juu Piitalu7 ta-qasmat-ni-y
ART John ART Peter 3PL.SUB-hear-DAT-IMPFV

juu 7ixlaktataa7an
juu 7ix-lak-tata7-7an
ART 3POS-PL-old.man-PL.POS
'*John and Peter* listen to their grandparents.' [Q3I]

b. ka7awch waynin **juu 7ixint'i juu ki7in**
ka-7an-w+ch wajin-nin **juu 7ixint'i juu ki7in**
IRR-go(PFV)-1PL.SUB+ALD eat-PL.INF **ART PRN.2SG ART PRN.1SG**
'*You and I* are going to eat.' [Q3I]

c. kawaynaaw **juu ki7in juu Aantuun**
ka-wajin-a7-aw **juu ki7in juu Aantuun**
IRR-eat-FUT-1PL.SUB **ART PRN.1SG ART Anthony**
'*Anthony and I* will eat later.' [Q3I]

According to Herzog (no date), the HT conjunction is *chay*, and it is used between nouns and between clauses. I did not specifically test this particle. However, *chay* appears only once in my textual database, and my consultant translated it as *también* 'also'. This example is shown below in (832).

(832) waa soq paaxtoqpaa juu 7ani7 Antonio Sevilla
waa soq paaxtoq-pala juu 7ani7 Antonio Sevilla
FOC straight meet-REP.PFV ART um Antonio Sevilla

chaych juu ingeniero 7ani7 Pulido
chay+ch juu ingeniero 7ani7 Pulido
also+ALD ART engineer um Pulido
'I met um Antonio Sevilla, also the engineer um Pulido.' [T0066: 030-031]

In my own data, HT clauses are frequently coordinated by means of what appears to be the evidential reportative particle *maa*.[225] Nora England (p.c.) suggests to me that this instance of *maa* is actually a conjunction that is similar to the evidential clitic *maa* due either to homophony or to some historical change that is not clear from a synchronic point of view. This could be the case because when my consultant loosely translated passages that contained the particle *maa*, he would translate *maa* as either *y* 'and' or *segun* 'according to'. However, when I asked for a specific translation of *maa,* he always translated it as *segun*. When I explicitly tried to elicit a conjunction using conjoined clauses or phrases in Spanish, my consultant would either use the Spanish conjunction *y* in the HT clause or he would juxtapose the two clauses or phrases. He never used *maa* in elicited examples. For this reason, I continue to gloss *maa* as the evidential particle RPT in the examples that appear below in (833) and (834).

Setting aside the question of whether or not the particle *maa* is or is not the evidential clitic, examples in which *maa* is used to coordinate two clauses with the same subject are shown below in (833), and examples in which it is used to coordinate two clauses with different subjects are shown below in (834). In all

[225] Please Chapter 6, Section 6.4.2.1 for more information on the evidential reportative particle *maa*.

of these examples, separate clauses are enclosed in square brackets, and *maa* appears in bold face. The particle *maa* intervenes between the two clauses in all examples. Depending on the context, *maa* may be translated as 'and' or 'but'.

(833) ***maa*** *used to coordinate 2 clauses with the same subject:*

a. [lhiiminkalh] **maa** [tz'ukukalhch laqaxuk'a.]
lhiimin-kan-li **maa** tz'uku-kan-li+ch laqaxuk'a
bring-INS-PFV **RPT** begin-INS-PFV+ALD skin
'[They brought it back], and [they began to skin it].' [T0020: 025]

b. [maamak'utulhch] **maa** [7aqxqoqatach]
maa-mak'utu-li+ch **maa** 7aqx-qoqa-ta+ch
CAUS-unload-PFV+ALD **RPT** SHOULDER-carry-PF+ALD
'[He unloaded it], and [he threw it over his shoulder].' [T0055: 019]

c. [chiwinilh] **maa** [najunch]
chiwin-ni-li **maa** najun+ch
speak-PFV **RPT** say(IMPFV)+ALD
'[It spoke to him], and [it says, "…".]' [T0058: 027]

(834) ***maa*** *used to coordinate 2 clauses with different subjects:*

a. [laqaxuk'alhch] **maa** [tapaach'uk'ulhch.]
laqaxuk'a-li+ch **maa** ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+ch
skin-PFV+ALD **RPT** 3PL.SUB-INSIDE-cut.open-PFV+ALD
'[He skinned it], and [they cut it open].' [T0020: 026]

b. [milh 7awilhchan nii kaa
min-li 7a-wilhchan nii kaa
come-PFV CLS:other-day COMP BLV

lhii7ampaalhch juu maa p'aax]
lhii7an-palh+ch juu maa p'aax
take-AGAIN.PFV+ALD ART RPT pig

maa [tataymaa lhii7alhch.]
maa ta-taymaa lhii-7an-li+ch
RPT 3PL.SUB-follow(PFV) APPL-go-PFV+ALD
'[Another day came when it carried off a pig again],
and [they followed it.]' [T0020: 016-017]

c. [waa naa papa7] **maa** [naa kiklhman]
waa naa papa7 **maa** naa kik-lhman
FOC EMP man **RPT** FOC MOUTH-long

maa [naa naach waa lakpuulhalhaa]
maa naa naa+ch waa lakpuu-lhalhaa
RPT EMP EMP+ALD FOC FACE-beard

maa [laqlhman juu xlaqpuuch'awti].
maa laq-lhman juu x-laqpuu-ch'awti
RPT FACE-long ART 3POS-FACE-hair
'[He was an old man], and [(he had a) very long beard],
and [(he had a) very long beard],
and [his facial hair was long.]' [T0022: 037-040]

d. [tatzukulhch laqlhwaqnin]
ta-tzuku-li+ch lak-lhwaq-nin
3PL.SUB-begin-PFV+ALD PL-dismember-PL.INF

maa [jaantu ta7uputunpalay]
maa jaantu ta-7u-putun-pala-y
RPT NEG 3PL.SUB-eat-DESID-REP-IMPFV
'[They began to dismember it], but [they did not want to eat it.]'
[T0020: 031-032]

e. [lakch'apayajuych] **maa** [jaantu tataspitlh]
lak-ch'apayaju-y+ch **maa** jaantu ta-taspit-li
PL-stop-IMPFV+ALD **RPT** NEG 3PL.SUB-return-PFV
'[He (tried to) stop them], but [they didn't return.]' [T0055: 084-085]

I have found only one example—shown below in (835)—in which *maa* is used to coordinate two nouns. In this example, *maa* intervenes between the two nouns. Note that the first noun *t'akuunin* 'women' is preceded by the definite article *juu* while the second noun *papaaniin* 'men' is not.

(835) maa *used to coordinate two nominals:*

Pus	juu	7anu7	luw,	maa	yuuch	laktitaymay
pus	juu	7anu7	luw	maa	yuuch	lak-titayma-y
well	ART	that	snake	RPT	PRN.3SG	PL-chase-IMPFV

juu	t'akuunin	**maa**	papaaninch]
juu	t'aku7-nin	**maa**	papa7-nin+ch
ART	woman-PL	**RPT**	man-PL+ALD

juu	mati7	sasqat'a7an
juu	mati7	s-7asqat'a-7an
REL	none	3POS-child-PL.POS

'Well, that snake, it chases the women and men
who don't have children.' [T0003: 005-6]

In some examples from the text database, the complementizer *nii* is used to conjoin two clauses that have a common argument. The clauses conjoined by *nii* fall into one of two types: (i) the second clause sequentially follows the first clause or (ii) the second clause expresses some sort of exception to the first clause. Examples of sequential coordination appear in (836) below, and examples of exceptional coordination appear in (837). The complementizer intervenes between the conjoined clauses, which are enclosed in square brackets.

(836) *Complementizer nii used to conjoin 2 sequential clauses:*

a. [kimaaqeswaat'i]
kin-maa-qeswaa-t'i
1OBJ-CAUS-get.scared-2SG.SUB.PFV

nii	[kaa	waa	p'atz'ik	xqotp'alata]
nii	kaa	waa	p'atz'ik	x-qot-pala-ta
COMP	BLV	FOC	a.little	PAST-drink-REP-PF

'You scared me, and I think that you were a little drunk.'
[T0054: 032]

b. [chiniich waa klaalh]
chinii+ch waa k-laay-li
like.so+ALD FOC 1SUB-can-PFV

nii [naa xakpiixtuxkapalata]
nii naa xa-k-piixtu-xka-pala-ta
COMP EMP PAST-1SUB-NECK-hurt-REP-PF
'That's what I did, and then my neck hurt badly.' [T0054: 043]

c. lhiitamawlh laqatam xlaqpuutanuti
lhii-tamaw-li laqa-tam x-laqpuutanuti
APPL-buy-PFV CL:general-one 3POS-mask

nii maa minchoqolhch juu lakatii
nii maa min-choqo-li+ch juu laka-tii
COMP RPT return-AGAIN-PFV+ALD ART PREP-road
'He bought himself a mask, and then he returned along the road.'
[T0055: 048049]

d. y luego waa naa maa 7alakt'aatoolay
y luego waa naa maa 7a-lak-t'aa-toola-y
and then FOC EMP RPT PL.INO-PL-COM-stay-IMPFV

y waa naach **nii** talaklhtatalhch;
y waa naa+ch **nii** ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
and FOC EMP+ALD **COMP** 3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD

nii talaktlhtatalhch
nii ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
COMP 3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD

nii naa waa x7alinch juu xqen
nii naa waa x-7alin+ch juu xqen
COMP EMP FOC PAST-there.is(IMPFV)+ALD ART fly
'And then he stayed with them, and soon they all fell asleep;
when they had fallen asleep, then there were a lot of flies.'
[T0055: 067-70]

(837) *Complementizer nii used to conjoin 2 "exceptional" clauses:*

a. [naa k'uusch katasuya7, waa yuuch,]
naa k'uus+ch ka-tasuy-a7 waa yuuch
EMP pretty+ALD IRR-look-FUT FOC PRN.3SG

nii [lhuuch kalhii7ana7 juu k'iw]
nii lhuu+ch ka-lhii7an-a7 juu k'iw
COMP much+ALD IRR-take-FUT ART wood
'It is going to look pretty, it is, but it is going to take a lot of wood.'
[T0069: 275-276]

b. [juu 7aks juu k'aatan nii xkilaalh juu Gavino],
juu 7aks juu k'aatan nii x-ki-laa-li juu Gavino
REL when ART festival COMP PAST-RT-go-PFV ART Gavin

nii [waa jaantu kijumpaa]
nii waa jaantu ki-jun-paa
COMP FOC NEG 1POS-say-REP.PFV
'It was during the festival that Gavin went to, but he didn't tell me.'
[T0069: 378-379]

The Spanish conjunctions *y* 'and' and *pero* 'but' may be used to conjoin two clauses that have the same subject. Examples appear in (838) below.

(838)***y, pero*** *used to coordinate 2 clauses with the same subject:*

a. [7atz'alalhch] **y** [tanuuchaalhch
7atz'ala-li+ch **y** tanuu-chaa-li+ch
run-PFV+ALD **and** enter-DIST-PFV+ALD

juu laktalhpa]
juu laka-talhpa
ART PREP-hill
'It ran and it went into the cave.' [T0020: 020]

b. [juu ki7in klaqtz'in] **y**
juu ki7in k-laqtz'in-n **y**
ART PRN.1SG 1SUB-see(PFV)-2OBJ **and**

[jaantu xaklaqtz'inputunan]
jaantu xa-k-laqtz'in-putun-an
NEG PAST-1SUB-see-DESID(IMPFV)-2OBJ
I saw you, and I didn't want to see you. [Q3I]

c. [saksayooputunch juu lakalaasoo]
xa-k-sayaw-putun(IMPFV)+ch juu laka-laasoo
PAST-1SUB-lift-DESID+ALD ART PREP-rope

pero [ktask'inipalay vigas]
pero k-task'in-ni-pala-y vigas
but 1SUB-need-DAT-REP-IMPFV beams
'I wanted to lift it with rope, but I need beams.' [T0069: 008-009]

The Spanish conjunction *pero* 'but' may also be used to conjoin two clauses that have different subjects, as seen below in the examples in (839). However, I have found no examples in which *y* is used to conjoin two clauses that have different subjects.

(839) ***pero*** *used to coordinate two clauses with different subjects:*
7anch juu kixaqaxtukalhch
7anch juu ki-xaqaxtu-kan-li+ch
there REL RT-take.out-INS-PFV+ALD

pero maa xaaniinch
pero maa xaa-nii-n+ch
but RPT IPOS-die-DVB+ALD
'It was there where they went and removed it [the animal],
but it [the animal] was already dead.' [T0022: 021-022]

The Spanish conjunction *y* 'and' is used to conjoin nouns within a noun phrase, as seen below in the examples in (840). Note that in these examples, when the noun phrase is definite, only the first noun is preceded by the definite article *juu.*

(840) *Nouns coordinated by **y**:*

a. de Muuniixkaan, Pisaflores, San Francisco **y**
from Mecapalapa Pisaflores, San Francisco **and**

7ani7+ch laqachaqan Huehuetla
here+ALD town Huehuetla
'from Mecapalapa, Pisaflores, San Francisco y here,
the town of Huehuetla.' [T0057: 039]

b. waa 7anchach tamaktay
waa 7anch+ach tamakta-y
FOC there+ALD end-IMPFV

juu xkweentuu juu Piitalu7 **y** Siliiyaach
juu x-kweentuu juu Piitalu7 **y** Siliiyaa+ch
ART 3POS-story ART Peter **and** Cecilia+ALD
'There ends the story of Peter and Cecilia.' [T0058: 055-056]

c. juu Xiiwaan **y** Kuulaax ta7aqlhteyjuuy
juu Xiiwaan **y** Kuulaax ta-7aqlhteyjuu-y
ART John **and** Nick 3PL.SUB-help-IMPFV

juu 7ixpay7an
juu 7ix-pay-7an
ART 3POS-father-PL.POS
John and Nick help their father. [Q3I]

d. juu ki7in **y** Aantuunch
juu ki7in **y** Aantuun+ch
ART PRN.1SG **and** Anthony+ALD

k'anaw juu lakxkaan
k-7an-aw juu laka-xkaan
1SUB-go(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB ART PREP-water
'Anthony and I go to the river.' [Q3I]

e. taantuu como t'akuunin **y** papaanin
taantuu como t'aku7-nin **y** papa7-nin
as.much as woman-PL **and** man-PL
'women as well as men.' [T0003: 0008]

Appendix: Huehuetla Tepehua Texts

TEXT 1: THE MILLIPEDE (T0003)

This text was narrated by Micaela Santiago Plata on June 29, 1999 in Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico. It recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by Micaela Santiago Plata and don Nicolás Vigueras Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is to be archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America[226] under the language name "Tepehua de Huehuetla".

T0003: 001

puus	juu	7anch	juu	lakilaqachaqan
puus	juu	7anch	juu	laka-kin-laqachaqan
well	DET	there	DET	PREP-1POS-town

Well, in my town

T0003: 002

wachu7	talaknajun
wachu7	ta-lak-najun
also	3PL.SUB-DIS-say(IMPFV)

they talk

T0003: 003

juu	xlakata	7anii
juu	xlakata	7anii
DET	about	this

about

[226] http://www.ailla.utexas.org

T0003: 004

juu	luw	juu	maa	junkan	xqolit’i .
juu	luw	juu	maa	jun-kan	xqolit’i
DET	snake	REL	RPT	say-RFL(IMPFV)	millipede

a snake called millipede.

T0003: 005

Puus	juu	7anu7	luw,	maa	yuuch
puus	juu	7anu7	luw	maa	yuuch
well	DET	that	snake	RPT	PRN.3SG

laktiitaymay	juu	t'akuunin
lak-tiitayma-y	juu	t'aku7-nin
3PL.OBJ-chase-IMPFV	DET	woman-PL

Well, that snake, it chases after the women

T0003: 006

maa	papaaninch	juu	mati7	sasqat'a7an
maa	papa7-nin+ch	juu	mati7	x-7asqat'a-7an
RPT	man-PL+ALD	REL	nothing	3POS-child-PL.POS

and men who don't have children;

T0003: 007

maa	jaantu	laay	7alin	sasqat'a7an
maa	jaantu	laa-y	7alin	x-7asqat'a-7an
RPT	NEG	can-IMPFV	there_is	3POS-child-PL.POS

whoever can't have children

T0003: 008

tantuu	como	t'akuunin	y	papaanin.
tantuu	como	t'aku7-nin	y	papa7-nin
as_much	as	woman-PL	and	man-PL

the women as well as the men.

T0003: 009

Puus	juu	7anu7	luw	matach	juu	paytatz'iisi
puus	juu	7anu7	luw	mata+ch	juu	paytatz'iisi
well	DET	that	snake	XXX+ALD	DET	midnight

Well, at midnight that snake

T0003: 010

maa	ka7anaach	laqtz'ini7	juu	xnati
maa	ka-7an-a7+ch	laqtz'in-nV7	juu	x-nati
RPT	IRR-go-FUT+ALD	see-INF	DET	3POS-mother

goes to see its mother,

T0003: 011

juu	7anuuch	t'aku7	tiichiichawaych
juu	7anu7+ch	t'aku7	tiischawaych
DET	that+ALD	woman	who

juu	maa	tiitaymaych
juu	maa	tiitayma-y+ch
REL	RPT	chase-IMPFV+ALD

that woman who it chases

T0003: 012

maa	tanxt'ut'uych.
maa	tan-xt'ut'u-y+ch
RPT	torso-nurse-IMPFV+ALD

and it nurses.

T0003: 013

Puus	juu	7anu7	chunch	juu	laknoonkanch
puus	juu	7anu7	chun+ch	juu	lak-najun-kan+ch
well	DET	that	thus+ALD	REL	PL-say-INS(IMPFV)+ALD

juu	lakilaqachaqan	porque
juu	laka-kin-laqachaqan	porque
DET	PREP-1POS-town	because

Well, that's what they say in my town because

T0003: 014

laqlaqtz'in	maa	laqtz'inkanka7
lak-laqtz'in	maa	laqtz'in-kan+ka7
PL-see(IMPFV)	RPT	see-INS(IMPFV)+JST

they have seen it.

T0003: 015

Puus	juu	7anu7	luw
puus	juu	7anu7	luw
well	DET	that	snake

Well, that snake

T0003: 016

maa	jaantu	qox	nii	maa	katamaqnii
maa	jaantu	qox	nii	maa	ka-ta-maqnii
RPT	NEG	good	COMP	RPT	IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV)

it is not good for

T0003: 017

juu	7anuuch	lapanak	maa	laktiitaymay
juu	7anu7+ch	lapanak	maa	lak-tiitayma-y
DET	that+ALD	person	RPT	3PL.OBJ-chase-IMPFV

the people who it chases to kill it

T0003: 018

porque	nii	maa	katamaqnii
porque	nii	maa	ka-ta-maqnii
because	COMP	RPT	IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV)

because if they kill it,

T0003: 019

maa	7akstu	naa	naa	7awilhchan
maa	7aqstu	naa	naa	7a-wilhchan
RPT	same	EMP	EMP	CL:another-day

maa	kaniilh	juu	7anuuch
maa	ka-nii-li	juu	7anu7+ch
RPT	IRR-die-PFV	DET	that+ALD

that very same day, the woman will die

T0003: 020

juu	7anch	t'aku7
juu	7anch	t'aku7
DET	there	woman

that woman

T0003: 021

juu	7ixnatich	nawiiy.
juu	x-nati+ch	nawii-y
REL	POS-mother+ALD	make-IMPFV

who it has made its mother.

T0003: 022

lhiiyuuch	jaantu	qox	nii
lhiiyuuch	jaantu	qox	nii
therefore	NEG	good	COMP

katamaqnii	juu	7anu7	luw
ka-ta-maqnii	juu	7anu7	luw
IRR-3PL.SUB-kill(PFV)	DET	that	snake

Therefore, it is not good to kill that snake.

T0003: 023

Puus	juu	laay
puus	juu	laa-y
well	REL	can-IMPFV

Well, the one who can

T0003: 024

juu	laay	ch'apay	juu	luw
juu	laa-y	ch'apa-y	juu	luw
REL	can-IMPFV	grab-IMPFV	DET	snake

the one who can grab the snake,

T0003: 025

yuuch	juu	kintata7	juu	tam	tapopan
yuuch	juu	kin-tata7	juu	tam	tapapaan
PRN.3SG	DET	1POS-old_man	DET	one	witch

he is an old man, a witch.

T0003: 026

Maa	yuuch	juu	laay	kalhii7alh	ma7ata
maa	yuuch	juu	laa-y	ka-lhii7an-li	ma7ata
RPT	PRN.3SG	REL	can-IMPFV	IRR-take-PFV	far

It is he who can carry it away

T0003: 027

taa	kamaa7anantach	juu	taa
taa	ka-maa7an-nVn-ta+ch	juu	taa
where	IRR-throw-INO-PF+ALD	REL	where

taqay7iixt'oq7ach	juu	tii
ta-qay7iixt'oq-7a+ch	juu	tii
INCH-join-IMPFV+ALD	DET	road

where he is going to throw it, where the roads meet (at the crossroads).

T0003: 028

7anch	juu	maa	laaych	7anch	mukoona7
7anch	juu	maa	laa-y+ch	7an+ch	makajun-nV7
there	REL	RPT	can-IMPFV+ALD	go(IMPFV)+ALD	leave-INF

That is where he can go to leave it.

T0003: 029

Maa	chunch	nawiita	pumatam	kintata7
maa	chun+ch	nawii-ta	puma-tam	kin-tata7
RPT	thus+ALD	do-PF	CL:human-one	1POS-old_man

That's what an old man did

T0003: 030

porque	juu	7anu7	kinana7
porque	juu	7anu7	kin-nana7
because	DET	that	1POS-old_woman

because that old woman

T0003: 031

maa	jaantuch	xlakask'in,
maa	jaantu+ch	x-lakask'in
RPT	NEG+ALD	PAST-want(IMPFV)

maa	naa	xtamaaqantalhanantach,
maa	naa	x-ta-maaqantalha-nan-ta+ch
RPT	EMP	PAST-INCH-frighten-INO-PF+ALD

maa	jeqs	x7uy
maa	jaqs	x-7u-y
RPT	bore	PAST-eat-IMPFV

did not want it, she was afraid, she was fed up

T0003: 032

nii	maa	waa	tza tza	xtajuuniych
nii	maa	waa	tza tza	x-ta-jun-ni-y+ch
COMP	RPT	FOC	ID:repeatedly	PAST-3PL.SUB-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

nii	maa	waa	x7anch	tanxt'ut'unu7	juu	xqolit'i.
nii	maa	waa	x-7an+ch	tan-xt'ut'u-nV7	juu	xqolit'i
COMP	RPT	FOC	PAST-go(IMPFV)+ALD	torso-nurse-INF	DET	millipede

because every little while they told her that the millipede was going to nurse.

T0003: 033

Puus	chunch	juu	noonkan
puus	chun+ch	juu	najun-kan
well	thus+ALD	REL	say-INS(IMPFV)

juu	7anch	juu	lakilaqachaqan.
juu	7anch	juu	laka-kin-laqachaqan
DET	there	DET	PREP-1POS-town

Well, that's what they say in my town.

TEXT 2: THE SHAPE-SHIFTER IS A WOMAN TIGER (T0020)

This text was narrated by don Antonio Vigueras Huerta on July 8, 2000, in Catemaco, Veracruz, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Vigueras Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is to be archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name "Tepehua de Huehuetla".

T0020: 001

juu	laqatam	wilhchan	juu	maa	maqanchich
juu	laqa-tam	wilhchan	juu	maa	maqanch+ich
DET	CL:general-one	day	DET	RPT	long_time+ALD

One day, a long time ago,

T0020: 002

maa	xt'oonpalay	juu	maqtili7	juu	waa	niinch
maa	x-t'ajun-pala-y	juu	maqtili7	juu	waa	niin+ch
RPT	PAST-be-REP-IMPFV	DET	animal	REL	FOC	near+ALD

laqachaqan	taa	wii	xkaan.
laqachaqan	taa	wii	xkaan
town	where	seated.IMPFV	water

there was an animal that was near the town by the water,

T0020: 003

Lakalhpaw	junkan
Lakalhpaw	jun-kan
Pagua	say-RFL(IMPFV)

It's called the Pagua.

T0020: 004

maa	7ixtaxtuy	juu	laktalhpa
maa	x-taxtu-y	juu	laka-talhpa
RPT	PAST-leave-IMPFV	DET	PREP-mountain

It went out in the mountain(s),

T0020: 005

jaantu	xk'atz'akan	tanch	juu	minachaa.
jaantu	x-k'atz'a-kan	tanch	juu	min-chaa
NEG	PAST-know-INS(IMPFV)	where	REL	come-DST.PFV

but it was not known where the animal came out.

T0020: 006

juu	maqtili7	nii	waa	xlhii7an	juu	p'aax,
juu	maqtili7	nii	waa	x-lhii7an	juu	p'aax
DET	animal	COMP	FOC	PAST-take(IMPFV)	DET	pig

The animal would take pigs,

T0020: 007

xlhii7an	juu	borrego	waakax.
x-lhii7an	juu	borrego	waakax
PAST-take(IMPFV)	DET	sheep	cow

it would take sheep, cows,

T0020: 008

juu	waa	lakt'ikt'ika7	juu	waakax
juu	waa	lakat'ikst'i+ka7	juu	waakax
DET	FOC	small+JST	DET	cow

The cows were little,

T0020: 009

juu	maa	xlhii7an.
juu	maa	x-lhii7an
REL	RPT	PAST-take(IMPFV)

the ones that would take.

T0020: 010

juu	tanch	maqanch	maqanch
juu	tanch	maqanch	maqanch
DET	where	long_time	long_time

Little by little

T0020: 011

maa	talhiitajuu	maa	waa	7anchach
maa	ta-lhiitajuu	maa	waa	7anch+ach
RPT	3PL.SUB-find(PFV)	RPT	FOC	there+ALD

juu	seqjun	juu	maqtili7.
juu	seqjun	juu	maqtili7
REL	hide(IMPFV)	DET	animal

they found out that the animal was hiding there.

T0020: 012

puuxkoolhiitz'ukukaalh	puuxkoolhiitz'ukukaalh
puuxkaju=lhii-tzuku-kan-li	puuxkaju=lhii-tzuku-kan-li
look_for=APPL-begin-INS-PFV	look_for=APPL-begin-INS-PFV

They began to search and search for it.

T0020: 013

y	maa	milhch	7awilhchan
y	maa	min-li+ch	7a-wilhchan
and	RPT	come-PFV+ALD	CL:another-day

nii	lhiitajuukaalh	tanch	juu	tanuun
nii	lhiitajuu-kan-li	tanch	juu	tanuun
COMP	find-INS-PFV	where	DET	inserted(IMPFV)

But the day came when they found where it was.

T0020: 014

kaa	x7alinch	juu	7aksnii
kaa	x-7alin+ch	juu	7aksnii
BLV	PAST-there_is(IMPFV)+ALD	REL	when

laaych	xat'alanan.
laa-y+ch	xa-t'ala-nVn
can-IMPFV+ALD	PAST-shoot-INO

Then there was a lot of shooting.

T0020: 015

puus	tap'akxan	taylhiitzukulhch
puus	ta-p'akxan	ta-lhii-tzuku-li+ch
well	3PL.SUB-spy.on(IMPFV)	3PL.SUB-APPL-begin-PFV+ALD

Well, they began to wait for it.

T0020: 016

milh	7awilhchan	nii	kaa	lhii7ampaalhch
min-li	7a-wilhchan	nii	kaa	lhii7an-pala-li+ch
come-PFV	CL:another-day	COMP	BLV	take-REP-PFV+ALD

juu	maa	p'aax
juu	maa	p'aax
DET	RPT	pig

Another day came when it carried off another pig,

T0020: 017

maa	tataymaa	lhii7alhch.
maa	ta-taymaa	lhii-7an-li+ch
RPT	3PL.SUB-follow(PFV)	APPL-go(PFV)-PFV+ALD

and they followed it.

T0020: 018

maa	taqalhaputaylich
maa	ta-qalhaputay-li+ch
RPT	3PL.SUB-intercept-PFV+ALD

They intercepted it.

T0020: 019

maa	tatz'ukulh	lakat'alhmaanin.
maa	ta-tzuku-li	laka-t'alh=maa-nin
RPT	3PL.SUB-begin-PFV	body-stone=lying-PL.INF

They began to stone it.

T0020: 020

7atz'alalhch	y	tanuuchaalhch	juu	laktalhpa.
7atz'ala-li+ch	y	tanuu-chaa-li+ch	juu	laka-talhpa
run-PFV+ALD	and	enter-DST-PFV+ALD	DET	PREP-mountain

It ran into the cave.

T0020: 021

7anch	juu	kiixaqaxtukaalhch,
7anch	juu	kii-xaqaxtu-kan-li+ch
there	REL	RT-pull_out-INS-PFV+ALD

They went and pulled it out of there,

T0020: 022

pero	maa	xaaniinch
pero	maa	xaa-nii-n+ch
but	RPT	IPOS-die-DVB+ALD

but it was already dead.

T0020: 023

xniitach	juu	maqtili7.
x-nii-ta+ch	juu	maqtili7
PAST-die-PF+ALD	DET	animal

The animal had died.

T0020: 024

7aksnii	lhiiminkaalhch
7aksnii	lhiimin-kan-li+ch
when	bring-INS-PFV+ALD

nii	kaa	lhiilhuuch	lapanak
nii	kaa	lhiilhuu+ch	lapanak
COMP	BLV	various+ALD	person

When they brought it back, they were various people,

T0020: 025

juu	kaa	lhiiminkaalh,	maa
juu	kaa	lhiimin-kan-li	maa
DET	BLV	bring-INS-PFV	RPT

tz'ukukaalhch	laqaxuk7a
tzuku-kan-li+ch	laka-xuk-7a
begin-INS-PFV+ALD	body-carve-IMPFV

they brought it back and they began skinning it.

T0020: 026

laqaxuk'alhch	maa	tapaach'uk'ulhch.
laqaxuk'a-li+ch	maa	ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+ch
skin-PFV+ALD	RPT	3PL.SUB-inside-split_open-PFV+ALD

They skinned it and they cut it open.

T0020: 027

maa	kulhuk	paatajunch	juu	xpuumpu7.
maa	kulhuk	paa-tajun+ch	juu	x-puumpu7
RPT	inside	INST1-inserted(IMPFV)+ALD	DET	3POS-clothing

Inside there was clothing.

T0020: 028

maa	naa	naa	qox	qay	maqtili7
maa	naa	naa	qox	qay	maqtili7
RPT	EMP	EMP	good	big	wild_animal

It was a very big animal,

T0020: 029

y	maa	waa	t'aku7
y	maa	waa	t'aku7
and	RPT	FOC	woman

and it was a woman

T0020: 030

7aksnii	tapaach'uk'ulhch.
7aksnii	ta-paa-ch'uk'u-li+ch
when	3PL.SUB-inside-split_open-PFV+ALD

when they cut it open.

T0020: 031

tatzukulhch	laqlhwaqnin,
ta-tzuku-li+ch	lak-lhwaq-nin
3PL.SUB-begin-PFV+ALD	DIS-dismember-PL.INF

They began to dismember it,

T0020: 032

maa	jaantu	ta7uputunpalay
maa	jaantu	ta-7u-putun-pala-y
RPT	NEG	3PL.SUB-eat-DESID-REP-IMPFV

juu	xaa7akanit	nii	waa	lapanak.
juu	xaa-7akanit	nii	waa	lapanak
DET	IPOS-flesh	COMP	FOC	person

but they didn't want to eat the meat because it was human flesh.

T0020: 033

puus	takaa	tanawiilhch.
puus	takaa	ta-nawii-li+ch
well	I_don't_know	3PL.SUB-do-PFV+ALD

Well, I don't know what they did.

T0020: 034

juu	7uputulhch	kaa	7ulhch
juu	7u-putun-li+ch	kaa	7u-li+ch
REL	eat-DESID-PFV+ALD	BLV	eat-PFV+ALD

I think that whoever wanted to eat it, ate it,

T0020: 035

juu	jaantuch	kaa	jaantuch.
juu	jaantu+ch	kaa	jaantu+ch
REL	NEG+ALD	BLV	NEG+ALD

and whoever didn't, didn't.

T0020: 036

maa	waa	tamaa7alhch
maa	waa	ta-maa7an-li+ch
RPT	FOC	3PL.SUB-throw-PFV+ALD

Some threw it out

T0020: 037

porque	nii	maa	waa	xaakanit	lapanak.
porque	nii	maa	waa	xaa-7akanit	lapanak
because	COMP	RPT	FOC	IPOS-flesh	person

becuase it was human flesh.

T0020: 038

puus	juu	7anu7	nii	kaa	x7anch	nii
puus	juu	7anu7	nii	kaa	x-7an+ch	nii
well	DET	that	COMP	BLV	PAST-go(IMPFV)+ALD	COMP

waa	yuuch	nii	xkii7iiych	juu	lhiiway.
waa	yuuch	nii	x-kii-7ii-y+ch	juu	lhiiway
FOC	PRN.3SG	COMP	PAST-RT-bring-IMPFV+ALD	DET	meat

Well, everybody who went only went to get meat.

T0020: 039

kaa	x7uych	juu	yuuch	juu	lhiiway
kaa	x-7u-y+ch	juu	yuuch	juu	lhiiway
BLV	PAST-eat-IMPFV+ALD	DET	PRN.3SG	DET	meat

I think that he ate the meat

T0020: 040

nii	waa	lhiiwaych	juu	x7uy
nii	waa	lhiiway+ch	juu	x-7u-y
COMP	FOC	meat+ALD	REL	PAST-eat-IMPFV

because it was meat that she (the animal) would eat

T0020: 041

nii	kaa	waa	maqtiliich.
nii	kaa	waa	maqtili7+ch
COMP	BLV	FOC	animal+ALD

because she was an animal.

TEXT 3: THE TWO FRIENDS (T0055)

This text was narrated by don Laurencio Vigueras Patricio on November 8, 2000, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Vigueras Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name "Tepehua de Huehuetla" and the identifier number TPW001R055.

T0055: 001

7alilh	laqatam	7awilhchan
7alin-li	laqa-tam	7a-wilhchan
there_is-PFV	CL:general-one	CL:another-day

One day

T0055: 002

maa	soq	talaalhiitajuu	juu	7akumwarii
maa	soq	ta-laa-lhiitajuu	juu	7akumwarii
RPT	straight	3PL.SUB-RCP-find(PFV)	DET	friend

juu	laxchaqa7an
juu	laka-x-chaqa7-7an
DET	PREP-3POS-house-PL.POS

two friends met in their houses.

T0055: 003

maa	7anii	maa	xkiitasp'it'ach	x7ast'aanta
maa	7ani7	maa	x-kii-taspit-ta+ch	x-7a-st'aa-nVn-ta
RPT	here	RPT	PAST-RT-return-PF+ALD	PAST-PL-sell-INO-PF

Now, one of the friends had

T0055: 004

juu	pumatam	xkumwarii	laqatam	laqachaqan
juu	puma-tam	x-kumwarii	laqa-tam	laqachaqan
DET	CL:human-one	3POS-friend	CL:general-one	town

returned from selling in another town.

T0055: 005

y	luego	nii	7ani	talaapaaxtoqlich
y	luego	nii	7ani	ta-laa-paaxtoq-li+ch
and	then	COMP	here	3PL.SUB-RCP-meet-PFV+ALD

And then when they met,

T0055: 006

“tanch	xak'iilaay,	jii	kumwarii?”
tanch	x-kii-laa-y	jii	kumwarii
where	PAST-RT(2SUB)-can-IMPFV	VOC	friend

“Where did you go, Friend?”

T0055: 007

maa	juuniych	juu	xkumwarii
maa	jun-ni-y+ch	juu	x-kumwarii
RPT	say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD	DET	3POS-friend

his friend said to him.

T0055: 008

“waa	kiist'aa	juu	x7ilht'i	p'aax,”
waa	k-kii-st’aa	juu	x-7ilht'i	p'aax
FOC	1SUB-RT-sell(PFV)	DET	3POS-excrement	pig

“I went to sell pig excrement,”

T0055: 009

maa	juuniych	juu	xkumwaree.
maa	jun-ni-y+ch	juu	x-kumwarii
RPT	say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD	DET	3POS-friend

his friend said to him.

T0055: 010

7entons	juu	7anuuch	purowii	xkumwarii
7entons	juu	7anu7+ch	purowii	x-kumwarii
then	DET	that+ALD	pitiful	3POS-friend

Well, that pitiful friend,

T0055: 011

nii	maa	naa	waa	xkilhpatiych
nii	maa	naa	waa	x-kilhpati-y+ch
COMP	RPT	EMP	FOC	PAST-be_poor-IMPFV+ALD

he was very poor.

T0055: 012

lhtoo	lhtoo	maa	7atz'alatzukulhch
lhtoo	lhtoo	maa	7atz'ala-tzuku-li+ch
ID:running	ID:running	RPT	run-begin-PFV+ALD

xpuuxkajuk'a
x-puuxkaju-k'a
PAST-search_find-ADJZ
He ran around and around here looking for

T0055: 013

juu	7ani7	juu	x7ilht'i	p'aax
juu	7ani7	juu	x-7ilht'i	p'aax
DET	here	DET	3POS-excrement	pig

pig excrement

T0055: 014

maa	maak'uk'alhch	juu	xburruu
maa	maak'uk'a-li+ch	juu	x-burruu
RPT	load-PFV+ALD	DET	3POS-donkey

and he loaded his donkey.

T0055: 015

7alhch	maak'uk'alhch	laqat'uy	kuxtaa.
7an-li+ch	maak'uk'a-li+ch	laqa-t'uy	kuxtaa
go-PFV+ALD	load-PFV+ALD	CL:general-two	burlap_sack

He left carrying two sacks

T0055: 016

lhii7alhch	juu	xpurruu
lhii7an-li+ch	juu	x-purruu
take-PFV+ALD	DET	3POS-donkey

The donkey took them.

T0055: 017

7alhch	sast'aanta	juu	laqachaqan
7an-li+ch	x-st'aa-nVn-ta	juu	laqachaqan
go-PFV+ALD	PAST-sell-INO-PF	DET	town

He went selling in the town.

T0055: 018

nii	chaa7anch	juu	laqachaqan
nii	chaa7an+ch	juu	laqachaqan
COMP	arrive_there(IMPFV)+ALD	DET	town

And when he arrived in the town,

T0055: 019

maa	maak'utulhch	maa	7aqxqoqatach
maa	maak'utu-li+ch	maa	7aqx-qoqa-ta+ch
RPT	unload-PFV+ALD	RPT	shoulder-carry-PF+ALD

juu	xburruu	jii
juu	x-burruu	jii
DET	3POS-donkey	VOC

he unloaded the burro and threw the load on his shoulder

T0055: 020

kulhunch	7ulaa
kulhun+ch	7ulaa
pile+ALD	put(PFV)

and he piled it

T0055: 021

juu	laxlakaytati	laqachaqan
juu	laka-x-lakaytati	laqachaqan
DET	PREP-3POS-middle	town

in the middle of the town

T0055: 022

tzukulhch	maa	7ast'aana7.
tzuku-li+ch	maa	7a-st'aa-nV7
begin-PFV+ALD	RPT	PL-sell-INF

and he began to sell it.

T0055: 023

pero	juu	lapanak	tzukulhch	7utaynin
pero	juu	lapanak	tzuku-li+ch	7utay-nin
but	DET	people	begin-PFV+ALD	smell-PL.INF

But the people began to smell it

T0055: 024

juu	xaakamiti	juu	7anii	x7ilht'i	p'aax
juu	xaa-7akamiti	juu	7anii	x-7ilht'i	p'aax
DET	IPOS-odor	DET	this	3POS-excrement	pig

the odor of the pig excrement.

T0055: 025

nii	ta7utaynilh
nii	ta-7utay-ni-li
COMP	3PL.SUB-smell-DAT-PFV

And it smelled really horrible

T0055: 026

nii	maa	naa	qox	7akamin
nii	maa	naa	qox	7akamin
COMP	RPT	EMP	good	smell(IMPFV)

juu	7anuuch	juu	7ulaata
juu	7anu7+ch	juu	7ulaa-ta
DET	that+ALD	REL	place-PF

juu	porowii	juu	lapanak
juu	purowii	juu	lapanak
DET	pitiful	DET	person

that which the pitiful person had put there.

T0055: 027

puwanaa	tachaa7an	juu	pulasiyaa
puwanaa	ta-chaa7an	juu	pulasiyaa
but_then	3PL.SUB-arrive_there(IMPFV)	DET	police

But later the police arrived,

T0055: 028

nii	7ani7	taxkoyawlich
nii	7ani7	ta-xkoyaju-li+ch
COMP	here	3PL.SUB-pull-PFV+ALD

maasoqoch	kamaa7alh
maa-soqon+ch	ka-maa7an-li
CAUS-hurry(IMPFV)+ALD	IRR-throw-PFV

and they pulled him and made him hurry to discard

T0055: 029

juu	7anu7	t'ajun	st'aana7	juu	7ani7
juu	7anu7	t'ajun	st'aa-nV7	juu	7ani7
REL	that	be(IMPFV)	sell-INF	DET	here

what he was selling here

T0055: 030

porque	nii	jaantu,	katat'alhnuyaach.
porque	nii	jaantu	ka-ta-t'alhnu-ya7+ch
because	COMP	NEG	IRR-3PL.SUB-jail-FUT+ALD

because if he didn't, they would throw him in jail.

T0055: 031

luego	juu	purowii	lapanak
luego	juu	purowii	lapanak
then	DET	pitiful	person

Then the pitiful person

T0055: 032

waa	naa	7alakjuuniy	juu	pulasiyaa
waa	naa	7a-lak-jun-ni-y	juu	pulasiyaa
FOC	EMP	PL-3PL.OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV	DET	police

told the police

T0055: 033

nii	7anii	waa	xjuunita	juu	xkumwarii
nii	7anii	waa	x-jun-ni-ta	juu	x-kumwarii
COMP	um	FOC	3POS-say-DAT-PF	DET	3POS-friend

that his friend had told him

T0055: 034

maa	naa	qox	st’aakan	juu	x7ilht'i	p'aax
maa	naa	qox	st’aa-kan	juu	x-7ilht'i	p'aax
RPT	EMP	good	sell-RFL(IMPFV)	DET	3POS-excrement	pig

that pig excrement sold very well.

T0055: 035

yuuchach	xlhii7antach	st’aana7.
yuuch+ch	x-lhii7an-ta+ch	st’aa-nV7
PRN.3SG+ALD	PAST-take-PF+ALD	sell-INF

That was why he had brought it to sell.

T0055: 036

7entons	juu	pulasiyaa	p'aas	xtajuuniy
7entons	juu	pulasiyaa	p'aas	x-ta-jun-ni-y
then	DET	police	hard	PAST-3PL.SUB-say-DAT-IMPFV

Then the police demanded,

T0055: 037

“7int'ich	soqon	maa7ana7!
7an-t'i+ch	soqon	maa7an-nV7
go(2SUB)-2SG.SUB.PFV+ALD	hurry	throw-INF

“Hurry up and throw it out!

T0055: 038

nii	jaantu,	klaat'alhnuuyaawch!
nii	jaantu	k-laa-t'alhnuu-ya7-w+ch
COMP	NEG	1SUB-RCP-jail-FUT-1PL.SUB+ALD

If you don't, we're going to throw you in jail!

T0055: 039

nii	jaantu,	waa	7aniich	t'amuk'oona7!”
nii	jaantu	waa	7ani7+ch	tamakajun-a7
COMP	NEG	FOC	here+ALD	stay(2SUB)-FUT

If you don't, you can't stay around here!”

T0055: 040

maa	tajuuniych
maa	ta-jun-ni-y+ch
RPT	PL.SUB-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

they told him.

T0055: 041

entonces	nii	najunch	wachu7
entonces	nii	najun+ch	wachu7
then	COMP	say(IMPFV)+ALD	also

Then they also told him that

T0055: 042

juu	lapanak	juu	waa	xoqxchoqota
juu	lapanak	juu	waa	x-7oqxchoqo-ta
DET	person	REL	FOC	PAST-trick-PF

juu	xkumwarii.
juu	x-kumwarii
DET	3POS-friend

the person who had tricked him was his friend.

T0055: 043

waa	naa	maa	xtaqnikan	laqkiis	peexuu.
waa	naa	maa	xtaq-ni-kan	laq-kiis	peexuu
FOC	EMP	RPT	give-DAT-INS	CL:money-five	peso

Then they gave him five pesos.

T0055: 044

y	luego	7alhch	maa7ana7	juu	x7ilht'i	p'aax.
y	luego	7an-li+ch	maa7an-V7	juu	x-7ilht'i	p'aax
and	then	go-PFV+ALD	throw-INF	DET	3POS-excrement	pig

And then he went to throw out the pig excrement.

T0055: 045

nii	maa	taspitchoqochaa,
nii	maa	tasp'it-choqo+chaa
COMP	RPT	return-REP-DST.PFV

And when he returned again,

T0055: 046

milhch	maa	tamoona7	laqatam	xmaaskaraa
min-li+ch	maa	tamaju-nV7	laqa-tam	x-maaskaraa
come-PFV+ALD	RPT	buy-INF	CL:general-one	3POS-mask

he came to buy a mask

T0055: 047

juu	laqkiis	peexuu	xtaqnikaalh.
juu	laq-kiis	peexuu	xtaq-ni-kan-li
DET	CL:money-five	peso	give-DAT-INS-PFV

with the five pesos that they gave him.

T0055: 048

lhiitamawlh	laqatam	xlaqpuutanuti
lhii-tamaw-li	laqa-tam	x-laqpuutanuti
APPL-buy-PFV	CL:general-one	3POS-mask

And he bought himself a mask

T0055: 049

nii	maa	minchoqolhch	juu	lakatii.
nii	maa	min-choqo-li+ch	juu	laka-tii
COMP	RPT	come-AGAIN-PFV+ALD	DET	PREP-road

and he returned along the road.

T0055: 050

nii	chilhch	juu	qayk'iwin,
nii	chin-li+ch	juu	qayk'iwin
COMP	arrive-PFV+ALD	DET	mountain

When he arrived at the mountain,

T0055: 051

laxlakaytat	qayk'iwin
laka-x-lakaytat	qayk'iwin
PREP-3POS-middle	mountain

in the middle of the mountain

T0055: 052

topenqe	maa	tawiilanalhch	juu	7aqalhoonin.
topenqe	maa	ta-wiilanalh+ch	juu	7aqalhoona7-nin
bunch	RPT	3PL.SUB-seated.PL(IMPFV)+ALD	DET	thief-PL

was a bunch of thieves.

T0055: 053

tzakaa	ta7ulaatach	juu	tuumiin	laxmaletin7an,
tzakaa	ta-7ulaa-ta+ch	juu	tuumiin	laka-x-maletin-7an
heavily	3PL.SUB-put-PF+ALD	DET	money	PREP-3POS-suitcase-PL.POS

They had a suitcase heavy with money,

T0055: 054

tzakaank'a	talak7ulaatach	juu	lhuu	juu	tuumiin
tzakaank'a	ta-lak-7ulaa-ta+ch	juu	lhuu	juu	tuumiin
heavy	3PL.SUB-3PL.OBJ-put-PF+ALD	DET	many	DET	money

heavy with all the money

T0055: 055

juu	xtakii7alhajutach.
juu	x-ta-kii-qalhajun-ta+ch
REL	PAST-3PL.SUB-RT-steal-PF+ALD

that they had stolen.

T0055: 056

waa	xta7astaknantach	juu	7aqalhoonin
waa	x-ta-7astaknan-ta+ch	juu	7aqalhoona7-nin
FOC	PAST-3PL.SUB-rest-PF+ALD	DET	thief-PL

The thieves were resting

T0055: 057

maa	7alakxaqalaych.
maa	7a-lak-xaqala-y+ch
RPT	PL-3PL.OBJ-talk_to-IMPFV+ALD

and he spoke to them.

T0055: 058

“tiijuuch	juu	nawiiyat'it,”
tiijuuch	juu	nawii-y-at'it
what	REL	make-IMPFV-2PL.SUB

maa	7alakjuuniych.
maa	7a-lak-jun-ni-y+ch
RPT	PL-3PL.OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

“What are you all doing?” he asked them.

T0055: 059

“jaantuch	tu7u7,	waa	k7astaknantawch.”
jaantu+ch	tu7u7	waa	k-7astaknan-ta-aw+ch
NEG+ALD	something	FOC	1SUB-rest-PF-1PL.SUB+ALD

“Nothing, we are resting.”

T0055: 060
maa 7alaksakmich,
maa 7a-lak-sakmin+ch
PRT PL-3PL.OBJ-ask(IMPFV)+ALD
And he asked them,

T0055: 061
“jaa laay k7alakt'aatamakajuu?
jaa laa-y k-7a-lak-t'aa-tamakajuun
Q can-IMPFV 1SUB-PL-PL-COM-stay(PFV)
“Can I stay with you all?

T0055: 062
naa waa taqoxalhch.
naa waa taqoxa-li+ch
EMP FOC get_late-PFV+ALD
It got late on me.

T0055: 063
wachuuch waa ktamakoomputun 7ani7,”
wachu7+ch waa k-tamakajun-putun 7ani7
also+ALD FOC 1SUB-stay-DESID(IMPFV) here
I want to stay here, too,”

T0055: 064
maa 7alakjuunich juu lakatii.
maa 7a-lak-jun-ni-y+ch juu laka-tii
RPT PL-3PL.OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD DET PREP-road
he told them from the road.

T0055: 065
“7aa kalaalh nii waa
7aa ka-laa-li nii waa
Oh IRR-can-PFV COMP FOC

t'amak'oomp'ut'unch,”
tamakajun-putun+ch
stay(2SUB)-DESID(2SUB.IMPFV)+ALD
“Oh, stay if you want to,”

T0055: 066

maa	tajuuniych.
maa	ta-jun-ni-y+ch
RPT	3PL.SUB-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

they told him.

T0055: 067

y	luego	waa	naa	maa	7alakt'aatoolay
y	luego	waa	naa	maa	7a-lak-t'aa-toola-y
and	then	FOC	EMP	RPT	PL-3PL.OBJ-COM-stay-IMPFV

And then he stayed with them

T0055: 068

y	waa	naach	nii	talaklhtatalhch
y	waa	naa+ch	nii	ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
and	FOC	EMP+ALD	COMP	3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD

and soon they all went to sleep.

T0055: 069

nii	talaklhtatalhch,
nii	ta-lak-lhtata-li+ch
COMP	3PL.SUB-DIS-sleep-PFV+ALD

And when they all had fallen asleep,

T0055: 070

nii	naa	waa	x7alinch	juu	xqen,
nii	naa	waa	x-7alin+ch	juu	xqen
COMP	EMP	FOC	PAST-there_is(IMPFV)+ALD	DET	fly

there were a lot of flies,

T0055: 071

naach	maa	waa	kaw	x7alin	juu	xqen.
naa+ch	maa	waa	kaw	x-7alin	juu	xqen
EMP+ALD	RPT	FOC	noise	PAST-there_is(IMPFV)	DET	fly

and the flies made a lot of noise.

T0055: 072

y	luego	maa	7ani7	jaqs	7amaawaay	juu	xqen.
y	luego	maa	7ani7	jaqs	7amaawaa-y	juu	xqen
and	then	RPT	here	bother	bother-IMPFV	DET	fly

And then the flies bothered him a lot.

T0055: 073

waa	naa	maa	laqapuutanuuy	xlaqapuutanuuti.
waa	naa	maa	laqpuu-tanuu-y	x-laqpuutanuuti
FOC	EMP	RPT	face-insert-IMPFV	3POS-mask

He put on the mask.

T0055: 074

y	luego	nii	takujchaalhch	juu	7aqalhoonin,
y	luego	nii	ta-kuj-chaa-li+ch	juu	7aqalhoona7-nin
and	then	COMP	3PL.SUB-wake_up-DST-PFV+ALD	DET	thief-PL

And then when the thieves woke up,

T0055: 075

talaqtz'inch
ta-laqtz'in+ch
3PL.SUB-see(IMPFV)+ALD
they saw

T0055: 076

nii	maa	lakapoolhokok	maalhch
nii	maa	laqpuu-lhoqoq	maalh+ch
COMP	RPT	eye-hollow	lying(IMPFV)+ALD

juu	7anu7	lapanak,
juu	7anu7	lapanak
DET	that	person

that hollow-eyed person lying down

T0055: 077

waa	naa	maa	tarr	talak7atz'alay
waa	naa	maa	tarr	ta-lak-7atz'ala-y
FOC	EMP	RPT	ID:running	3PL.SUB-DIS-run-IMPFV

xtalhanti7an,
x-talhanti-7an
3POS-fright-PL.POS
and they began to run in fright,

T0055: 078

juu	7aqalhoonin,	jaantu.
juu	7aqalhoona7-nin	jaantu
DET	thief-PL	NEG

the thieves, no.

T0055: 079

ta7alhch	tamukuu7ulaaqoolhch
ta-7an-li+ch	ta-makajun=7ulaa-qoju-li+ch
3PL.SUB-go(PFV)-PFV+ALD	3PL.SUB-leave=put-ALL-PFV+ALD

juu	xtuumiin7an.
juu	x-tuumiin-7an
DET	3POS-money-PL.POS

They went off and left all of their money.

T0055: 080

y	luego	juu	7anuuch	purowii	lapanak,
y	luego	juu	7anu7+ch	purowii	lapanak
and	then	DET	that+ALD	pitiful	person

And then the pitiful person,

T0055: 081

“jaantuch	waa	7atz'alat'it!
jaantu+ch	waa	7atz'ala-t'it
NEG+ALD	FOC	run(PFV)-2PL.SUB

“Don't run away!

T0055: 082

kit'in!	kit'in!
ki7in	ki7in
PRN.1SG	PRN.1SG

It's me! It's me!”

T0055: 083

maa	7alakjuuniych
maa	7a-lak-jun-ni-y+ch
RPT	PL-3PL.OBJ-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

he said to them.

T0055: 084
lakch'apayajuych,
lak-ch'apayaju-y+ch
3PL.OBJ-stop-IMPFV+ALD
He wanted to stop them,

T0055: 085

maa	jaantu	tataspitlh.
maa	jaantu	ta-taspit-li
RPT	NEG	3PL.SUB-return-PFV

but they didn't return.

T0055: 086

maa	tamukoo7ulaa	juu	xtuumiin7an
maa	ta-makajun=7ulaa	juu	x-tuumiin-7an
RPT	3PL.SUB-leave=put(PFV)	DET	3POS-money-PL.POS

The left their money.

T0055: 087

waa	naa	maa	tzakaa	tamak'uk'ay.
waa	naa	maa	tzakaa	ta-mak'uk'a-y
FOC	EMP	RPT	heavily	3PL.SUB-carry-IMPFV

They left their heavy load.

T0055: 088

juu	xburruu	juu	yuuch
juu	x-burruu	juu	yuuch
DET	3POS-donkey	DET	PRN.3SG

tzakaach	maa	maak'uk'aa.
tzakaa+ch	maa	maak'uk'aa
heavily+ALD	RPT	load(PFV)

He loaded his donkey heavily.

T0055: 089

juu	xburruu	juu	tuumiin
juu	x-burruu	juu	tuumiin
DET	3POS-donkey	DET	money

chilhch	juu	laqachaqan
chin-li+ch	juu	laqachaqan
arrive-PFV+ALD	DET	town

The donkey and the money arrived in the town

T0055: 090

juntaa	xwiilhch	juu	xkumwarii.
juntaa	x-wiilh+ch	juu	x-kumwarii
where	PAST-seated(IMPFV)+ALD	DET	3POS-friend

where his friend lived.

T0055: 091

waa	naa	maa	juuniy	juu	xkumwarii
waa	naa	maa	jun-ni-y	juu	x-kumwarii
FOC	EMP	RPT	say-DAT-IMPFV	DET	3POS-friend

He said to his friend,

T0055: 092

“waa	salh7as,	jii	kumwarii,	naa	qox	st’aakan
waa	salh7as	jii	kumwarii	naa	qox	st’aa-kan
FOC	really	VOC	friend	EMP	good	sell-RFL(IMPFV)

“Really, friend, pig excrement

T0055: 093

juu	x7ilht'i	p'aax
juu	x-7ilht'i	p'aax
DET	3POS-excrement	pig

sells very well.

T0055: 094

naa	qox	xakist’aay.”
naa	qox	xa-ki-st’aa-y
EMP	good	PAST-1OBJ-sell-IMPFV

It sold well for me.”

T0055: 095

tzukulh	maa	laqaxqotnu7,
tzuku-li	maa	laqaxqot-nV7
begin-PFV	RPT	unload-INF

He began to unload,

T0055: 096

qaqmixqaa	juu	maletin.
qaqmixqaa	juu	maletin
uncover(PFV)	DET	suitcase

he uncovered the suitcase.

T0055: 097

maa	naa	naa	sii	tuumiin
maa	naa	naa	sii	tuumiin
RPT	EMP	EMP	pure	money

juu	tzakaa	kalhii7anta.
juu	tzakaa	ka-lhii7an-ta
REL	heavily	IRR-take-PF

It was full of money.

T0055: 098

y	luego,	waa	naa	7ani7,	cabrón,
y	luego	waa	naa	7ani7	cabrón
and	then	FOC	EMP	here	damn

kaa	waa	salh7as,	jii	kumwarii
kaa	waa	salh7as	jii	kumwarii
BLV	FOC	really	VOC	friend

qox	xa7aniyan.
qox	xa-7an-ni-y-n
good	PAST-go-DAT-IMPFV-2OBJ

And then, "Damn, honestly, friend, it really it went well for you.

T0055: 099

wachu7	k7anchoqoya7."
wachu7	k-7an-choqo-ya7
also	1SUB-go-AGAIN-FUT

I'm going to go back, too."

T0055: 100

maa	tzukulh	maa	maaxtoqnu7	juu	x7ilht'i	p'aax
maa	tzuku-li	maa	maaxtoq-nV7	juu	x-7ilht'i	p'aax
RPT	begin-PFV	RPT	gather-INF	DET	3POS-excrement	pig

He began to collect pig excrement.

T0055: 101

waach	7anqalhiiy	jaantuch
waa+ch	7anqalhii-y	jaantu+ch
FOC+ALD	return-IMPFV	NEG+ALD

He still hasn't returned,

T0055: 102

tawanan	taspitlh
tawanan	taspit-li
never	return-PFV

he never returned.

TEXT 4: THE HISTORY OF HUEHUETLA (T0057)

This text was narrated by don Nicolás Vigueras Patricio on January 27, 2001, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Vigueras Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name "Tepehua de Huehuetla" and the identifier number TPW001R057.

T0057: 001

pues	juu	maa	maqanchich	maa	7anuu
pues	juu	maa	maqanch+ich	maa	7anuu
well	DET	RPT	long_time+ALD	RPT	um

Well, a long time ago, um,

T0057: 002

maa	waa	tamilh	juu	lapanak
maa	waa	ta-min-li	juu	lapanak
RPT	FOC	3PL.SUB-come-PFV	DET	people

de	Pisaflores,	Muuniixkaan,
de	Pisaflores	Muuniixkaan
from	Pisaflores	Mecapalapa

the people came from Pisaflores, Mecapalapa,

T0057: 003

maa	7anuu	maachaqanch	Pisaflores.
maa	7anuu	maachaqan+ch	Pisaflores
RPT	um	town+ALD	Pisaflores

that town Pisaflores.

T0057: 004

7entons	maa	de	San Franciscoch	wachu7
7entons	maa	de	San Francisco+ch	wachu7
then	RPT	from	San Francisco+ALD	also

Then from San Francisco, too.

T0057: 005

maa	naa	lhuu	tataqayxtoqlh
maa	naa	lhuu	ta-taqayxtoq-li
RPT	EMP	many	3PL.SUB-gather-PFV

juu	lapanak	juu	Siikalhan.
juu	lapanak	juu	Siikalhan
DET	people	DET	Zicatlán

Many people gathered together in Zicatlán.

T0057: 006

maa	7anch	xtawiilanalh	juu	lapanak
maa	7anch	x-ta-wiilanalh	juu	lapanak
RPT	there	PAST-3PL.SUB-seated.PL(IMPFV)	DET	people

The people lived there.

T0057: 007

pero	maa	milh	laqatam	wilhchan
pero	maa	min-li	laqa-tam	wilhchan
but	RPT	come-PFV	CL:general-one	day

But there came a day [when]

T0057: 008

juu	maa	naa	lhuj	niilh	juu	lapanak.
juu	maa	naa	lhuu	nii-li	juu	lapanak
DET	RPT	EMP	many	die-PFV	DET	people

many people died.

T0057: 009

maa	waa	milh	laqatam	maa	taqanqati
maa	waa	min-li	laqa-tam	maa	taqanqati
RPT	FOC	come-PFV	CL:general-one	RPT	sickness

There was an illness,

T0057: 010

maa	waa	lakap'uch'ilh	juu	lapanak.
maa	waa	laka-p'uch'i-li	juu	lapanak
RPT	FOC	body-rot-PFV	DET	people

the bodies of the people rotted.

T0057: 011

maa	naa	naa	xpatajuniy
maa	naa	naa	x-pataju-ni-y
RPT	EMP	EMP	PAST-fall-DAT-IMPFV

juu	lajqay	juu	xaakanit	juu	lapanak.
juu	lak-qay	juu	xaa-7akanit	juu	lapanak
DET	PL-big	DET	IPOS-flesh	DET	people

Large chunks of flesh fell off of the people.

T0057: 012

entonces	maa	tapastaklich
entonces	maa	ta-pastak-li+ch
then	RPT	3PL.SUB-think-PFV+ALD

juu	maqaniyaa	lapanaknich	nii	maa
juu	maqaniyaa	lapanak-ni+ch	nii	maa
DET	old	person-PL+ALD	COMP	RPT

Then the people from before thought that

T0057: 013

nii	maa	“katalakpaxayaaw
nii	maa	“ka-ta-lak-paxay-a7-w
COMP	RPT	IRR-INCH-PL-move-FUT-1PL.SUB

that “We are going to move

T0057: 014

porque	nii	jaantu,	kaniiqooyaaw,”
porque	nii	jaantu	ka-nii-qoju-ya7-aw
because	COMP	NEG	IRR-die-ALL-FUT-1PL.SUB

maa	tanajunch.
maa	ta-najun+ch
RPT	3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD

because if not, we're all going to die,” they said.

T0057: 015

entonces	maa	talhiipastaklichi
entonces	maa	ta-lhii-pastak-li+ch
then	RPT	3PL.SUB-APPL-think-PFV+ALD

Then they thought about

T0057: 016

maa	tatoolhpaa
maa	ta-tawiilh-paa
RPT	3PL.SUB-sit_down-REP.PFV

maa	laka	Sqatan	junkan.
maa	laka	Sqatan	jun-kan
RPT	PREP	Ciruelo	say-RFL(IMPFV)

settling down in Ciruelo, it was called.

T0057: 017

maa	waa	naa	waa	chun.
maa	waa	naa	waa	chun
RPT	FOC	EMP	FOC	thus

But the same thing happened.

T0057: 018

maa	t'ajun	niini7	juu	lapanakni
maa	t'ajun	nii-nV7	juu	lapanak-ni
RPT	be(IMPFV)	die-INF	DET	person-PL

The people were dying.

T0057: 019

maa	talaxtaqnilhch	juu	xtaqanqat7an
maa	ta-laxtaqni-li+ch	juu	x-taqanqat-7an
RPT	3PL.SUB-contract-PFV+ALD	DET	3POS-sickness-PL.POS

juu	qantam	qantam	lapanak.
juu	qan-tam	qan-tam	lapanak
DET	CL:long-one	CL:long-one	person

The people one by one contracted the disease.

T0057: 020

maa	naa	naa	lhuu	niilh
maa	naa	naa	lhuu	nii-li
RPT	EMP	EMP	many	die-PFV

juu	lapanak	juu	7aksniich.
juu	lapanak	juu	7aksnii+ch
DET	person	DET	then+ALD

Many people died then.

T0057: 021

7entons	maa	pastakchoqopalakaalh.
7entons	maa	pastak-choqo-pala-kan-li
then	RPT	think-AGAIN-REP-INS-PFV

Then, they thought about it again

T0057: 022

entonces	maa	tanajunch
entonces	maa	ta-najun+ch
then	RPT	3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD

then they said

T0057: 023

nii	maa	7anii	katanawiiya7	juu	laqachaqan
nii	maa	7ani7	ka-ta-nawii-ya7	juu	laqachaqan
COMP	RPT	here	IRR-3PL.SUB-make-FUT	DET	town

that they would make the town here

T0057: 024

porque	juu	7anii	maa	waa	niin	juu	lakxkaan
porque	juu	7ani7	maa	waa	niin	juu	lakxkaan
because	DET	here	RPT	FOC	near	DET	river

because this place was near the river.

T0057: 025

maa	laay	katamaqpaya7
maa	laa-y	ka-ta-maqpa-ya7
RPT	can-IMPFV	IRR-3PL.SUB-wash_clothes-FUT

juu	xpuumpu7an	juu	lapanak.
juu	x-puumpu7-7an	juu	lapanak
DET	3POS-clothing-PL.POS	DET	people

The people could wash their clothes.

T0057: 026

puus	juu	maa	tataxtuchaalhch	juu	7anch
puus	juu	maa	ta-taxtu-chaa-li+ch	juu	7anch
well	REL	RPT	3PL.SUB-leave-DST-PFV+ALD	DET	there

Well, those who left there,

T0057: 027

porque	maa	naa	lhuu
porque	maa	naa	lhuu
because	RPT	EMP	many

jaantuch	xtaminputun
jaantu+ch	x-ta-min-putun
NEG+ALD	PAST-3PL.SUB-come-DESID(IMPFV)

because many didn't want to come,

T0057: 028

porque	maa	naa	xtaqachaniych
porque	maa	naa	x-ta-qacha-ni-y+ch
because	RPT	EMP	PAST-3PL.SUB-like-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

juu	Siikalhan
juu	Siikalhan
DET	Zicatlán

because they liked Zicatlán

T0057: 029

nii	naa	7alheeqaych	juu	7anch.
nii	naa	7alheeqay+ch	juu	7anch
COMP	EMP	spacious+ALD	DET	there

becuase it was very spacious there.

T0057: 030

puus	maa	7anch	xtanawiiputunch
puus	maa	7anch	x-ta-nawii-putun+ch
well	RPT	there	PAST-3PL.SUB-make-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD

juu	xlaqachaqan7an.
juu	x-laqachaqan-7an
DET	3POS-town-PL.POS

Well, they wanted to build their town there.

T0057: 031

pero	juu	tatamokoonchaalhch
pero	juu	ta-tamakajun-chaa-li+ch
but	REL	3PL.SUB-stay-DST-PFV+ALD

7anch	maa	taniiqoo.
7anch	maa	ta-nii-qoju
there	RPT	3PL.SUB-die-ALL.PFV

But the ones who stayed there all died.

T0057: 032

juu	tamilhch	7anii	laqachaqan
juu	ta-min-li+ch	7ani7	laqachaqan
REL	3PL.SUB-come-PFV+ALD	here	town

tapuutaxtulhch.
ta-puutaxtu-li+ch
3PL.SUB-survive-PFV+ALD
The ones who came here to the town survived.

T0057: 033

entonces	7anuu	chunchach	kaa	7anuu	lakatz'unin	7anuu.
entonces	7anuu	chunch+ach	kaa	7anuu	lakatz'unin	7anuu
then	um	thus+ALD	BLV	um	a_little	um

Then, well, there were very few, um.

T0057: 034

waa	lhiiyaa	juu	maqalhqama7	juu	lhiich'aqawaxt'i
waa	lhii-yaa	juu	maqalhqama7	juu	lhii-ch'aqawaxt'i
FOC	APPL-standing(IMPFV)	DET	Tepehua	DET	APPL-Totonac

The Tepehuas are mixed in with the Totonacs

T0057: 035

porque	jaantu	naa	naa	sii
porque	jaantu	naa	naa	sii
because	NEG	EMP	EMP	pure

maqalhqama7	laqachaqan
maqalhqama7	laqachaqan
Tepehua	town

because it is not a pure Tepehua town,

T0057: 036

waa	lhiiyaa	juu	lapanak
waa	lhii-yaa	juu	lapanak
FOC	APPL-standing(IMPFV)	DET	people

the people are all mixed in together.

T0057: 037

juu	7anuu
juu	7anuu
DET	um

um

T0057: 038

lakatamin	laqachaqan
laka-tamin	laqachaqan
PREP-each	town

They came from different towns,

T0057: 039

de	Muuniixkaan,	Pisaflores,	San Francisco	y
de	Muuniixkaan	Pisaflores	San Francisco	y
from	Mecapalapa	Pisaflores	San Francisco	and

7aniich	laqachaqan	Huehuetla.
7ani7+ch	laqachaqan	Huehuetla
here+ALD	town	Huehuetla

from Mecapalapa, Pisaflores, San Francisco and from here, the town of Huehuetla.

T0057: 040

entonces	puus	yuuch	lhiijunkan	Huehuetla
entonces	puus	yuuch	lhii-jun-kan	Huehuetla
then	well	PRN.3SG	APPL-say-RFL(IMPFV)	Huehuetla

Then, well, that is why it is called Huehuetla

T0057: 041

porque	juu	maa	noomputun	juu	Huehuetla
porque	juu	maa	najun-putun	juu	Huehuetla
because	DET	RPT	say-DESID(IMPFV)	DET	Huehuetla

"maqaniyaa	laqachaqan."
maqaniyaa	laqachaqan
old	town

because Huehuetla means "old town."

T0057: 042

7entoons	kaa	maa	7intach	quinientos	años
7entoons	kaa	maa	7intach	quinientos	años
7entoons	BLV	RPT	like	five_hundred	years

o	trescientos	años.
o	trescientos	años
or	three_hundred	years

So the town has been here about 500 or 300 years,

T0057: 043

pakxaanta	juu	7aniich	laqachaqan
pakxaan-ta	juu	7ani7+ch	laqachaqan
have-PF	DET	here+ALD	town

[see line 042]

T0057: 044

maqanchich
maqanch+ich
long_time+ALD
a long time.

T0057: 045

porque	7alin	laqatam	kampaanaa	juu	7ani7
porque	7alin	laqa-tam	kampaanaa	juu	7ani7
because	there_is(IMPFV)	CL:general-one	bell	REL	here

juk'alh	juu	lakapuujitat
juk'alh	juu	laka-puujiitati
be_above(IMPFV)	DET	PREP-church

Because there is a bell that hangs here in the church

T0057: 046

maa	de	año	dieciseis,	año	siglo	dieciseis.
maa	de	año	dieciseis	año	siglo	dieciseis
RPT	from	year	sixteen	year	century	sixteen

from the year 16, the 16th century.

T0057: 047

juu	laqatam	siglo	dieciocho.
juu	laqa-tam	siglo	dieciocho
DET	CL:general-one	century	eighteen

Another one from the eighteenth century.

T0057: 048

7aks	juu	maqaniyaa	lapanak	tanajun
7aks	juu	maqaniyaa	lapanak	ta-najun
then	DET	old	people	3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)

Then the people from before said

T0057: 049

nii	maa	nii	maqanchich
nii	maa	nii	maqanch+ich
COMP	RPT	COMP	long_time+ALD

that the bells

T0057: 050

juu	lakjuk'alh	juu	7anuu
juu	lak-juk'alh	juu	7anuu
REL	PL-be_above(IMPFV)	DET	um

juu	lakapuujitat	juu	kampaanaa.
juu	laka-puujiitati	juu	kampaanaa
DET	PREP-church	DET	bell

have hung in the church for a long time.

T0057: 051

Hace	como	trescientos	años.[227]
it_makes	about	three-hundred	years

It's been about 300 years.

[227] This line is entirely in Spanish.

T0057: 052

entonces	juu	laka7iilhchi
entonces	juu	laka7ii-li+ch
then	REL	believe-PFV+ALD

milhch	7anii	toolhna7
min-li+ch	7ani7	toola-nV7
come-PFV+ALD	here	live-INF

So the ones who believed came here to live.

T0057: 053

puus	yuuch	juu	puutaxtulh
puus	yuuch	juu	puutaxtu-li
well	PRN.3SG	REL	survive-PFV

waa	juu	7anii	laqachaqan	waa	lakatz'unin.
waa	juu	7ani7	laqachaqan	waa	lakatz'unin
FOC	DET	here	town	FOC	few

Well, those who survived here in the town were few.

T0057: 054

7ixjuuniita	juu	lapanak	maa	jaantu	lhuu.
x-jun-niita	juu	lapanak	maa	jaantu	lhuu
PAST-be-PF	DET	person	RPT	NEG	many

There weren't many people.

T0057: 055

waa	lakatz'unin	juu	maqalhqaman.
waa	lakatz'unin	juu	maqalhqama7-(V)n
FOC	few	DET	Tepehua-PL

The Tepehuas were very few.

T0057: 056

entonces	nii	tzukulh	talhawana7	juu	lapanak.
entonces	nii	tzuku-li	talhawa-nV7	juu	lapanak
then	COMP	begin-PFV	increase-INF	DET	person

Then the population began to grow.

T0057: 057

puus	juu	xqatii	maa	jaantu	xtalhaway,
puus	juu	xqatii	maa	jaantu	x-talhawa-y
well	DET	creek	RPT	NEG	PAST-increase-IMPFV

nii	yuuch	juu	qayxkaan.
nii	yuuch	juu	qayxkaan
COMP	PRN.3SG	DET	river

Well the creek didn't flood, and neither did the river.

T0057: 058

waa	lakt'ikt'i.
waa	lakt'ikt'i
FOC	little

They stayed small.

T0057: 059

waa	sk'ululu	xukxumaa	juu	xkaan
waa	sk'ululu	x-7ukxun=maa	juu	xkaan
FOC	ID:trickle	PAST-move=lying(IMPFV)	DET	water

The water trickles along.

T0057: 060

pero	7aksnii	maa	tanuuchiilh	juu	comunismo,
pero	7aksnii	maa	tanuu+chii-li	juu	comunismo
but	then	RPT	insert-PRX-PFV	DET	communism

But then communism came,

T0057: 061

chuux	juu	guerrilla	juu	7alilh	juu	laasata.
chuux	juu	guerrilla	juu	7alin-li	juu	laasata
all	DET	war	REL	there_is-PFV	DET	fight

then the war, there was the fighting.

T0057: 062

puus	juu	7anuu	tzukukaalh	maqniiy
puus	juu	7anuu	tzuku-kan-li	maqnii-y
well	DET	um	begin-INS-PFV	kill-IMPFV

maa7ank'a	juu	lapanak
maa7an-k'a	juu	lapanak
throw-ADJZ	DET	person

Well, then, they began to killing and throwing out the people,

T0057: 063

maa	xmuujuukanch	juu	lakxkaan.
maa	x-muujuu-kan+ch	juu	lakxkaan
RPT	PAST-throw-INS(IMPFV)+ALD	DET	river

and they were thrown into the river.

T0057: 064

entonces	juu	tachu	tanajunch
entonces	juu	tachu	ta-najun+ch
then	REL	how	3PL.SUB-say(IMPFV)+ALD

juu	maqaniyaa	lapanak,
juu	maqaniyaa	lapanak
DET	old	people

Well, like the old people say,

T0057: 065

juu	xaa-	xaa7ukxtinch	7anuu	xkaan
juu	xaa-	xaa-7ukxtin+ch	7anu7	xkaan
DET	IPOS	IPOS-boss+ALD	that	water

juu	7alamaa	maa	waa	talhqamalhchi.
juu	7alamaa	maa	waa	talhqaman-li+ch
DET	sea	RPT	FOC	get_mad-PFV+ALD

the god of the water, of the sea, got angry.

T0057: 066

y	luego	milhch	7awilhchan
y	luego	min-li+ch	7a-wilhchan
and	then	come-PFV+ALD	CL:another-day

And then, there came a day (when)

T0057: 067

talhawalhch	juu	qayxkaan
talhawa-li+ch	juu	qayxkaan
flood-PFV+ALD	DET	river

lhii7alhch	laklhii7alhch	juu	chaqa7.
lhii7an-li+ch	lak-lhii7an-li+ch	juu	chaqa7
take-PFV+ALD	3PL.OBJ-take(PFV)-PFV+ALD	DET	house

the river flooded and it carried away the houses.

T0057: 068

7anuu	lhii7alhch	lapanak
7anuu	lhii7an-li+ch	lapanak
um	take(PFV)-PFV+ALD	people

juu	7ali7	chun	juu	xqatii.
juu	7ali7	chun	juu	xqatii
DET	others	thus	DET	creek

It carried away the people, and the creek (carried off) the rest.

T0057: 069

juu	maqanchich	juu	xqatii	naa	naa
juu	maqanch+ich	juu	xqatii	naa	naa
DET	long_time+ALD	DET	creek	EMP	EMP

xlaktanooqojuy	juu	lakalakchaqa7
x-lak-tanuu-qoju-y	juu	laka-lak-chaqa7
PAST-DIS-insert-ALL-IMPFV	DET	PREP-PL-house

naa	naa	juu	lapanak.
naa	naa	juu	lapanak
EMP	EMP	DET	people

Before, the creek flooded the houses of all the people.

T0057: 070

juu	7aqtam	paastak
juu	7aq-tam	paastak
DET	CL:times-one	remember(IMPFV)

I remember one time

T0057: 071

jaantuka7	naa	waa	maqan,
jaantu+ka7	naa	waa	maqan
NEG+JST	EMP	FOC	long_ago

not so long ago

T0057: 072

kaa	7intach	veinte	años
kaa	7intach	veinte	años
BLV	like	twenty	years

it's been about twenty years,

T0057: 073

7aksnii	laqmuuxtukaalh	waa	naa	juu
7aksnii	lak-7aqmuuxtu-kan-li	waa	naa	juu
when	DIS-flood-INS-PFV	FOC	EMP	DET

7anii	laqxqatii	Arroyo	Negro
7ani7	laka-xqatii	arroyo	negro
here	PREP-creek	creek	black

when it flooded here in Black Creek,

T0057: 074

Agua	de	Miguel	junkan
agua	de	Miguel	jun-kan
water	of	Michael	say-RFL(IMPFV)

maa	bueno	juu	lhiimaqalhqama7	Miikiixkaan.
maa	bueno	juu	lhii-maqalhqama7	Miikiixkaan
RPT	okay	DET	APPL-Tepehua	Michael's_water

it's called Michael's Water; well, in Tepehua, Michael's water.

T0057: 075

7entons	nii	paastaklich	juu	7ukxtin
7entons	nii	paastak-li+ch	juu	7ukxtin
then	COMP	think-PFV+ALD	DET	boss

Then the mayor thought

T0057: 076

nii	kanawiiya7	juu	barda.
nii	ka-nawii-ya7	juu	barda
COMP	IRR-make-FUT	DET	wall

that he was going to build a wall.

T0057: 077

puus	7ulaakaalhch	juu	qex.
puus	7ulaa-kan-li+ch	juu	qex
well	put-INS-PFV+ALD	DET	wall

Well, they built the wall.

T0057: 078

entonces	juu	chaway
entonces	juu	chaway
then	DET	today

Well, until today,

T0057: 079

puus	chaway	matich	tu7u7	7aqmuuxtuta,
puus	chaway	mati7+ch	tu7u7	7aqmuuxtu-ta
well	today	nothing+ALD	something	flood-PF

there haven't been any floods,

T0057: 080

palaych	7astaknanta.
palay+ch	7astaknan-ta
more+ALD	rest-PF

it has been very calm.

T0057: 081

yuuch	talhiinajunch	juu	maqaniyaa	lapanak
yuuch	ta-lhii-najun+ch	juu	maqaniyaa	lapanak
PRN.3SG	3PL.SUB-APPL-say(IMPFV)+ALD	DET	old	people

That's why the old people say

T0057: 082

nii	maa	talhqamalh	juu	sireenaa
nii	maa	talhqaman-li	juu	sireenaa
COMP	RPT	get_mad-PFV	DET	goddess

that the goddess got angry

T0057: 083

nii	waa	muujuukaalhch	juu	lapanak
nii	waa	muujuu-kan-li+ch	juu	lapanak
COMP	FOC	throw-INS-PFV+ALD	DET	people

juu	xaaniin	lapanak	juu	lakxkaan.
juu	xaa-nii-n	lapanak	juu	laka-xkaan
DET	IPOS-die-DVB	people	DET	PREP-water

because the people threw the dead into the river.

T0057: 084

entonces	juu	Sireenaa	waa	talhqamalhchi.
entonces	juu	sireenaa	waa	talhqaman-li+ch
then	DET	goddess	FOC	get_mad-PFV+ALD

So the goddess got mad.

T0057: 085

yuuch	maa	lhiitalhawaych	juu	qayxkaan.
yuuch	maa	lhii-talhawa-y+ch	juu	qayxkaan
PRN.3SG	RPT	APPL-flood-IMPFV+ALD	DET	river

That's why the river floods.

T0057: 086

porque	juu	7anii	laqachaqan	waa	lakat'ikst'i,
porque	juu	7ani7	laqachaqan	waa	lakat'ikst'i
because	DET	here	town	FOC	small

xjuuniita	lakat'ikst'i.
x-jun-niita	lakat'ikst'i
PAST-be-PF	small

Because here the town is small, it was small.

T0057: 087

juu	chaway	naa	qaych	ya	naa
juu	chaway	naa	qay+ch	ya	naa
DET	today	EMP	big+ALD	now	EMP

lhuuch	juu	7ix-7anuu
lhuu+ch	juu	x-7anuu
many+ALD	DET	3POS-um

Now it is very big with its . . .

T0057: 088

laqachaqan	barrio	nii	Barrio	Atzlan,
laqachaqan	barrio	nii	barrio	Atzlan,
town	neighborhood	COMP	neighborhood	Atzlan

Barrio	Cuautemoc,	Barrio	Mirasol,
barrio	Cuautemoc,	barrio	Mirasol,
neighborhood	Cuautemoc	neighborhood	Mirasol

Barrio	El	Carril	y	Arroyo	Negro.
barrio	el	Carril	y	arroyo	negro
neighborhood	the	Carril	and	creek	black

*towns, neighborhood Atzla*n, Cuautemoc, Mirasol, el Carril, and Arroyo Negro.*

T0057: 089

entonces	juu	7anuu	juu
entonces	juu	7anuu	juu
then	DET	um	DET

xlakaytat	laqachaqan	7anchach	juu	7anii,
x-lakaytat	laqachaqan	7anch+ch	juu	7ani7
3POS-center	town	there+ALD	DET	here

Well, the center of town is there,

T0057: 090

taa	tawiilanalh	juu	laawaanan,
taa	ta-wiilanalh	juu	laawaan-(V)n
where	3PL.SUB-live.PL(IMPFV)	DET	Spanish-PL

juu	palaych	maqaliinin.
juu	palay+ch	maqali7-nin
DET	more+ALD	rich_person-PL

Where the Spanish people live, the richest people.

T0057: 091

maqanchich	y	luego	maa	naa
maqanch+ich	y	luego	maa	naa
long_time+ALD	and	then	RPT	EMP

Before, and then . . .

T0057: 092

bueno	naa	juu	p'ulhnan	tuu	laay	7ixchiwinin
bueno	naa	juu	p'ulhnan	tuu	laa-y	x-chiwin-nin
well	EMP	DET	first	NEG	can-IMPFV	PAST-speak-PL.INF

juu	maqalhqama7	juu	lhiilaawaan	naa	qox.
juu	maqalhqama7	juu	lhii-laawaan	naa	qox
DET	Tepehua	DET	APPL-Spanish	EMP	good

Well, at first, the Tepehua people couldn't speak Spanish very well.

T0057: 093

lakmaamaqalhqajnikan,
lak-maa-maqalhqaj-ni-kan
3PL.OBJ-CAUS-suffer-DAT-INS(IMPFV)
They were punished

T0057: 094

xlakmaanawiinikan	faena
x-lak-maa-nawii-ni-kan	faena
PAST-3PL.OBJ-CAUS-do-DAT-INS(IMPFV)	labor

they were forced to do labor,

T0057: 095

xlakmaalhii7anikan
x-lak-maa-lhii7an-ni-kan
PAST-3PL.OBJ-CAUS-take-DAT-INS(IMPFV)

maa	xwayti7an	xaalajqajin
maa	x-wayti-7an	xaa-lak-qay-(V)n
RPT	3POS-food-PL.POS	IPOS-PL-big-PL

they were made to bring food for the chiefs

T0057: 096

juu	tachu	governador	tachu	xaa7ukxtin	Tenaanku,
juu	tachu	governador	tachu	xaa-7ukxtin	Tenaanku,
DET	how	governor	how	IPOS-boss	Tenango

xaa7ukxtin	7anuu	San Bartolo.
xaa-7ukxtin	7anuu	San Bartolo
IPOS-boss	um	San Bartolo

like the governor, like the mayor of Tenango, the mayor of San Bartolo.

T0057: 097

pero	juu	chaway	nii	naa	lhuuch	juu	lapanak
pero	juu	chaway	nii	naa	lhuu+ch	juu	lapanak
but	DET	now	COMP	EMP	many+ALD	DET	people

laay	chiwinin	lhiilaawaan,
laa-y	chiwinin-nin	lhii-laawaan
can-IMPFV	talk-PL.INF	APPL-Spanish

But now that many people can speak Spanish,

T0057: 098

puus	laaych	qalhtayanan
puus	laa-y+ch	qalhtaya-nVn
well	can-IMPFV+ALD	defend-INO

well, they can defend themselves,

T0057: 099

jaantuch	waa	lhiilaqa7iiy.
jaantu+ch	waa	lhiilaqa7ii-y
NEG+ALD	FOC	be_humiliated-IMPFV

they are not humiliated.

T0057: 100

puus	waa	7anchach	7aklaay	juu	xaa-
puus	waa	7anch+ch	7aklaa-y	juu	xaa-
well	FOC	there+ALD	end-IMPFV	DET	IPOS-

juu	xaa7istooryaa	laqachaqan
juu	xaa-7istooryaa	laqachaqan
DET	IPOS-history	town

Well, there ends the story of the town

T0057: 101

7aksnii	naa	kilhpatini7	7ixjuuniita	juu	lapanak
7aksnii	naa	kilhpatini7	x-jun-niita	juu	lapanak
when	EMP	poor	PAST-be-PF	DET	people

when the people were very poor.

TEXT 5: PETER AND THE CRAWDAD (T0058)

This text was narrated by don Nicolás Vigueras Patricio on January 27, 2001, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Vigueras Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name "Tepehua de Huehuetla" and the identifier number TPW001R058.

T0058: 001

puus	juu	7alaqatam	wilhchan
puus	juu	7a-laqa-tam	wilhchan
well	DET	CL:other-CL:general-one	day

Well, the other day

T0058: 002

7anuu	waa	milh	juu	xtalhawanti
7anuu	waa	min-li	juu	xtalhawanti
um	FOC	come-PFV	DET	flood

there was a flood,

T0058: 003

juu	xqatii	naa	naa	lhuu	waa.
juu	xqatii	naa	naa	lhuu	waa
DET	creek	EMP	EMP	many	FOC

the creek rose a lot.

T0058: 004

waa	kpaastak'ach	7aksnii
waa	k-paastak-7a+ch	7aksnii
FOC	1SUB-remember-IMPFV+ALD	when

I remember when

T0058: 005

7anuu	nii	naa	lhuj	xminta	juu	t'uun
7anuu	nii	naa	lhuu	x-min-ta	juu	t'uun
um	COMP	EMP	many	PAST-come-PF	DET	earth

a bunch of mud came,

T0058: 006

7aksnii	maqalhtajuu	lak don Joaquín	juu	t'uun.
7aksnii	maqalhtajuu	laka-don Joaquín	juu	t'uun
when	come_down(IMPFV)	PREP-don Joaquin	DET	earth

when the land came down at don Joaquín's [place].

T0058: 007

jaantu	p'aast'ak'a?
jaantu	paast'ak-7a
NEG	remember(2SUB)-IMPFV

Don't you remember?

T0058: 008

naa	naa	lhuj	xminta
naa	naa	lhuu	x-min-ta
EMP	EMP	many	PAST-come-PF

juu	t'uun	waa	naach
juu	t'uun	waa	naa+ch
DET	earth	FOC	EMP+ALD

A lot of ground came at that

T0058: 009

7aks	waa	naa	laklhii7alh	juu	chaqa7.
7aks	waa	naa	lak-lhii7an-li	juu	chaqa7
then	FOC	EMP	3PL.OBJ-take-PFV	DET	house

time, it carried away the houses.

T0058: 010

pero	taaxtu7u7	7anuu	sii	pulhqom,
pero	taaxtu7u7	7anuu	sii	pulh7um
but	something	um	pure	mud

But . . . something . . . pure mud,

T0058: 011

jaantu	jaantu	qoxiyaa	t'uun.
jaantu	jaantu	qoxiyaa	t'uun
NEG	NEG	good	earth

but it wasn't good earth.

T0058: 012

entonces	juu	7aksniich	maa
entonces	juu	7aksnii+ch	maa
then	DET	when+ALD	RPT

naa	lhuu	7aqxixta,
naa	lhuu	7aqx-xix-ta
EMP	many	flat-dry-PF

Well, this time the river also dried up,

T0058: 013

maa	juu	paamata	7anuu	xkupuuch.
maa	juu	paamata	7anuu	skupu7+ch
lying	DET	fish	um	crawdad+ALD

there were fish, crawdads lying around..

T0058: 014

y	luego	milh	laqatam	wilhchan
y	luego	min-li	laqa-tam	wilhchan
and	then	come-PFV	CL:general-one	day

And then a day came

T0058: 015

juu	7anii	juu	pumatam	lapanak
juu	7ani7	juu	puma-tam	lapanak
DET	here	DET	CL:human-one	person

that a person

T0058: 016

juu	kiilaachiilh	7anii	maa	lakaMiikiixkaan.
juu	kii-laa-chii-li	7ani7	maa	laka-Miikii-xkaan
REL	RT-can-PROX-PFV	here	RPT	PREP-Michael-water

came along Michael's Water.

T0058: 017

entonces	maa	soq	lhiitajuu	laqatam
entonces	maa	soq	lhiitajuu	laqa-tam
then	RPT	straight	find(PFV)	CL:general-one

Then he met a . . .

T0058: 018

bueno	maa	xt'ajunch	ch'apana7	juu	xkupu7.
bueno	maa	x-t'ajun+ch	ch'apa-nV7	juu	skupu7
well	RPT	PAST-be(IMPFV)+ALD	grab-INF	DET	crawdad

Well, he was grabbing crawdads.

T0058: 019

maa	naa	naa	lhuj	juu	xkupu7	lhii7alh.
maa	naa	naa	lhuu	juu	skupu7	lhii7an-li
RPT	EMP	EMP	many	DET	crawdad	take-PFV

And he took a lot of crawdads.

T0058: 020

maa	lakachiiwx	maa	naa	lajqay	juu	xkupu7
maa	laka-chiiwx	maa	naa	lak-qay	juu	xkuupu7
RPT	PREP-stone	lying(IMPFV)	EMP	PL-big	DET	crawdad

In the rocks there were big crawdads

T0058: 021

juu	x7aknuuy.
juu	x-7ak-nuu-y
REL	PAST-head-insert-IMPFV

whose heads were stuck in (the rocks).

T0058: 022

entonces	maa	tzukulh	ch'apana7,
entonces	maa	tzuku-li	ch'apa-nV7
then	RPT	begin-PFV	grab-INF

Then he began to grab them,

T0058: 023

maa	laqtzamalhch	juu	xkuweetaa.
maa	laqtzaman-li+ch	juu	x-kuweetaa
RPT	fill-PFV+ALD	DET	3POS-bucket

and he filled his bucket.

T0058: 024

entonces	7aksnii	7anuu	maa
entonces	7aksnii	7anuu	maa
then	when	um	RPT

xch'apaputunch	maa	laqatam,
x-ch'apa-putun+ch	maa	laqa-tam
PAST-grab-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD	RPT	CL:general-one

Then when he wanted to grab one,

T0058: 025

maa	naa	naa	qox	qay.
maa	naa	naa	qox	qay
RPT	EMP	EMP	good	big

it was a really big one.

T0058: 026

entonces	juu	7anuuch	xkupu7
entonces	juu	7anu7+ch	skupu7
then	DET	that+ALD	crawdad

then that crawdad

T0058: 027

chiwinilh	maa	najunch,
chiwin-ni-li	maa	najun+ch
talk-DAT-PFV	RPT	say(IMPFV)+ALD

spoke to him and told him

T0058: 028

maa	xa7alalhch,	“jaantu	k'i7ut'i!
maa	xaqala-li+ch	jaantu	ki-7u-t'i
RPT	talk_to-PFV+ALD	NEG	1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-2SG.SUB.PFV

It said, “Don't eat me!

T0058: 029

jaantu	k'i7ut'i!”	maa	juuniych.
jaantu	ki-7u-t'i	maa	jun-ni-y+ch
NEG	1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-2SG.SUB.PFV	RPT	say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

Don't eat me!” it told him.

T0058: 030
"jaantu k'i7ut'i
jaantu ki-7u-t'i
NEG 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-2SG.SUB.PFV
"Don't eat me!

T0058: 031
nii k'i7uya7, ka7uyaan juu Siliiyaa,"
nii ki-7u-ya7 ka-7u-ya7-n juu Siliiyaa
COMP 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-FUT IRR-eat-FUT-2OBJ DET Cecilia

maa juuniych.
maa jun-ni-y+ch
RPT say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD
If you eat me, Cecilia is going to eat you," it told him.

T0058: 032
juu 7anu7 7anu7 xkupu7 7anuu
juu 7anu7 7anu7 skupu7 7anuu
DET that that crawdad um

maa x7alin 7ix7ukxtin
maa x-7alin x-7ukxtin
RPT PAST-there_is(IMPFV) 3POS-boss
That crawdad had a boss

T0058: 033
juu maa Siliiyaa junkan.
juu maa Siliiyaa jun-kan
REL RPT Cecilia say-RFL(IMPFV)
that was named Cecilia.

T0058: 034
"nii k'i7uya7, jii Piitalu7,
nii ki-7u-ya7 jii Piitalu7
COMP 1OBJ(2SUB)-eat-FUT VOC Peter
"If you eat me, Peter,

T0058: 035

ka7uyaan	juu	Siliiyaa,"	maa	juuniych.
ka-7u-ya7-n	juu	Siliiyaa	maa	jun-ni-y+ch
IRR-eat-FUT-2OBJ	DET	Cecilia	RPT	say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD

Cecilia is going to eat you," it told him.

T0058: 036

luego	juu	7anu7	xkupu7	juu	7anuu
luego	juu	7anu7	skupu7	juu	7anuu
then	DET	that	crawdad	DET	um

Then that crawdad,

T0058: 037

puus,	maa	jaantu	7atz'alay.
puus	maa	jaantu	7atz'ala-y
well	RPT	NEG	run-IMPFV

well, it didn't run away.

T0058: 038

maa	7uksuntz'ukulh,	maa	lhkapapa.
maa	7ukxun-tzuku-li	maa	lhkapapa
RPT	walk-begin-PFV	lying(IMPFV)	ID:crawling

It began to walk like this, crawling.

T0058: 039

7uksuntz'ukulh	laqaqxix	taach	tu7uch	7anuu
7ukxun-tzuku-li	laka-7aqx-xix	taach	tu7u7+ch	7anuu
walk-begin-PFV	PREP-flat-dry	like	something+ALD	um

It walked that way along the dry river bed like something . . .

T0058: 040

bueno	waa	maaqeswaaputunch
bueno	waa	maaqeswaa-putun+ch
well	FOC	scare-DESID(IMPFV)+ALD

Well, it wanted to scare

T0058: 041

juu	7anu7	lapanak.
juu	7anu7	lapanak
DET	that	person

that person.

T0058: 042

7anuu	puus	maa	jaantu	ch'apalh,
7anuu	puus	maa	jaantu	ch'apa-li
um	well	RPT	NEG	grab-PFV

Well, he didn't grab it,

T0058: 043

maa	7alh	juu	xkupu7
maa	7an-li	juu	skupu7
RPT	go-PFV	DET	crawdad

and the crawdad left.

T0058: 044

y	luego	maa	7alh	7awisalaana7	juu	lapanak
y	luego	maa	7an-li	7awisalaa-nV7	juu	lapanak
and	then	RPT	go-PFV	warn-INF	DET	people

And then he (Peter) went to warn the people.

T0058: 045

maa	taminqoolhch	chuux,	jaantu?
maa	ta-min-qoju-li+ch	chuux	jaantu
RPT	3PL.SUB-come-ALL-PFV+ALD	all	NEG

Everybody went, didn't they?

T0058: 046

y	luego	juu	7anuu	“xalaqtz'in	sireenaa
y	luego	juu	7anuu	xa-laqtz'in	sireenaa
and	then	DET	um	PAST-see(IMPFV)	goddess

And then, “You saw the goddess,

T0058: 047

yuuchach	juu	xaa7ukxtin	juu	xqatii
yuuch+ch	juu	xaa-7ukxtin	juu	xqatii
PRN.3SG+ALD	DET	IPOS-boss	DET	creek

who is the boss of the creek.

T0058: 048

yuuch	talhiilaaych	juu	xqatii
yuuch	talhiilaa-y+ch	juu	xqatii
PRN.3SG	flood-IMPFV+ALD	DET	creek

Because of her the creek rises,” (the people said to Peter).

T0058: 049

7entons	taqayxtoqlich	chuux	juu	lapanak
7entons	taqayxtoq-li	chuux	juu	lapanak
then	gather-PFV	all	DET	people

Then all the people gathered

T0058: 050

nawiinikaalhch	juu	7ixkustumwree.
nawii-ni-kan-li+ch	juu	x-kustumwree
make-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD	DET	3POS-ritual

and they performed her ritual for her.

T0058: 051

takiilaaqoolhch	chuux	juu	7anu7
ta-kii-laa-qoju-li+ch	chuux	juu	7anu7
3PL.SUB-RT-can-ALL-PFV+ALD	all	DET	that

ki7ananaan7an	7anuu
kin-7a-nana7-(V)n-7an	7anuu
1POS-PL-grandmother-PL-PL.POS	um

All of our grandmothers went, well

T0058: 052

juu	tanawiiy	juu	tatiich'iiy	xaanti
juu	ta-nawii-y	juu	ta-tii-ch'ii-y	xaanti
REL	PL.SUB-make-IMPFV	REL	3PL.SUB-butt-tie-IMPFV	flower

the ones who make the floral wreaths.

T0058: 053

juu	brujos	7alakjunkan,	jaantu?
juu	brujos	7a-lak-jun-kan	jaantu
DET	witches	PL-3PL.OBJ-say-INS(IMPFV)	NEG

They call them "witches," right?

T0058: 054

tatapayninilhch	juu	sireenaa.
ta-tapaynin-ni-li+ch	juu	sireenaa
3PL.SUB-ask_forgiveness-DAT-PFV+ALD	DET	goddess

They asked the goddess for forgiveness.

T0058: 055

puus	juu	7anu7	kweentuu	waa	7anchach	tamaktay
puus	juu	7anu7	kweentuu	waa	7anch+ch	tamakta-y
well	DET	that	story	FOC	there+ALD	end-IMPFV

Well, that story ends there,

T0058: 056

juu	xkweentuu	juu	Piitalu7	y	Siliiyaach
juu	x-kweentuu	juu	Piitalu7	y	Siliiyaa+ch
DET	3POS-story	DET	Peter	and	Cecilia+ALD

the story of Peter and Cecilia.

T0058: 057

tuus	chaway	jaantuch	talhaway	juu	xqatii
tuus	chaway	jaantu+ch	talhawa-y	juu	xqatii
since	today	NEG+ALD	flood-IMPFV	DET	creek

Until today, the creek does not flood

T0058: 058

juu	naa	waa	lhuuch	kawaa.
juu	naa	waa	lhuu+ch	ka-waa
DET	EMP	FOC	much+ALD	IRR-be(IRR)

as much as before.

T0058: 059

talhawaych,	pero	waa	laktz'uninch	kiitalhaway
talhawa-y+ch	pero	waa	lakatz'unin+ch	kii-talhawa-y
flood-IMPFV+ALD	but	FOC	a_little+ALD	RT-flood-IMPFV

It floods, but it just floods a little bit and goes back down.

T0058: 060

porque	tachu	noonkanch
porque	tachu	najun-kan+ch
because	como	say-INS(IMPFV)+ALD

juu	7ali7	jaantu	talaka7iiy
juu	7ali7	jaantu	ta-laka7ii-y
DET	others	NEG	3PL.SUB-believe-IMPFV

Because like they say, the others don't believe in

T0058: 061

juu	kostumwree	juu	talaknawiiy
juu	kustumwree	juu	ta-lak-nawii-y
DET	ritual	REL	3PL.SUB-3PL.OBJ-do-IMPFV

the rituals done by

T0058: 062

juu	tz'oq'onun	maqalhqamaan
juu	tz'oq'on-(V)n	maqalhqama7-(V)n
DET	Otomí-PL	Tepehua-PL

the Otomí and Tepehua.

T0058: 063

pero	7aqtamixnin	kalhitapalay	porque
pero	7aqtamix-nin	kalhita-pala-y	porque
but	sometimes-PL	work-REP-IMPFV	because

But sometimes it works because

T0058: 064

tuus	chaway	jaantuch	talhaway
tuus	chaway	jaantu+ch	talhawa-y
since	today	NEG+ALD	flood-IMPFV

until today the creek has not flooded

T0058: 065

juu	xqatii	naa	waa	lhuu	kawaa.
juu	xqatii	naa	waa	lhuu	ka-waa
DET	creek	EMP	FOC	many	IRR-be(IRR)

like before.

T0058: 066

y	7anchach	7aklaay	juu	taa
y	7anch+ch	7aklaa-y	juu	taa
and	there+ALD	end-IMPFV	REL	where

tamaa7atz'alaych	juu	xkupu7
ta-maa-7atz'ala-y+ch	juu	skupu7
3PL.SUB-CAUS-run-IMPFV+ALD	DET	crawdad

And here ends the story where they ran off the crawdad.

TEXT 6: THE TWO BROTHERS (T0063)

This story was told primarily by doña Josefa Tolentino Aparicio, with some interjections made by her daughter, doña Elena Barragán Tolentino. All utterances made by doña Elena are marked with [H] at the beginning of the line. The text was recorded on April 2, 2001, in Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico. It was recorded and transcribed by Susan Smythe Kung, translated by don Nicolás Vigueras Patricio, and interlinearized by Susan Smythe Kung. The audio recording is to be archived with the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America under the language name "Tepehua de Huehuetla".

T0063: 002[228]

waa	xmaa	7anii	waa	klaajunawch
waa	x-maa	7ani7	waa	k-laa-jun-aw+ch
FOC	PAST-RPT	here	FOC	1SUB-RCP-say(IMPFV)-1PL.SUB+ALD

Here I'm going to tell you all

T0063: 003

maa	taas	7ixlaaych	juu	lapanak
maa	taas	x-laa-y+ch	juu	lapanak
RPT	how	PAST-can-IMPFV+ALD	DET	person

about what that person did,

T0063: 004

juu	7anu7	xt'iyun7an	lapanak
juu	7anu7	xt'iyun-7an	lapanak
DET	that	two-PL.POS	people

waa	xta7asaanan.
waa	x-ta-7asaanan
FOC	PAST-3PL.SUB-play(instrument)(IMPFV)

those two people who played instruments.

[228] This text begins with reference number 002.

T0063: 005

waa	xta7asaanan	y	luego
waa	x-ta-7asaanan	y	luego
FOC	PAST-3PL.SUB-play(instrument)(IMPFV)	and	then

They played, and then

T0063: 006

jaantuch	laay
jaantu+ch	laa-y
NEG+ALD	can-IMPFV

they couldn't . . .

T0063: 007

7aaj	jaantuch	7aknawlh	juu	yuuch?
7aaj	jaantu+ch	7a-k-najun-li	juu	yuuch
oh	NEG+ALD	IRR-1SUB-say-PFV	DET	PRN.3SG

Oh, I'm not going to say that?

T0063: 008

waa	xta7asaanan
waa	x-ta-7asaanan
FOC	PAST-3PL.SUB-play(instrument)(IMPFV)

They played (instruments)

T0063: 009

waa	jaantuch	laay	xtalhiitajuuy
waa	jaantu+ch	laa-y	x-ta-lhiitajuu-y
FOC	NEG+ALD	can-IMPFV	PAST-3PL.SUB-find-IMPFV

juu	7anuu	juu	lhiich'alhk'at.
juu	7anuu	juu	lhiich'alhkat
DET	um	DET	work

because they couldn't find work.

T0063: 010

Y	luego	waa	niilhch	juu	sp'isaqa7an.
y	luego	waa	nii-li+ch	juu	x-p'isaqa-7an
and	then	FOC	die-PFV+ALD	DET	3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS

And then their little sister died.

T0063: 011

7aaj	waa	niilhch	juu	sp'isaqa7an.
7aaj	waa	nii-li+ch	juu	x-p'isaqa-7an
oh	FOC	die-PFV+ALD	DET	3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS

Oh, their sister died.

T0063: 012

nii	xaniiych	juu	sp'isaqa7an
nii	x-nii-y+ch	juu	x-p'isaqa-7an
COMP	PAST-die-IMPFV+ALD	DET	3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS

And when their sister was dead . . .

T0063: 013

[H]	jaantu	chun	puutay7ulaay
[H]	jaantu	chun	puu-tay7ulaa-y
[H]	NEG	like_that	INST-begin-IMPFV

[H] It doesn't start like that.

T0063: 014

jaantu	chun?
jaantu	chun?
NEG	like_that

Not like that?

T0063: 015

[H]	7a7aj.
[H]	7a7aj
[H]	yes

[H] Yes.

T0063: 016

waa	waa	niilh	juu	xlaqaw7an
waa	waa	nii-li	juu	x-laqaw-7an
FOC	FOC	die-PFV	DET	3POS-sibling-PL.POS

juu	sp'isaqa7an.
juu	x-p'isaqa-7an
DET	3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS

Their sister, their little sister died.

T0063: 017
[H] talhiimukunt'ajun.
[H] ta-lhiimukun-t'ajun
[H] 3PL.SUB-take-AMB(IMPFV)
[H] They always took her.

T0063: 018

7um7um	7aaj	maa	p'uulan
7um7um	7aaj	maa	p'uulan
yes	oh	RPT	first

Yes. Oh, first

T0063: 019
xtalhiimukunt'ajun
x-ta-lhiimukun-t'ajun
PAST-3PL.SUB-take-AMB(IMPFV)
they would take her

T0063: 020

nii	maa	waa	xta7asaanan.
nii	maa	waa	x-ta-7asaanan
COMP	RPT	FOC	PAST-3PL.SUB-play(instrument)(IMPFV)

when they played.

T0063: 021

nii	waa	xtalhii7anch
nii	waa	x-ta-lhii7an+ch
COMP	FOC	PAST-3PL.SUB-takE(IMPFV)+ALD

juu	lakawaylii	juu	7atzi7.
juu	laka-waylii	juu	7atzi7
DET	PREP-dance	DET	girl

Because they would take the girl to the dances.

T0063: 022
[H] lakak'aatan.
[H] laka-k'aatan
[H] PREP-party
[H] To the parties.

T0063: 023

lakak'aatanch	xtalhii7anch.
laka-k'aatan+ch	x-ta-lhii7an+ch
PREP-party+ALD	PAST-3PL.SUB-take(IMPFV)+ALD

They would take her to the festivals.

T0063: 024

7ixta7anch	maat'iwninin.
x-ta-7an+ch	maa-t'inin-nin
PAST-3PL.SUB-go(IMPFV)+ALD	CAUS-dance-PL.INF

They would go to dance.

T0063: 025

nii	nii	xtamaat'iwniych
nii	nii	x-ta-maa-t'inin-y+ch
COMP	COMP	PAST-3PL.SUB-CAUS-dance-IMPFV+ALD

They would make her dance and

T0063: 026

naa	x7alinch	juu	xlhiich'alhkat7an
naa	x-7alin+ch	juu	x-lhiich'alhkat-7an
EMP	PAST-there_is(IMPFV)+ALD	DET	3POS-work-PL.POS

they would get a lot of work

T0063: 027

nii	maa	waa	xtalhii7anch.
nii	maa	waa	x-ta-lhii7an+ch
COMP	RPT	FOC	PAST-3PL.SUB-take(IMPFV)+ALD

because they would take her.

T0063: 028

pero	nii	xaniiych,
pero	nii	xa-nii-y+ch
but	COMP	PAST-die-IMPFV+ALD

But after she was dead,

T0063: 029

matiich	juu	xlhiich'alhkat7an	xajun.
mati7+ch	juu	x-lhiich'alhkat-7an	xa-jun
nothing+ALD	DET	3POS-work-PL.POS	PAST-be(IMPFV)

there was no more work.

T0063: 030

waa	ta7astaknalhch.
waa	ta-7astaknan-li+ch
FOC	3PL.SUB-rest-PFV+ALD

They rested.

T0063: 031

nii	xata7astaknanchi,
nii	xa-ta-7astaknan+ch
COMP	PAST-3PL.SUB-rest(IMPFV)+ALD

When they rested,

T0063: 032

matiich	juu	kata7ulh	maa	wachu7
mati7+ch	juu	ka-ta-7u-li	maa	wachu7
nothing+ALD	DET	IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-PFV	RPT	also

they didn't eat anything either

T0063: 033

nii	naach	waa	yuuch
nii	naa+ch	waa	yuuch
COMP	EMP+ALD	FOC	PRN.3SG

juu	x7amaapalhkan	juu	lakalhiisaan.
juu	x-7a-maapala-kan	juu	laka-lhiisaan
REL	PAST-PL-pay-INS(IMPFV)	DET	PREP-gig

because they lived off of what they earned from their gigs.

T0063: 034

ta7alhch	puuxkoonin	juu	lakxkaan
ta-7an-li+ch	puuxkaju-nin	juu	lakxkaan
3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD	look_for-PL.INF	DET	river

They went to look in the river,

T0063: 035

maa	ta7alhch	paxnin.
maa	ta-7an-li+ch	pax-nin
RPT	3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD	bathe-PL.INF

they went to bathe.

T0063: 036

tapaaxtoqlich	juu	juu	7anuuch	lapanak
ta-paaxtoq-li	juu	juu	7anu7+ch	lapanak
3PL.SUB-meet-PFV	DET	DET	that+ALD	person

They met that person

T0063: 037

juu	maa	xaqalhii7an.
juu	maa	xaqa=lhii7an
REL	RPT	pull=take(IMPFV)

who took them.

T0063: 038

pero	juu	7anu7	lapanak	xaqalhii7an
pero	juu	7anu7	lapanak	xaqa-lhii7an
but	DET	that	person	pull-take(IMPFV)

But that person who took them

T0063: 039

jaantu	qoxiyaa	lapanak	waa.
jaantu	qoxiyaa	lapanak	waa
NEG	good	person	FOC

was not a good person

T0063: 040

waa	maqtili7.
waa	maqtili7
FOC	evil

He was evil.

T0063: 041

ta7alhch.
ta-7an-li+ch
3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD
They left,

T0063: 042

t'asanikaalhch	nii		
t'asa-ni-kan-li+ch	nii		
call-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD	COMP		
kaxtaqnikanaach	juu	lhiich'alhkat.	
ka-xtaq-ni-kan-a7+ch	juu	lhiich'alhkat	
IRR-give-DAT-INS-FUT+ALD	DET	work	

They were told that they would be given work.

T0063: 043

ta7alhch	7asaanin,
ta-7an-li+ch	7a-saa-nin
3PL.SUB-go-PFV+ALD	PL-play-PL.INF

They went to play,

T0063: 044

y	waa	laktalhpa	taxaqamanuukan.
y	waa	laka-talhpa	ta-xaqama=nuu-kan
and	FOC	PREP-mountain	INCH-drag=insert-INS(IMPFV)

and they were dragged into a cave.

T0063: 045

tacha7alhch	juu	7anch
ta-chaa7an-li+ch	juu	7anch
3PL.SUB-arrive_there-PFV+ALD	DET	there

They arrived there

T0063: 046

tatzukulhch	7asaanin.
ta-tzuku-li+ch	7a-saa-nin
3PL.SUB-begin-PFV+ALD	PL-play-PL.INF

and began to play.

T0063: 047

7anch	juu	xatalhiitajuuych
7anch	juu	xa-ta-lhiitajuu-y+ch
there	REL	PAST-3PL.SUB-find-IMPFV+ALD

juu	xp'isaqa7an,	juu	Maliiyaa.
juu	x-p'isaqa-7an	juu	Maliiyaa
DET	3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS	DET	Mary

There they found their little sister, Mary.

T0063: 048

Maliiyaa	xjunkan.
Maliiyaa	x-jun-kan
Mary	PAST-say-RFL(IMPFV)

Her name was Mary.

T0063: 049

Pero	7anch	Maliiyaa	Senisyeentaach	xajunkan,
pero	7anch	Maliiyaa	Senisyeentaa+ch	xa-jun-kan
but	there	Mary	Cinderella+ALD	PAST-say-RFL(IMPFV)

But there Mary was called Cinderella,

T0063: 050

juu	7anch	juu	laka7anii,
juu	7anch	juu	laka-7ani7
DET	there	DET	PREP-here

there where she was,

T0063: 051

laka7anii	taa	xtanuunch,
laka-7ani7	taa	x-tanuun+ch
PREP-here	where	PAST-inserted(IMPFV)+ALD

in there where she was stuck,

T0063: 052

taa	xtanuunch
taa	x-tanuun+ch
where	PAST-inserted(IMPFV)+ALD

7ixchaqaach	juu	lhakatikuuruu.
x-chaqa7+ch	juu	lhakatikuuruu
3POS-house+ALD	DET	devil

where she was stuck in the devil's house.

T0063: 053

7anchach	xtamaat'uniych,
7anch+ch	x-ta-maa-t'uni-y+ch
there+ALD	PAST-3PL.SUB-CAUS-dance-IMPFV+ALD

There they made her dance,

T0063: 054

pero	waa	xch'ajaach	chiila7
pero	waa	x-ch'aja7+ch	chiila7
but	FOC	3POS-foot+ALD	chicken

but her feet

T0063: 055

xjuuniita	juu	xch'aja7.
x-jun-niita	juu	x-ch'aja7
PAST-be-PF	DET	3POS-foot

were chicken feet.

T0063: 056

7anch	juu	xtalaqxaqalhiit'ajunch
7anch	juu	x-ta-laqxaqa-lhii-t'ajun+ch
there	REL	PAST-3PL.SUB-drag-APPL-AMB(IMPFV)+ALD

There they went around dragging her

T0063: 057

juu	puulak	nii	laktalhpa.
juu	puulak	nii	laka-talhpa
DET	inside	COMP	PREP-mountain

inside the cave.

T0063: 058

nii	xatalaqxaqalhiitzukuych	juu	7anch,
nii	xa-ta-laqxaqa=lhii-tzuku-y+ch	juu	7anch
COMP	PAST-3PL.SUB-drag=APPL-begin-IMPFV+ALD	DET	there

When they began to drag her around there,

T0063: 059

7alakmaawaputunkanch	juu	xaalaqawin,
7a-lak-maa-wajin-putun-kan+ch	juu	xaa-laqaw-(V)n
PL-3PL.OBJ-CAUS-eat-DESID-INS(IMPFV)+ALD	DET	IPOS-sibling-PL

they wanted to feed the brothers,

T0063: 060

nii	maa	waa	katawaylich.
nii	maa	waa	ka-ta-wajin-li+ch
COMP	RPT	FOC	IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-PFV+ALD

so that they would eat.

T0063: 061

lak7ulaanikaalhch	juu	7anuu	p'in
lak-7ulaa-ni-kan-li+ch	juu	7anuu	p'in
3PL.OBJ-put-DAT-INS-PFV+ALD	DET	um	chile

They were served salsa,

T0063: 062

juu	7alaqoxintich	lhiiway	choola7.
juu	7alaqoxintich	lhiiway	choola7
DET	mole	meat	turkey

turkey mole.

T0063: 063

pero	maa	xachilhch	juu	Maliiyaa
pero	maa	xa-chin-li+ch	juu	Maliiyaa
but	RPT	PAST-arrive-PFV+ALD	DET	Mary

But Maria arrived,

T0063: 064

nii	maa	xajuuniych	juu	xlaqaw
nii	maa	xa-jun-ni-y+ch	juu	x-laqaw
COMP	RPT	PAST-say-DAT-IMPFV+ALD	DET	3POS-sibling

and told her brothers

T0063: 065

nii	jaantuch	kata7ulh
nii	jaantu+ch	ka-ta-7u-li
COMP	NEG+ALD	IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-PFV

not to eat it

T0063: 066

porque	nii	nii	kata7uya7,
porque	nii	nii	ka-ta-7u-ya7
because	COMP	COMP	IRR-3PL.SUB-eat-FUT

because if they ate it,

T0063: 067

jaantuch	katitataxtulh.
jaantu+ch	ka-ti-ta-taxtu-li
NEG+ALD	IRR-IMM-3PL.SUB-leave-PFV

they wouldn't be able to leave.

T0063: 068

jaantuch	xata7uy.
jaantu+ch	xa-ta-7u-y
NEG+ALD	PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPFV

They didn't eat it.

T0063: 069

nii	jaantuch	xata7uy.
nii	jaantu+ch	xa-ta-7u-y
COMP	NEG+ALD	PAST-3PL.SUB-eat-IMPFV

They didn't eat it.

T0063: 070

tatzukuchoqolhch	maa	7asaanin.
ta-tzuku-choqo-li+ch	maa	7a-saa-nin
3PL.SUB-begin-AGAIN-PFV+ALD	RPT	PL-play-PL.INF

They began to play again.

T0063: 071

pero	naa	naach	maa	waa
pero	naa	naa+ch	maa	waa
but	EMP	EMP+ALD	RPT	FOC

talaqxaqalhiit'ajun	juu	Maliiyaa
ta-laqxaqa-lhii-t'ajun	juu	Maliiyaa
3PL.SUB-drag-APPL-AMB(IMPFV)	DET	Mary

But they just went around dragging Maria,

T0063: 072

7anchach	tanuumaachaa	laktalhpa.
7anch+ch	tanuu-maa-chaa	laka-talhpa
there+ALD	insert-lying(IMPFV)-DST	PREP-mountain

there where she is stuck in the cave.

T0063: 073

nii	xatalaqxaqalhiitzukuchoqoych,
nii	xa-ta-laqxaqa=lhii-tzuku-choqo-y+ch
COMP	PAST-3PL.SUB-drag=APPL-begin-AGAIN-IMPFV+ALD

When they began to drag her again,

T0063: 074

t'asalhchi	juu	chiila7.
t'asa-li+ch	juu	chiila7
cry-PFV+ALD	DET	chicken

the cock crowed.

T0063: 075

t'asalhchi	juu	chiila7.
t'asa-li+ch	juu	chiila7
cry-PFV+ALD	DET	chicken

The cock crowed.

T0063: 076

7entons	tapaastaklich	nii	7anuu
7entons	ta-paastak-li+ch	nii	7anuu
then	3PL.SUB-remember-PFV+ALD	COMP	um

Then they remembered that

T0063: 077

nii	7alin	juu	Dios.
nii	7alin	juu	Dios
COMP	there_is(IMPFV)	DET	God

that there is a God.

T0063: 078

7aksch	juu	xalaktantamaakxtukan.
7aks+ch	juu	xa-lak-tan-ta-maaxtu-kan
when+ALD	REL	PAST-3PL.OBJ-torso-INCH-take_out-INS(IMPFV)

That is when they were taken outside.

T0063: 079

laktantamakxtuukaalhch
lak-tan-ta-maxtu-kan-li+ch
3PL.OBJ-torso-INCH-take_out-INS-PFV+ALD

chaway	jaantuch	7anuu
chaway	jaantu+ch	7anuu
now	NEG+ALD	um

They were taken outside then; oh, no . . .

T0063: 080

jaantuch	xalakask'inkan	nii	katatanuu
jaantu+ch	xa-lakask'in-kan	nii	ka-ta-tanuu
NEG+ALD	PAST-want-INS(IMPFV)	COMP	IRR-3PL.SUB-enter(PFV)

they weren't wanted inside

T0063: 081

nii	waa	xtapaastak’ach	juu	Dios.
nii	waa	x-ta-paastak-7a+ch	juu	Dios
COMP	FOC	PAST-3PL.SUB-remember-IMPFV+ALD	DET	God

because they remembered God.

T0063: 082
7anii xtapaastak'ach
7anii x-ta-paastak-7a+ch
this PAST-3PL.SUB-remember-IMPFV+ALD

juu kimpay7an.
juu kin-pay-7an
DET 1POS-father-PL.POS
They remembered Our Father.

T0063: 083
vaya juu lhiimaqalhqamaach.
vaya juu lhii-maqalhqama7+ch
it_goes DET APPL-Tepehua+ALD
It goes like that in Tepehua.

T0063: 084
noonkanch nii kimpay7an
najun-kan+ch nii kin-pay-7an
say-INS(IMPFV)+ALD COMP 1POS-father-PL.POS

juu kintalhiist'aktan.
juu kin-ta-lhiistak-ta-n
REL 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-care_for-PF-2OBJ
They say that it is Our father who watches over us.

T0063: 085
7alaktantamakxtuukaalhch.
7a-lak-tan-ta-maxtu-kan-li+ch
PL-3PL.OBJ-torso-INCH-take_out-INS-PFV+ALD
They were taken outside.

T0063: 086
puus 7aksniich xatalaqp'aqx7ulaay
puus 7aksnii+ch x-ta-lak-p'aqx7ulaa-y
well when+ALD PAST-3PL.SUB-3PL.OBJ-shatter-IMPFV

juu xlhiisaan7an
juu x-lhiisaan-7an
DET 3POS-musical_instrument-PL.POS
Well, after that they broke their musical instruments

T0063: 087

porque	waa	takiilaqtz'ilhch
porque	waa	ta-kii-laqtz'in-li+ch
because	FOC	3PL.SUB-RT-see-PFV+ALD

juu	xlaqaw7an,
juu	x-laqaw-7an
DET	3POS-sibling-PL.POS

because they went to see their sister,

T0063: 088

juu	xp'isaqa7an	juu	taa	tanuun.
juu	x-p'isaqa-7an	juu	taa	tanuun
DET	3POS-younger_sibling-PL.POS	DET	where	inserted(IMPFV)

their little sister, where she was stuck.

T0063: 089

talaqp'aqx7ulaalhch
ta-lak-p'aqx7ulaa-li+ch
3PL.SUB-3PL.OBJ-shatter-PFV+ALD

juu	xlhiisaan7an.
juu	x-lhiisaan-7an
DET	3POS- musical_instrument-PL.POS

They broke their instruments.

T0063: 090

laaqoolhch.
laa-qoju-li+ch
can-all-PFV+ALD
The end.

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Vita

Susan Smythe Kung was born and raised in western North Carolina. She attended the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, where she graduated *Magna Cum Laude* with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Spanish and a minor in German. Thereafter, she entered the graduate school at the University of Texas at Austin, where she received a Master of Arts degree in Linguistics before beginning work on her Ph.D. She has worked as a Teaching Assistant and as an Assistant Instructor (Instructor of Record) in both the Linguistics Department and the Spanish and Portuguese Department at the University of Texas at Austin.

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